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THE DIARY AND LETTERS

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Esq.,

B.A. (Harvard), LL.D. (Oxon.)

Thos. Hutchinson

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THE

DIARY AND LETTERS

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Esq.,

B.A. (Harvard), LL.D. (Oxon.),

CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF OF HIS LATE MAJESTY'S PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, IN NORTH AMERICA;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS ADMINISTRATION WHEN HE WAS MEMBER AND SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND HIS GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY DURING THE DIFFICULT PERIOD THAT PRECEDED THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

COMPILED FROM THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS STILL REMAINING IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY

PETER ORLANDO HUTCHINSON,
ONE OF HIS GREAT-GRANDSONS.

"Motto for Title-page of a History of the Revolt of the Colonies:—
'I HAVE NOURISHED CHILDREN AND BROUGHT THEM UP, AND EVEN THEY HAVE REVOLTED FROM ME.'—Isaiah, I. Chap., 2nd verse. Bp. of London's translation."
[*Written on fly-leaf of Diary.*]

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PREFACE.

This book will fill an important blank in the history of the outbreak of the American Revolution. There is a manifest gap in the British annals of that period; and it is remarkable how few English historians have exerted themselves to stop it, or have tried to vindicate their country in the steps she took in that important contest, whilst the industry and the activity continually manifested on the other side, in the number of publications of different sorts that have been put forth and introduced into the English market, have not escaped observation. England followed no course but the one prescribed to her by the laws enacted in Parliament, and having kept to this constitutional line she has had nothing to vindicate. If her governors, who, as the King's representatives, had to sustain that authority, had swerved or fallen away from it, they would have become rebels. No servant of the Crown ever received more slander, personal abuse, and misrepresentation, than Thomas Hutchinson in Massachusetts, and yet his descendants have allowed a whole century to elapse without making an effort to defend his character. Time will show that it did not need defending, and the delay is an advantage to all parties, for we can now examine the situation calmly and dis-

passionately, which it was impossible to do during the prevalence of political excitement. We would wish, therefore, to speak without offence, and endeavour to re-unite in the bonds of friendship those ties which were unfortunately loosened at the time of the dispute.

The oval representation of the Hutchinson coat-of-arms at the head of this Preface is a facsimile of a wax impression remaining on a letter in Governor Hutchinson's handwriting, and dated at Milton, near Boston, Massachusetts, on the 6th of February, 1774. He therefore used this seal in America before he undertook his last voyage to England. But as this impression has received damage through the vicissitudes of time, the defective parts have been made good by having recourse to some other injured seals that survive on other documents. An old painting of the arms on vellum, of an age unascertained, has come down among a few family odds and ends to the present day, under which there is no motto. It may therefore be concluded that the motto on the seal above was assumed by the Governor at a time when he found that liberty was becoming too licentious.

The small quotation at the lower part of the title-page is taken from one of the fly-leaves at the end of the sixth volume of the Diary, as written by himself. We have here a sort of prophetic injunction to use it in case a book should be written. He has quoted, as he says, from the Bishop of London's translation.

The portrait of Thos. Hutchinson represents him as a young man. The name is a facsimile of his signature to a letter bearing date April 13, 1741, when he was thirty years old. The original painting is said to have been injured with swords, bayonets, and sticks, when the soldiers and the people got free entrance into his country house at Milton; but it was after-

wards repaired, and is now in the rooms of the Historical Society of Massachusetts. Through the kindness of Dr. F. E. Oliver, M.D., of Boston, who had it photographed, we are able to reproduce it here by the Woodburytype process. Family portraits are further alluded to at page 564 of this volume.

And to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Oliver we are indebted for the picture of their ancestor, the Lieutenant-Governor, an honest man, who suffered for his loyalty, and who claims much of our attention in the following pages. To these gentlemen—whom also the Editor is proud to claim as relatives, inasmuch as his grandmother, Sarah Oliver, was a daughter of the Lieutenant-Governor—and to their obliging exertions, not only for much useful and interesting information conveyed at different times, but also for the trouble they have taken in making this work better known in America, he embraces this opportunity of tendering his grateful acknowledgments.

The facsimile of the first page of Governor Hutchinson's Diary, to face page 152 of this volume, will give an idea of the general style of his writing.

In transcribing from the diaries, or copying original letters, or such others as had been transferred into the letter books, the Editor has uniformly felt desirous of making very close copies, as the chief and surest way of gaining the confidence of his readers, having departed little from this line beyond in most cases changing the "&" into "and," so that if any oversights should have crept in, it will have been through inadvertence, for which he should be sorry. In carrying this principle so far as to retain abbreviations, and errors in grammar or spelling, he is even more scrupulous than what is required by Lord Mahon in his strictures on the duties of Editors, as addressed to Jared Sparkes in the appendix to the sixth volume of his history. But surely it is better to err on the side of exactitude,

and let a copy be a copy; for if a transcriber takes liberties with his text in polishing and improving, where is that sort of thing to end? There is one thing, however, that common sense dictates and necessity requires, and that is, to leave out in quoting what is useless or irrelevant. There is nothing in Governor Hutchinson's writings that need be withheld from any living eye; and where blanks in transcribing occur, it is because the matter was useless, or foreign to the subject, or utterly valueless to retain.

As this volume treats of a controversial subject, being made up of materials which support the constitutional principles of the Mother Country against the aspirations of her Colonies, it is possible that some parts of it may offend the susceptibilities of those who upheld the latter; but on considering the whole question, we are disposed to think that before they reach the concluding chapters they will feel that it is pretty fair on both sides.

ERRATA.

Page 6, line 22, for "just" read "quite."
,, 7 ,, 26, add this foot-note, "† See forward, p. 133, account of the funeral."
,, 7 ,, 30, for "whilst the Dutch," read "the Dutch too."
,, 8 ,, 2, for "bound" read "formed."
,, 8 ,, 26, for "by the fall" read "in the fall."
,, 13 ,, 17, for "behind him," read "in Europe." The same at p. 335.
,, 36 reverse the † and *.
,, 121 ,, 17, for "John" read "Jonathan."
,, 122 dele lowest note. See note, p. 136,
,, 149, at the bottom, strike out "Mr. Copley," to the full stop, and read "Her sister was married to Sir Grenville Temple, Bt., and there was one other sister."
,, 152, last line, for "but unfavorable" read "but not unfavorable."
,, 161, line 4, for "Winthorp" read "Winthrop."
,, 282 ,, 10, for "reveal" read "reveals."
,, 379 ,, 6, for "have so far" read "have now so far."
,, 445 ,, 4 from bottom, for "it is past doubt that it must be," read "it is past doubt that he was sorry it must be."
,, 457 ,, 24, for "the Americans" read "America."
,, 457 ,, 29, for "thousand over" read "thousand troops over."
,, 466 ,, 25, for "Mr. Nat Taylor, Mr. Head" read "Mr. Nat Taylor has my letters, who, with Mr. Joe Taylor, Mr. Head," &c.
,, 524 ,, 15, for "Towers is it," read "Towers yet is it."

DIARY AND LETTERS

OF

THOMAS HUTCHINSON.

CHAPTER I.

The great events of history, though they may grow old, never become wholly obsolete. Great facts are always facts, and they stand out like landmarks before our eyes whenever we look back at the annals of our past career. Was it nothing for England to lose an extent of prosperous Colonies vastly greater than herself, in spite of all her efforts to retain them? And was it a thing to be forgotten that these Colonies, by sheer fighting, should have achieved their independence, and have established themselves into a separate state, in the face of extraordinary and enormous difficulties? If the Americans were elated with their victory, their boasting, though not very becoming, need cause no astonishment in Europe. Truly, it was something for them to be proud of.

Mr. Thomas Anburey, an officer in Burgoyne's army, who went through the American campaign, thus gives vent to his sentiments: "If we take a view of the strength and resources of Great Britain at the commencement of hostilities, and contrast these with the weakness and almost total inability of the revolting Colonies, we shall have reason to conclude that the termination of the war in favour of the latter, with their final separation from the British Empire, was one of those extraordinary and unexpected events which in the course of human affairs rarely occurs, and bids defiance to all human foresight and calculation."

Parents often forget that their children, whom a few fleeting summers ago they had reared and put to school, have since grown up to man's estate and woman's maturity; and England forgot that her Colony was no longer willing to continue in leading-strings, and never imagined that she was strong enough to break loose from them. The parent coaxed, caressed, admonished, warned, threatened, and finally began to chastise her rebellious child; but in an unnatural contest the child turned against the parent, and eventually prevailed. It is now a century complete since these momentous events took place; but the writer of these lines has conversed in America with those who witnessed the riots in Boston before the war began, and met with one who saw the tumult at the funeral of Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, and with those who took part in the great struggle during its continuance. This seems to bring the two ends of the hundred years pretty close together. To most modern readers, however, the subject is not so familiar; and it may be well, therefore, to give some slight sketch of the early Plantations, and of the vicissitudes through which they passed.

Massachusetts was amongst the first to receive the adventurous Pilgrims, who, having fled from old tyrannies in England, soon proceeded to practise new tyrannies in America. "Having," as Stedman says, "just escaped from persecution themselves, they, in their turn, became intolerant."* They crossed the ocean for liberty of conscience and greater liberty of action; and if they flattered themselves that by this move they had got beyond the reach of the laws of England, they forgot that they were carrying this very power in their pockets along with their charter, which had been framed under the statutes of the realm; and the allusion that we shall presently make to several Acts of Parliament passed during the reigns of the Charleses, William and Mary, Anne, and the Georges, to take effect in the Colonies, will show that they lived, and prospered, and increased under the authority of this constitutional power. It is well to keep this in sight, because in after times, with a strange disregard to truth, they declared that they were not

* Stedman's 'Hist. of the American War,' i. 8.

living under the control of the English Parliament—and that they never had. The numerous ramifications of the quarrel, like scattered rays, at last converged towards this one point of dispute. But of all this further on. We must take things in their order.

"The Puritans, oppressed by the Act of Uniformity, crossed the Atlantic and founded New England, where a tyranny, as fantastic as it was ingenious, oppressed every one who dared to differ from Puritan views of right and wrong." The severity of their whole polity seems to have been based rather upon the stern and rigid tenets of the Old Testament, than upon the more merciful teaching of the New.* The love of liberty, or the love of self-will—for there is not much difference with some people—led them to seek new pastures in the far West; and the first charter of foundation which they took with them was dated March 4, an. 4 of Charles I., and it recites that the late King James gave to the Council at Plymouth, in England, all that part of North America, from sea to sea, lying between the 40th parallel of latitude on the south, which parallel, it may be remarked, passes from Philadelphia westward towards Columbus, Springfield, Wyaconda, Long's Peak, Utah Lake, to Point Delgado on the Pacific; and the 48th degree on the north, which in like manner runs westward from St. John's in Newfoundland, by Quebec, Lake Superior, Dacota, Montana, to the sea a little to the south of Vancouver's Island,†—"To be holden of our said dear royal father, . . . yielding and paying therefore to the said late king, his heirs and successors, one fifth part of the gould and silver which should . . . happen to be found," &c. This is an early instance of the supremacy of the Mother Country. And the Plymouth Council, under the King, granted, March 19, 3, Ch. I., to Sir Henry Rosewell and others, all that part of New England

* "In short, this people, who in England could not bear to be chastised with rods, had no sooner got free from their fetters than they scourged their fellow refugees with scorpions; though the absurdity as well as injustice of such proceeding in them might stare them in the face."—Burke's Works, ii. 148; Ryerson, i. 123.

† This charter is printed in the Collection of Original Papers drawn together and published in Boston by Governor Hutchinson in 1769.

lying between a parallel at three miles north of the river Merrimack, and another parallel at three miles south of Charles river in Massachusetts Bay, . . . "To be houlden of us, our heirs and successors . . . yielding and paying . . . the fifth part of the oure of gould and silver. . . . We do give and grant . . . full power and authority . . . to make laws and ordinances . . . so as such laws and ordinances be not contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of this our realme of England. . . . And without paying or yeelding any custome or subsidie either inward or outward to us, our heirs or successors for the same, by the space of seven yeares, from the day of the date of these presents . . . and from all taxes and impositions for the space of twenty and one yeares, upon all goods and merchandises, at any time or times hereafter, either upon importation thither, or exportation from thence . . . except only the five pounds per centum due for custome, upon all such goods and merchandises, as after the said seven yeares shall be expired," &c.

The superintending power of England in making these arrangements is plain enough; and whilst England by this power remits the payment of certain customs and subsidies in the one case for the space of seven years, in the other she remits all taxes and impositions for the space of twenty-one years, by which exercise of authority she retains the power of levying them at the termination of those two several terms. She keeps to herself the right of taxation, but only exercises it when she sees fit.

By an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1650, it was declared, concerning the Colonies and Plantations in America, that they had, "ever since the planting thereof, been and ought to be subject to such laws, orders and regulations as are or shall be made by the Parliament of England."*

"I have already shown that, by your first charter, this province was to be subject to taxation after the lapse of

* See 'Massachusettensis; or, A Series of Letters,' &c. By a Person of Honor on the spot. Boston, 1776. Fourth Edition, page 77. This very loyal friend and vigorous writer in the cause of Government was called Daniel Leonard.

twenty-one years, and that the authority of Parliament to impose such taxes was claimed so early as the year 1642." *

"By an Act of Parliament, made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Charles the Second, duties are laid upon goods and merchandise of various kinds, exported from the Colonies to foreign countries, or carried from one Colony to another, payable on exportation." In support of this assertion the Act is quoted.† Extracts from other Acts are also given; as an Act of the 7th and 8th of William and Mary, which says: "that every seaman whatsoever that shall serve his Majesty . . . shall allow, and there shall be paid out of the wages of every such seaman, to grow due for such his service, six pence per annum for the better support of the said hospital, and to augment the revenue thereof." This tax was levied in the Plantations down to the period of the outbreak of hostilities.

An Act of the 9th of Queen Anne, for establishing a Post Office, and for collecting the revenues thereof in Great Britain and Ireland and the Colonies, states, among other objects and regulations, "that the business may be done in such manner as may be most beneficial to the people of these kingdoms, and Her Majesty may be supplied, and the revenue arising by the said office better improved, settled, and secured to Her Majesty, her heirs and successors." ‡

By an Act of the 6th of George II. a duty is laid on all foreign rum, molasses, syrups, sugars, and paneles, to be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto and for the use of His Majesty, his heirs and successors. The preamble of an Act of the 4th of George III. declares that, "It is just and necessary that a revenue in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same," &c.

It is not necessary further to multiply authorities. 'Massachusettensis' sums up the evidence in the following words: "It is evident that the Parliament has been in the actual, uninter-

* 'Massachusettensis,' p. 78, and Ryerson's 'Loyalists of America,' i. 290, 2nd edition.

† *Ibid.*, p. 79.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 81. Dr. Franklin was a servant of the Crown, and as Deputy-Postmaster-General superintended the collection of this revenue, until he was dismissed for transmitting Governor Hutchinson's purloined letters to America.

rupted use and exercise of the right claimed by them to raise a revenue in America, from a period more remote than the grant of the present charter to this day"; and "the claim of that right is as ancient as the Colonies themselves."*

Judge Curwen, in his Journal, quotes a sentiment written in 1763 by James Otis, then a loyal man, but subsequently a bitter opponent of the English Government. It runs thus: "No other constitution of civil government had yet appeared in the world so admirably adapted to the preservation of the good purposes of liberty and knowledge, as that of Great Britain. Every person in America is, of common right, by Acts of Parliament and the laws of God, entitled to all the essential privileges of Britons. The true interests of Great Britain and her Colonies are mutual; and what God, in His providence, has united, let no man dare attempt to pull asunder."† And yet no man tried to get a divorce more determinedly than he did. In 1765 he writes: "It is certain that the Parliament of Great Britain hath a just, clear, equitable, and constitutional right, power, and authority to bind the Colonies by all Acts wherein they are named. Every lawyer, nay, every tyro, knows this." But what was "just, clear, equitable, and constitutional" in 1765, was just the contrary in 1775.

The following is one of the paragraphs in the Address of the Assembly of Massachusetts, sitting at Boston, presented to Governor Pownall in 1757: "The authority of all Acts of Parliament which concern the Colonies, and extend to them, is ever acknowledged in all the courts of law, and made the rule of all judicial proceedings in the Province. There is not a Member of the General Court, and we know no inhabitant within the bounds of the Government that ever questioned this authority."‡

* 'Massachusettensis,' p. 82. On what grounds then did Pitt in 1766 exclaim—"I will now say thus much, that in my opinion this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the Colonies"? We may open our eyes in astonishment. See also Lord Mahon's Hist., ch. (xlv.) p. 131.

† 'Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty in America,' p. 19.

‡ Hutchinson's 'Hist. of Mass.,' iii. 66.

There is no occasion to quote further to show how thoroughly and universally the supremacy of the English Parliament was acknowledged by the local legislatures and the leading men in the Colonies; yet, only a few short years after, these very men were busy in denying all the principles they had before upheld—in trying to put new constructions upon old laws, in order to alter the sense of them—in poisoning the minds of the ignorant by factious and rebellious insinuations—by preaching against submission to a distant country—by holding up rulers and dignities to contempt—and by disseminating the seeds of unbridled liberty and licentiousness amongst the mob. They opposed, insulted, and threatened Governor Bernard for endeavouring, as a faithful servant, to check this spirit of lawlessness; and when his successor, Governor Hutchinson, endeavoured to continue the Administration upon the constitutional lines, as regulated by the statutes above mentioned, they left no measures untried to ruin him in his character and in his fortunes, ending only at last by sacking his house in Boston, and confiscating all his estates in different parts of the Province; and as bad men have no other way of justifying bad actions but falsehood, they tried to delude the people into the belief that he was a tyrant and an oppressor; and including the loyal and worthy Lieutenant-Governor, Andrew Oliver, in their persecutions, they shortened his days by their violence, and gave three cheers over his coffin when it was lowered into the grave.*

Whilst the English were colonising the bays and creeks of Massachusetts, the French were settling Canada and numerous parts of all the north-eastern portions of America, away to Nova Scotia and the St. Lawrence; whilst the Dutch were forming stations in Connecticut and at New York. Even in time of peace the neighbourhood of these nationalities on a long and ill-defined frontier was not always conducive to good fellowship, and in time of war furnished occasion for many

* These are sad things, and we are afraid they are too true; but we do the modern Americans the justice to say, that they are so enlightened and so generous in their sentiments, and are now so free from the old party prejudices, that they can lament the excesses of their ancestors quite as much as the English can do.

acts of hostility and bloodshed. So insecure was the position of the Massachusetts people, that they soon bound themselves into associations for military defence; and the fostering care of the Mother Country was liberal in lending her assistance in the form of ships, troops, and money. This insecurity from European settlers was not the full extent of the danger. The wild Indians were numerous during the early years of colonisation; and naturally jealous and angry at having their hunting-grounds diminished, and seeing the whites increasing in numbers and advancing upon their lands, sometimes in rather an unceremonious way, lost no opportunity of cutting off stragglers and outsiders. From their savage habits in their modes of warfare, the terror of falling into their hands was greater than that of being captured by the French or the Dutch. These different species of enemies were quite enough when taken singly; but on the outbreak of open war it was not unusual for the white races to employ the natives as auxiliaries. This practice had been frequently denounced both by writers and speakers as cruel and unnecessary; and some military commanders hesitated to draft so savage an element into their armies from motives of humanity.* After more than a century passed in coping with these surrounding difficulties, the war undertaken for the reduction of Canada, promoted by the fleets and armies of the King of England, together with large bodies of provincial troops, culminated victoriously by the fall of Quebec, of Montreal, and eventually of the whole of Canada in 1763. On the happy termination of this anxious struggle, the power of England in defending her Colonies is thankfully acknowledged by the local legislatures to the Mother Country. Governor Bernard, in his speech to the Assembly, observed: "No other nation upon earth could have delivered them from the power they had to contend with"; and the Council, in their Address in reply, said, that

* Anburey, i. 280. Adolphus, 'Hist. of Eng.,' ii. 459. When I was in America I saw a Pequod or Pequot Indian, said to be the last of his tribe. He was giving lectures in New York on Indian history and traditions. The map in Palfrey's history places the Pequots to the west of Providence, Rhode Island. From a note made at the time I see that the Pequot's name was Gos-kuk-wa-na-kon-ne-di-yu.

"to their relation to Great Britain they owe their present freedom." They "are sensible of the blessing derived to the British Colonies from their subjection to Great Britain," &c.*

The satisfactory result of this war, and the pacification of the Dutch, had now in a great measure freed the Americans from dangers that had long threatened them on all sides; for as soon as these formidable neighbours had been removed from the position of enemies, the Indians had no allies to run to; and as their numbers, by a strange fatality, were year by year diminishing before the onward march of the European races, peace and quiet were given to the land. It has been remarked, rather to the prejudice of the Americans, that as soon as they were free from these surrounding alarms they began to rebel. The leisure furnished by this feeling of security gave opportunity for reconsidering the situation. It became evident that many reforms were needed. It had been an oversight to have paid rates and taxes to England so long, or as Adolphus puts it: "Submission to Acts of Parliament made in England was an inadvertence which ought to be corrected." †

Massachusettensis reflected on them for their ingratitude :— "For what has she protected and defended the Colonies against the maritime powers of Europe, from their first British settlement to this day? For what did she purchase New York of the Dutch? For what was she so lavish of her best blood and treasure in the conquest of Canada, and other territories in America? Was it to raise up a rival State, or to enlarge her own empire?" ‡ And again, "Has not the Government of Great Britain been as mild and equitable in the Colonies as in any part of her extensive dominions? Has she not been a nursing mother to us from the days of our infancy to this time? Has she not been indulgent almost to a fault?" &c.§

"We, in America," said Mr. Otis, "have certainly abundant reasons to rejoice. The heathen are not only driven out, but the Canadians, much more formidable enemies, are conquered, and become fellow subjects," ‖ and so on.

* Hutchinson's 'Hist. of Mass. Bay,' iii. 83.
† Adolphus's 'Hist. of Eng.,' ii. 153.
‡ 'Massachusettensis,' p. 4. § *Ibid.*, p. 7.
‖ Hutchinson's 'Hist. of Mass.,' iii. 101.

"The conquests made in America during the late war, and ceded to us at the peace, had so greatly extended the line of our frontier, that it became necessary to keep up a considerable number of additional forces to secure it. At the close of a war which, however glorious, had wasted our people, and nearly doubled our debt, we could but ill-support the expense of men and money requisite for this new establishment. To relieve us in some degree from a burden, to which we submitted for their service, it was thought reasonable to expect that the Americans should contribute towards the expense we had charged ourselves with for the subsistence of those troops, whose pay, even after that contribution, would still be a heavy drain upon the specie of this country." *

Having been thus nurtured and protected for upwards of a hundred years, perhaps some feelings of filial gratitude might have been expected to have taken root in American soil. "They who thus flourish under the protection of our Government," wrote Dr. Johnson,† "should contribute something towards its expense." And again, "I should gladly see America return half of what England has expended in her defence." ‡ And such an expectation would perhaps have been not very unreasonable, inasmuch as when the Colonies were at expenses in their wars, they received compensation, and were indemnified by the Mother Country. "Wherever the Colonies have exerted themselves in a war, though in their own defence, to a greater degree than their proportion with the rest of the empire, they have been reimbursed by the parliamentary grants. This was the case in the last war with this province." § They would accept the parliamentary grants, but they would not accept the parliamentary statutes.

It was not until after the Canadian war that the spirit of independence and the rude hostility against taxation assumed large proportions.‖ After that event, the Americans declared

* 'A Complaint,' &c., p. 18. London, 1775.
† 'Taxation no Tyranny,' p. 6.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 65.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 97.
‖ "They founded their pretensions of being free from taxation by the British Parliament upon the broadest basis that they could assume—their rights as men."—Stedman's Hist., i. 22.

that a new system of polity had been adopted against them—"a system of statutes and regulations adopted since the war." They complained that whilst they readily submitted to external taxation for the regulation of trade, they objected to a new species of personal and internal taxation levied for purposes of imperial revenue. But as taxes are taxes, and ultimately differ but little in their nature, objects, and destination, this nice distinction was soon looked upon as little else than an excuse for something to cavil over. They petitioned the king for a redress of their grievances, using the most loyal and devoted terms towards his Majesty's throne and person, but casting unmeasured censure against the Ministry, and especially against the Governors in the Colonies. "The Americans," said Lord North, in one of his speeches to Parliament, "had originally no objection to submit to the authority of the Crown, but objected to the interference of Parliament." And Mr. Frothingham utters a similar sentiment when he writes: "Their allegiance to the Crown did not include an admission of the supremacy of Parliament." * And "the people were the subjects of a distant monarch, and royalty was merely in theory with them." † Leonard speaks of the novelty of this rising spirit of unbridled freedom. "The Parliament has from the earliest days of the Colonies claimed the lately controverted right both of legislation and taxation, and for more than a century has been in the exercise of it."‡

Bancroft quotes a letter in which "this new doctrine of independence" is commented on,§ and it would be laughable, if it were not lamentable, only to see with what ingenuity of speech or of pen old beliefs are argued away, and new ones are attempted to be justified in their stead. To those who study human nature—which generally means the faults and frailties thereof—it must be manifest that people rarely reason with their reasoning powers, but rather reason with their likes and their dislikes; or, to put it more correctly, they only argue

* 'Hist. of the Siege of Boston,' 4th ed., p. 1. This would be a creditable book if it were not so overloaded with boast, tall talk, and self-glorification.

† *Ibid.*, p. 19, and Tudor's 'Otis,' p. 444.

‡ 'Massachusettensis,' p. 103.

§ Bancroft's 'Hist. of the American Revolution,' iii. 463.

with their predilections and their prejudices, and not as the result of their sober reflection. It is sometimes a matter of painful admiration to see how much trouble clever people will take to make black look like white, and white look like black. The existence and the authority of the old statutes was not denied, except by those who were ignorant of the early history of their young country, but a new reading was ingeniously given to them. The reviewer of 'The Controversy between Great Britain and Her Colonies'* remarks—"But what is due obedience is a matter in which they and the people of England differ exceedingly; and the committees chose to reserve to the Colonies their own construction of the terms, while they hoped the people of England would be led to believe they agreed with them in theirs."

Dr. Franklin, writing before 1760, says: "Happy as we now are under the best of kings, and in the prospect of a succession promising every felicity a nation was ever blessed with,"† yet, fifteen lines lower down, he uses such words as "the apprehension of dangers so remote as that of the future independence of our colonies"—expressions which show that, even before the subjugation of Canada, the idea of the independence of the Colonies had evidently been mooted, though deprecated by loyal men, of which he was then one.‡ But there were those who were willing to disseminate the young idea among the people, for at first the agitators were but few. "The revolution," says Frothingham, p. 32, "was no unanimous work; and the closer it is studied, the more difficult and the more hazardous it will be found to have been. In Boston the Opposition, the Tories, were respectable in number, and strong in character and ability." Looking at their charter with new spectacles, they read some of its clauses in novel and contorted

* London, 1769, p. 27.

† 'The Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to her Colonies,' &c., p. 15. London, 1760.

‡ Ryerson, i. 2, speaking of the government of the Puritans, says it was "an intolerant persecutor of all religionists who did not adopt its worship, and disloyal from the beginning to the Government from which it held its charter." He says further, at i. 128, "The rulers of Massachusetts Bay Colony were disaffected to the king from the beginning."

meanings; and they put a new construction upon certain parts of it to suit their altered views, such as had never been intended by the original framers, even to the denial of the power of the English Parliament over them. "From King William's days to these, the oldest man living never heard of this interpretation. That never before these days was a doubt made of the supreme authority of Parliament over every part of the empire," * &c. They refused to be taxed because they were not represented, yet they admitted through the Congress at Philadelphia, in their address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, that they could not be represented as they were situated. "We are not represented, and from our local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented."† But Dr. Johnson tells us and them that when the Pilgrims took ship and quitted the shores of England, they turned their backs upon this very privilege. "He who goes voluntarily to America cannot complain of losing what he leaves behind him. He had, perhaps, a right to vote for a knight or burgess; by crossing the Atlantic he has not nullified his right, for he has made its exertion no longer possible. By his own choice he has left a country where he had a vote and little property, for another where he has great property but no vote." ‡ And "What their ancestors did not carry with them, neither they nor their descendants have since acquired." § And further, "The Americans have voluntarily resigned the power of voting, to live in distant and separate governments; and what they have voluntarily quitted they have no right to claim." ‖

But Franklin surveyed the situation from a different point of view, and spoke thus—"In removing to America, a country out of the realm, they did not carry with them the statutes then existing." ¶ He calls America "a country out of the realm"; but another Massachusetts man wrote thus: "However

* 'The Letters of Gov. Hutchinson and Lieut.-Gov. Oliver, and Remarks, with the Assembly's Address,' &c., p. 62. London, 1774.
† 'The Declaration by the Representatives,' &c., p. 11. London, 1775.
‡ 'Taxation no Tyranny,' p. 38.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 41.
‖ *Ibid.*, p. 50.
¶ Bigelow's 'Life of B. Franklin,' 1879, vol. ii., 208.

closely we may hug ourselves in the opinion that the Parliament has no right to tax or legislate for us, the people of England hold the contrary opinion as firmly; they tell us we are a part of the British Empire." * And as to carrying the statutes with them, Franklin continues: "For if they did the Puritans must have been subject there [in America] to the same grievous Act of Conformity, tythes, spiritual courts, &c., which they meant to be free from by going thither," &c. Franklin makes a little mistake here, by only half meeting the facts of the case. He is right in saying that they went beyond the reach of some of these Acts, but he passes by the fact that they took with them the legal superintending powers contained in their charters enacted in England.

In his speech to the Council and Representatives on the 6th of January, 1773, Mr. Hutchinson observed, amongst other things, "That when our predecessors first took possession of this Colony, it was their sense, or the sense of the kingdom, that they were to remain subject to the supreme authority of Parliament." † This, however, the Assembly denies. "Nor can we," they say, "find that this appears from the charter; or that such authority has ever been exercised by Parliament, submitted to by the Colony, or acknowledged by the legislature." And further, "But if supreme authority includes unlimited authority [which was never intended], the subjects of it are emphatically slaves: and equally so, whether residing in the Colonies or Great Britain." Again, "Supreme, or unlimited authority, can with fitness belong only to the Sovereign of the universe." This was artfully said to frighten the unthinking; for every one knows that in a limited monarchy like England, there is no such thing as unlimited authority. The word supreme here meant no more than chief authority.

Thus do men argue according to their predilections. The art of arguing is the art of mystification. Political theories were becoming as perplexed and perplexing as religious theories

* 'Massachusettensis,' p. 3.

† 'The Speeches of His Excellency Governor Hutchinson to the General Assembly, &c., with the Answers,' &c. Boston, 1773. Condensed in Hutch. 'Hist. of Mass.,' iii. 372.

had been a century before. Henry Vane, William Coddington, John Wheelright, Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, "the she Gamaliel," as Hubbard calls her,* were blown about by every wind of doctrine, until they themselves scarcely knew what their beliefs really were; and in later times the zealous propounders of political theories, in some cases with rather wild notions of liberty, broached speculations on rule and government of such extreme natures, as to confuse themselves as much as they astonished some of their soberer neighbours.†

Yet the Americans were not wholly wrong, and the Mother Country not entirely right. The parent was treating her grown-up child as if it were still in the nursery. That is the secret of the whole quarrel.

In the speech of the 6th of January, 1773, above quoted, the Governor says: "I know of no line that can be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the Colonies ‡ . . . . If we might be suffered to be altogether independent of Great Britain, could we have any claim to the protection of that government, of which we then are no longer a part? Without this protection should we not become a prey of one or the other powers of Europe, such as should first seize upon us? Is there anything which we have more reason to dread than independence? I hope it will never be our misfortune to know by experience the difference between the liberties of an English Colonist, and those of the Spanish, French, or Dutch." §

The American leaders, however, were settling down upon the idea of absolute freedom, and, regardless of all considerations, they were hurrying their followers on to it. Dr. Warren, afterwards killed at Bunker Hill, commending the spirit of the

* Hubbard's Hist., ch. 43.

† Governor Bernard, in his 'Select Letters on Trade,' remarks: "There was no fixed idea of the relation between Great Britain and America." In Letter IX., p. 32, he says: "It is my opinion that all the political evils in America arise from the want of ascertaining the relation between Great Britain and the American Colonies."

‡ He was very much abused for this remark at the time, but its accuracy was afterwards acknowledged.

§ From various remarks in 'Diaries and Letters' further on, it is plain that most Englishmen thought that if the Colonies were free they would be immediately pounced upon by one of the nations mentioned.

debates in the General Court, called them "worthy of a people determined to be free." And Samuel Adams exclaimed, "Independent we are, and independent we will be."* This was plain and straightforward, and for that reason far to be preferred to the sophistry, false reasoning, and untruth of the majority of the popular declaimers.

If we study the behaviour of the different Colonies during their early history, we shall see that Massachusetts generally distinguished herself by manifestations of the greatest impatience under control. Edmund Burke, who undertook to discourse very largely on these subjects, made the strange mistake of saying that the love of excessive liberty first showed itself strongest in the southern Colonies.† Even so early as the time of the *Mayflower* in 1620, when her crew and passengers were preparing to step out on the shores of Massachusetts—"Some of the strangers among them had let fall from them in the ship, that, when they came ashore, they would use their own liberty," &c.,‡ thus showing how soon the air of that country made them pant to be free.

"The New England Provinces are the most violent in their principles of rebellion," says Anburey.§

"The clamour and threatenings were greatest in the New England provinces; and in them, as on all former occasions, the first forcible resistance to the [tea] Act of Parliament was made." ‖ And again, "In the province of Massachusetts Bay, the authority of the British Parliament had been first called in question: in the same province the first actual opposition to that authority was made; and there it was destined that hostilities should first commence between the Mother Country and her Colonies." ¶

"This province began it—I might say this town [Boston]—for here the arch-rebels formed their scheme long ago."**

* Hutch. Hist., iii. 265.
† His speech of March 22, 1775, p. 29, the whole speech being 102.
‡ Palfrey's Hist., vol. i., p. 164, note.
§ Anburey's Travels, i. 310.
‖ Stedman's Hist., i. 86.
¶ *Ibid.*, i. 115.
** Gen. Gage to Lord Dartmouth, in Froth. Hist., p. 234.

"The town of Boston had been the chief seat of the opposition." *

"Boston, above all, took the lead in such tumultuary proceedings." †

"The Massachusetts patriots were never more determined to resist the new Acts of Parliament, and were never more confident of their ability to maintain their ground, than at the commencement of the new year," 1775. ‡

"Opposition to authority is of so long standing, that it is become habitual." §

It is hard to argue with people animated by such feelings, and strengthened by unbending determination.

Sergeant Lamb, of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, who went through part of the struggle in America, ascribes the revolt to the intrigues and the instigations of the French, smarting under the defeat of being driven out of Canada, and ready to foment any revolutionary changes that would weaken England, when, perhaps, in the scramble, they might lay hold of something. The conquest of Canada was conducted during the administration of Governor Shirley, and nearly completed under that of his successor, Governor Thomas Pownall. The English Government assisted the Colonies in the expenses consequent on these military operations. "The generous compensations which had been made by Parliament, not only alleviated the burden of taxes, which otherwise would have been heavy, but by the importation of such large sums of specie increased commerce; and it was the opinion of some, that the war added to the wealth of the province, though the compensation did not amount to one-half of the charges of the Government." ‖

Mr. Pownall rather sympathised with the popular movement, as far as his position as the King's representative would allow. After his services in America had terminated, he returned to England and entered Parliament.

* Hutch. Hist., iii. 257.
† Lord Mahon's Hist., ch. xlv., p. 124.
‡ Froth. Hist., p. 45.
§ Gen. Gage to Lord Dartmouth, in Froth. Hist., p. 17, note. See also 'A Short View of the History of the New England Colonies,' by Israel Mauduit, 4th edit., p. 5. London, 1776.
‖ Hutch. Hist., iii. 79.

Governor Francis Bernard, who assumed office in 1760, and who was eventually made a baronet for his services, used all constitutional means for checking the now rapid strides that republican principles were making. It was not long before the leaders of the opposition, by inflammatory speeches, and appeals to the worst passions of human nature, succeeded in breaking the charm that commonly hangs over a new-comer to a high place, so that his situation was soon rendered uneasy. The more he upheld the authority of the King and the Parliament, the worse he was treated, and his administration eventually became one of trouble and difficulty. There were a thousand ways of obstructing constitutional measures that could not be classed as rebellion, and hard to be proved as treason. But a struggle of this sort, which for a time may be conducted with an outward show of courtesy, at last degenerates into a quarrel of rudeness and violence. Most dishonourable was one course resorted to.* Copies of his letters to the home ministry, deemed private and confidential, were procured in England, sent out, and published in America, in order "to raise the fury of the people against him." †

By the year 1774 the Americans were convinced in their own minds that they were very miserable—and those who think so are so. There is nothing so easy as to persuade people that they are badly governed. Take happy and comfortable people and talk to them with the art of the Evil One, and they can soon be made discontented with their government, their rulers, with everything around them, and even with themselves. This is one of the weaknesses of human nature of which factious orators make use to serve their purposes. He who is punished generally complains that he is the aggrieved one, quite forgetting that punishment follows crime, and does not precede it.

* Secretary Andrew Oliver, afterwards Lieut.-Governor, writing from Boston, April 14, 1769, to R. Jackson, said—"Politics are become a most disagreeable subject. Governor Bernard is to be pitied. Copies of his letters, which were laid before Parliament, are some of them already transmitted hither and published. He is now to be held forth to the people as the object of their indignation, and the popular interest will be triumphant."—His Letter Book, fol., bound in white vellum. He pitied Bernard, but his own turn came next.

† Hutch. Hist., iii. 226.

He denounces the punishment, but does not tell his neighbours that his own misdeeds, first committed, brought it upon his own back. There is another very common failing in human nature —or rather, it might be more correctly designated an artful contrivance—by which the order in time is reversed, and the mention of the crime is altogether kept out of sight if possible. Thus, the Congress* at Philadelphia complained of the repressive measures that the English Government had laid upon them, but they did not say that these measures had followed the riots, tumults, and acts of violence with which the Colonies, and especially the city of Boston, had been full for ten years or more. In justice to the suffering members of the Congress, and those who sent them there, it is fair to show, by a quotation, how cruel England could be.

"These devoted Colonies," says the Declaration,† "were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his Majesty, by the late King, and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and, assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their antient limits, for depriving us of our accustomed and inestimable privilege of Trial by Jury, in cases affecting both life and

* Sergeant Lamb writes, at p. 22—"In the month of September, 1774, the general Congress of all the Colonies met at Philadelphia. That body consisted of fifty-one delegates, chosen by the representatives of each province." John Hancock, of Boston, was President.

† 'The Declaration by the Representatives,' &c. London, 1775.

property; for suspending the legislature of one of the Colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by Charter, and secured by Acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the Crown; for exempting the 'murderers' of colonists from legal trial, and, in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in Parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences shall be transported to England to be tried," &c., &c.

There is no better mode of establishing the accuracy of historical assertions than that of instituting a comparison of dates, and in this instance a comparison of dates shows that most of these restrictive measures were imposed after the commission of the acts of free-and-easyism which they were intended to curb; as, *after* the beginning of insubordination in Governor Pownall's time; *after* numerous acts of open resistance to constitutional authority during Governor Bernard's administration; *after* the town riots, and the attack on Mr. Secretary Andrew Oliver's house in 1765; *after* the destruction of the house and furniture of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Hutchinson, a short time subsequently; *after* the well-known cases of smuggling on an extensive scale by some of the leading merchants of Massachusetts, in defiance of the Commissioners of the Customs; *after* the riotous meeting when the unfortunate seaman was seized, tarred, and feathered, and shamefully maltreated in 1769; *after* the attack by the mob on Richardson's house, when he fired and killed a boy in the crowd; *after* the unprovoked pelting and clubbing the sentry on duty and soldiers at the Guard House, when they shot down several of their assailants; *after* the purloining and printing the private letters of the King's representatives, in order to raise the fury of the people against them; *after* the tumult, and tarring and feathering of John Malcome in January, 1774; and *after* the destruction of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, by throwing them into Boston harbour. Thus the punishments followed the

offences, for there can be no punishment where there is no offence. Sometimes, however, serious disputes originate in such small beginnings, that it is hard to fix the exact point at which they took their rise. In passing from extreme white to extreme black, who shall say where "the beginning of black" begins? So it often is with a quarrel. At last the American misunderstanding had passed all reasoning upon, and then there was nothing left but the *ultima ratio regum.*

Amongst the papers there is a Letter Book of Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, of folio size, and whole bound in white vellum. By their covers is the easiest way to designate some of the letter books. The letters entered there were transcribed almost entirely by his own hand. Letters are very valuable historical documents, for the writers of them, communicating unreservedly to their friends, will say things that they would not say in any other way. Sir Francis Bernard left America for England in the summer of 1769, and the following letter, which speaks of a few circumstances that occurred after his departure, was written to him by Mr. Oliver in the fall of that year:—

"Boston, Nov. 15, 1769.

"S^{r} —I had this day the pleasure of receiving your letter by Capt^{n} Bruce, who brought us the first intelligence of your arrival in England, and I sincerely congratulate you on the gracious reception you met with from his Majesty, which your friends here look upon as an omen of further favours. A number of us dined to-day with Judge Auchmuty at Roxbury, where we drank your health, and there appeared to be a cordial remembrance of you. The L^{t}-Gov^{r} tells me he sends you the newspapers, by which you will see that he and others, servants of the Crown, continue to be abused. He has sent M^{r} Sec^{y} Pownall * the Acts passed in the last session, together with a Journal of the proceedings of the whole Court, as well as of the House of Representatives, the duplicate of which latter he desired M^{r} Pownall to furnish you with, if they sho^{d} both get safe to hand. I reminded M^{r} Cotton, from New York, of

* John Pownall, Secretary of the Treasury in London.

sending these things; but the Journal of the House was delayed as usual, and was sent by the L^{t}-Gov^{r} soon after it came from the press.

"I wrote you a short letter by M^{r} Mein a few days since, who is gone home by way of Halifax with fresh complaints. The Committee of Merchants are now become the grand assertors of Liberty. We wish to know whether the government at home asserts their own authority, or whether we are to submit to the powers now in being.

"The post is in this evening, but I do not find that the Sep^{r} mail is arrived: as the ship is to sail in the morning, I am obliged to close my letter lest I miss the conveyance.

"M^{rs} Oliver and I drank tea with Lady Bernard the day before yesterday, and found her very well. I delivered your letter for her by Bruce to your son, M^{r} John Bernard. My brother, Judge Oliver, is now with me, and desires his respectful complim^{ts} may be presented to you.—I am, &c."

From the above, and from one or two other letters, it appears that Lady Bernard did not accompany her husband to England. The first paragraph of the following letter, from Mr. Oliver to Sir Francis, refers to the attempted impeachment of the persecuted baronet.

"Boston, 21st November, 1769.

"S^{r}—I wrote your Excellency by Capt^{n} Davie, the 15th ins^{t}, wherein I own'd the rec^{t} of your letter of the 9th Sep^{r} by Cap^{n} Bruce, and now to acknowledge the receip [*sic*] of your favour of the 19th Sep^{r} by Cap^{n} White, who arrived here last night, as Cap^{n} Freeman did the day preceding. It gives me the greatest pleasure to observe that things fall out so much to your wish, and that you are so ready to encounter the Remonstrance which has been presented against you. I think you will not want living witnesses on the spot to invalidate some of the Articles alledg'd [*sic*], while others of them defeat their own purposes. I shall rejoice to hear of a happy issue."

This business is alluded to again in a letter written soon after to Peyton Randolph, Esq., dated Boston, 22nd November,

1769. Amongst other things the following occurs:—"I got to town on the 19th of last month, and have been lucky enough to keep myself clear of the squabbles which have been too prevalent here. How much soever we differ on political points, the slander and personal abuse thrown out in our newspapers must disgrace the characters of those who deal in this way, be their cause ever so right and just.* Our Assembly is not like to sit before the 10th of Jany, to which time they were prorogued by Governor Bernard. We may by that time have some advices from England, which may have an influence on their proceedings, tho' we can have no account by that time of the resolutions of Parliament, as I am well informed that they are not to sit to do business till after Christmas. Our Govr was got home, and had been admitted twice to conference with the King, by whom he was graciously received. The Remonstrance of our Assembly against him had been likewise presented to his Majesty, in which the Governor had prayed leave to be heard, which may probably bring the affairs of our Colony to some issue."

From a remark in another letter, which bears date December 26, 1769, the feeling against the ex-governor was pushed rather far. "The Lt-Govr tells me he forwarded my letter from Rutland, by way of some out port. The principal occasion of my writing it was to inform you that the Speaker had a letter by Captain Hull from Mr DeBerdt,† dated in Sepr last, telling him that if the Province could prove any acts of oppression Govr Bernard had been guilty of, or could make out any damages they had sustained thereby, and would send him over a Power of Attorney, he would prosecute him now he was in England. It was by accident I heard this letter read the evenr it came to hand, but have heard no more of it since, and it betrays such a falling off, or doubt concerning the validity of what has been transmitted, that I question whether it will be made public or not."

* Franklin is ashamed of this low vice in his countrymen. He writes—"You will do well to avoid being concerned in the pieces of personal abuse, so scandalously common in our newspapers, that I am afraid to lend any of them here till I have examined and laid aside such as would disgrace us," &c. —'Private Correspondence,' i. 122, 2nd edit.

† He was agent in England for the Assembly in Mass.

After the departure of Governor Bernard,* the administration of affairs devolved on Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, pending further instructions from England. There is a memorandum in Mr. Hutchinson's handwriting in a Boston almanac of 1770, which has not hitherto seen the light, and which may be given here. It is this :—" At the close of the year there is a surprising change in the temper of the people. The confederacy in all the governm^{s} against importing seemed in the latter end of the summer to be breaking to pieces. A proposal was made by the southern gov^{ts} for a general meeting by Committees to consider about a relaxation, and enlarging the number of articles to be imported. The Boston trade, as they called themselves, declined meeting, and resolved strictly [?] to adhere to non-importation. New York first broke the ice: and instead of calling a general meeting, their Aldermen of each Ward enquired of his Ward whether each one was for importation or non-importation? And it appeared that a majority was for importation; and the merchants immediately wrote for their goods, and by this means procured a large supply of fall goods. Philadelphia stood out till it was too late; and Boston waited to see what Philadelphia would do, and tho' they both finally came in, yet they came too late to have their fall goods. In the midst of this struggle came the order to withdraw the garrison at the Castle in the pay of the Province, and to place there a garrison of the regular forces;† soon after arrived Com^{e} Gambier with the other men-of-war, to make this place the rendezvous instead of Halifax: and tho' people at first talked big, yet, as soon as they saw the resolution of Parliament, they became dispirited. The Assembly also found it in vain to contend against the Courts sitting at Cambridge, and, finally, impartial juries acquitted all the persons who had been charged wth murder in King Street; and such doctrine was advanced by the Court concerning the soldiers being a lawful assembly, and having a right to kill all who attacked them with clubs, &c., upon their posts, that all were silenced. Some time after the trials were over, J. A—s, under the signature of *Vindex*, in

* Sir Francis Bernard died at his seat near Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, on Wednesday evening, June 16, 1779.—Gov. H. Diary.

† Hutch. 'Hist. of Mass.,' iii. 308.

E. & G. paper, bro't the souldiers upon trial again: but some of the papers are beginning to be answered by the Attorn. Gen., M^r^ Sewall, by the name of *Philanthrop*, and the others will be sufficiently exposed."

Apparently as an afterthought, or as a subsequent addition to the preceding, the following expression of opinion was added:—

"Prejudice never appeared stronger than in the narrative drawn up by M^r^ Bowdoin. The whole design of it seems to have been to make the Comiss^s^ obnoxious, meerly [*sic*] to support his son-in-law, Mr. Temple,* one of them, who, engaged in a separate interest, flattering himself that if he could overthrow the Board, he should be restored to his place as Surveyor General. The depositions of the witnesses, reduced into form by M^r^ Dana, principally are calculated to persuade the people in England that guns were fired out of y^e^ Custom House, and such a circumstance as the flash of one or more of the guns being higher than the rest, is printed in italicks, and remarks in y^e^ narrative, that they must come from the chamber of y^e^ Custom House."

It may be as well just to observe, that not only did the soldiers outside the Custom House in the street fire in self-defence when attacked by the mob, but it was further said by their accusers, that other soldiers inside the Custom House fired out of window. The arguments raised upon this stirred up a good deal of bad blood, but the assertion was not sustained at the trial.

On the blank leaves bound up at the end of the same almanac there is a long account beginning in these words: "5. The Trial of the 8 soldiers began the November, and held till the 5 December," &c. Also, further on: "Remarks upon a Letter from Jno. Hancock & others, a Committee of the Town of Boston, to Gov. Pownall, Printed in the Gen. Mag. in Ap. 1770." Also, still further on: "The Case of Capt. Thomas Preston of the 29th Reg." And, as a sequel to this: "The Trial of the four persons charged with firing out of the

* The same Mr. Temple who afterwards fought a duel with Mr. Whately in England, the quarrel arising out of the subject of the purloined letters.

Custom House," &c. Also a meeting of the Overseers of the College at Cambridge, with disputes respecting the Governor's right to remove the Assembly from Boston to Cambridge. These manuscript accounts are more ample, and may differ in some slight degree from the printed narratives in the third volume of Governor Hutchinson's History, but they are not of sufficient importance to occupy the required space here.

There appears to be no allusion in the History to the King's order for proroguing the Council in January, 1770. A MS. note on this circumstance may be copied here, if it is only in deference to Mr. Pitts. "January 3rd. By the mail from New York I received his Majesty's Orders, communicated by Lord Hillsborough, to prorogue the Court to the 2nd Wednesday in March. The next morning I met as many of the Council as were in Town, being six only, & told them I had recd such orders; & caused to be read by the Secretary, part of the letter. I did not ask their advice, whether I should obey them, but as I had determined to issue a Proclamation that morning, I thought it no more than was due to them, to let them know it before it appeared in print, and I desired their advice upon the best method of spreading the news thro' the several parts of the Province, to prevent the Members from coming to town, as the meeting of the Court was to have been the 10th.

"Mr Pitts, when he heard the letter, stood up and began a speech in this manner: 'If this does not stir up the people, I do not know what will: and if people will still go on to import, nothing can be too bad for them.' I stopped him, and told him such language was by no means proper to be suffered, and desired he would use no more of it. He justified himself as meaning no harm. I told him, as he used the expression, 'stirring up the people,' it must be taken in an ill sense. When Capn Ewing [?] would have vindicated it, I desired him to forbear, and observed, that for us, with whom the authority of government was entrusted, to give the least countenance to opposition to government in the people, was a high breach of trust. He, Pitts, said—'I was much raised.' I replied, I was not ruffled. I thought his expressions very unwarrantable, and was bound to take notice of them. The rest who were present

were rather silent, & some seemed to disapprove of w^{t} was said. It was desired that no mention might be made abroad of what had passed, & it was agreed to; and orders were given to the Dep. Secretary and Clerk, who were present."

It was at this period that the Home Government judged it expedient to make alterations in the garrison at Castle William in Boston Harbour, and orders were sent out accordingly. The circumstances are related on pp. 307–9 of the third volume of Governor Hutchinson's 'History of Massachusetts,' but the draft of this case, as he has written it in the same almanac for 1770, is more ample than the printed version, and gives the words he used when he committed the custody of it to Colonel Dalrymple, which the other does not. For these reasons it is considered worth while to transcribe it verbatim from the almanac here. It runs thus:—

"About the middle of Aug. [1770] Gen. Gage wrote desiring me to consider of the best way of possessing the King's troops of Castle William, & withdrawing the provincial garrison if necessary. Col. Dalrymple sent to me that he desired to see me, when I should appoint, upon the subject. He had a letter at the same time, and seemed to suppose it was a thing to be executed rather than consulted upon. I told him I saw no more necessity at present, than for some time past, and wrote so to the General; & by the return of the post, he sent me an answer, that he agreed with me in sentiment, and I expected nothing more would be done till parliament met. But Septemb. 8th towards evening, an express came to me from Gen. Gage, at Milton,* with a letter from L^{d} Hillsborough, of 6th July, signifying his Majesty's pleasure, that I should withdraw the garrison in the pay of the Province from Castle William; and as soon as Gen. Gage should acquaint me with his directions, to an officer to take possession of it, that I should not fail to do what depended on me, to carry into execution that part of an order of His Majesty in Council of the same date, & accompanying this letter, which directs that this Fortress shall be garrisoned by His Majesty's regular troops. The General wrote to me, leaving the manner of

* Mr. Hutchinson's country estate, six miles from Boston.

executing these orders to me, and enclosed a letter to Col. Dalrymple, directing him to take possession, &c., & to shew his orders to me. I sent to Col. Dalrymple to come to me at Milton the next morning. We consulted together, and agreed to communicate the orders to no person. I mentioned to him a difficulty which might arise, unless I conformed to the Charter, which gives the Gov. the command of all Forts, & altho' I had no doubt I was obliged to obey the King's order, & withdraw the garrison, and place there a garrison of the King's troops, yet the supreme command in the Province ought to remain in me. He made a difficulty of taking a commission from me without consulting the General, and we parted with an intention that both of us should write the General, and supposed no inconvenience could arise from so long delay as the return of an express, & proposed Major Fordyce should set out the next morning. We agreed to meet together at the Secretary's at 8 o'clock. In the afternoon he sent me word from the Castle that Fordyce was not well, and desired me to send away the express the General had sent, with a letter he had wrote and sent to me. I sent him for answer that I should neither send his letter nor my own without further consultation upon so nice a subject, and depended upon seeing him at time & place proposed. Upon further consideration I was convinced that I could not justify the delay. The words of my orders were—'*you will not fail so soon*,' &c. I determined therefore to give an order for the withdraw [*sic*] of the garrison, and to place Dalrymple there with a garrison of Regulars, and this by virtue of my authority as Governor. When I saw him the next morning, I gave an order to Phillips to withdraw the garrison in the province pay, and to admit Col. Dalrymple to garrison the Castle with the regular forces, and immediately after went to Council, and acquainted them with the orders I had received—directed the Secretary to read the whole of the Order of the King in Council, and read myself such part of Lord Hillsborough's letter as related to it. Several said I could not refuse complying, and nobody pretended that I could; but M^r^ Bowdoin distinguished the stores and ammunition as belonging to the

Province, and moved to desire me to remove them before the Castle was delivered. I had enjoined them secrecy upon their oaths until I dismissed the Council, & further considered how far the injunction should extend. I desired M^r^ Bowdoin by no means to insist upon a motion. I told him it was such an invasion of the Prerogative as must hurt us exceedingly, but he would not stop it, and M^r^ Pitts, who has no sort of sense, seconded him. Several gentlemen condemned the motion; the Treasurer, Cap. Ewing, & particularly M^r^ Tyler, who read a paragraph of the Charter, which gives the Gov. the same command of the stores as the Fort itself; and there was so general a vote against the motion that Bowdoin and Pitts were silenced, tho' loth to give up. Somebody then asked whether the Governor was not, by the Charter, the person who was to appoint the Commander of Forts, and consequently would be considered as having still a paramount command? I answered, I should give up none of their right. If the Governor had, by Charter, such a command, I should still retain it. The Governor was to commit the custody, &c., of Forts to such persons as to him should seem meet. It now seemed meet to me to commit it to Col. Dalrymple. What my motive was, whether the King's Order, or my own judgment, was not matter of enquiry. Much was said of the hardship of being condemned unheard, of ex-parte examinations, &c.

"At one o'clock I dismissed them, confirming the injunction of secrecy no longer; and my chariot being at the door, I went immediately to Dorchester Neck, where I had ordered the Barge from the Castle, to be in waiting. As soon as I arrived at the Castle, & had spent a few minutes in Phillips's room, who had no command of his temper, being in a perfect distraction at so sudden a stroke, I sent for the Keys, & Col. Dalrymple coming into the State Room, his officers attending him, having first shewn him the form I intended to use, I delivered the Keys and possession of the Castle in the following words:—

"By virtue of authority derived from His Majesty's Commission to govern this Province according to the Royal Charter, and in obedience to His Majesty's special command signified

to me by the Right Honorable the Earl of Hillsborough, I commit to you the custody & government of His Majesty's Castle, to be garrisoned by such detachment of His Majesty's troops under your command as shall be judged necessary.

"When he looked over the paper which contained these words, he made no objection; but after he had taken the Castle he spoke, somewhat softly, 'By virtue of orders,' or 'in obedience to orders,' (as I judge; not perfectly hearing what preceded the word 'orders')—'from General Gage I receive the same.'"*

The following, dated Nov. 8, is worth giving as a sequel to the preceding:—

"Nov. 8.—Cap^{n} Heath, and two more, a Com^{e} of the House, came to my lodgings at Cambridge, and acquainted me that they were a Committee of the House, appointed to take the Depositions of several persons, concerning the manner of surrendering the Castle; and they now waited upon me, to let me know, that I might be pres^{t} if I saw cause. I told him I knew not what he meant by a surrender of the Castle. He answered —A delivery to the King's troops. I told him I knew of no surrender nor delivery of the Castle from under my authority. If I had inclined to place him in the command of the Castle, instead of Cap. Phillips, I had good right to do it. I had done no more in placing Col. Dalrymple there, & could remove him when I thought proper. I asked who his witnesses were? He said, Cap. Phillips, and M^{r} Hall, the Chaplain. I told him I was under no concern about their Depositions, & should not attend. He said they were a Committee, and only desired to receive my answer, &c., and withdrew."

* The above bears evidence of having been hastily written. Perhaps it was the first rough draft from which the account in the History was derived. Vol. iii. p. 307.

CHAPTER II.

From these political disputes, which in time become rather wearisome, it will be a relief to turn to something of a milder and more domestic nature. It was the first design of the editor, when planning out the compilation of this volume, to exclude everything bearing on private or family concerns, as such matters might not be likely to afford much amusement to the public. The tastes among readers, however, are infinite in their variety. There are some to whom a chapter on biographical incidents will be a relief; and there are many who have no delight in tracing out the rise and progress of colonial history. And when it came to the actual trial, of weeding out of the MSS. every allusion of a personal kind, it was found to be something like knocking out every tenth link in a chain, or every fifth link, as the case might be, so that the iron chain would be reduced to a number of separate scraps and bits, and the sense and continuity of the literary chain would be broken in the same way. It was hard to know what to do. Further on, in the Governor's Diary, the difficulties promised to be still greater, as the occasional personal allusions are so woven in with the other parts, as to forbid pulling out the pegs that held the framework together. Be all this however as it may, what says the third volume of Governor Hutchinson's history of Massachusetts, published so long ago as 1828? A volume there proposed some day to be printed is spoken of as intended to be a biographical volume. This contemplated biographical volume is thus promised at p. xiii of the preface:—

"In the present publication," it says, "the editor adverts to the leading events in the life of his ancestor only so far as may serve the object of doing justice to the favourable circumstances in which he was placed for writing a faithful account

of his country and times, reserving many and curious details for the more appropriate department of a biographical volume."

From these words it may be urged that the retention of personal anecdotes is fully justified, indeed it is fully enjoined.

The oldest MS. still remaining in the family is a little "sixteen-mo" book, about an inch thick, whole bound in dark-brown leather, and which had once belonged to Thomas Kellond, for his autograph occurs in several places. This Thomas Kellond, together with Thomas Kirke, had been sent out from England in 1661, to search for and apprehend the regicides Goffe and Whalley, who had escaped to America.* Abigail Hutchinson, the Governor's aunt, married Kellond for her second husband, and it was through this connection, probably, that the book got into the family; but it was brought still closer when the said Abigail, for her third husband, married Colonel John Foster, whose eldest daughter Sarah, by his former wife, married the Governor's father—a strange complication. The book was originally entirely blank, but the first 96 pages are filled with Latin exercises, written in a boyish hand. After she married Kellond, she seems to have utilised the unoccupied portion for her domestic accounts and household expenses; and many of these are worth copying, as they give us a notion of the habits of life, and the market prices of food in Boston at an early period. Her

* See 'Collection of Original Papers,' 1st edit., p. 334, or 2nd edit., p. 52. During the time that Goffe was skulking for his life in caves and hiding-places in various parts of the New England colonies, suffering much privation and not a few hair-breadth escapes, he kept a journal, of a most interesting and valuable kind, which has frequently been inquired for by the curious. Mr. Hutchinson had been for twenty years collecting historical documents of all kinds, and, presumably through Kellond, he acquired possession of this journal. It is enough to say that it has not been seen since the night of August 26, 1765, when the mob sacked his house, and destroyed or stole everything in it. The following is taken from a public print:—

"The Signatories of King Charles's Death Warrant.—Of the fifty-nine persons who signed the warrant for the execution of King Charles the First, twenty-four died before the Restoration of Charles the Second; twenty-seven, judges and others, were taken, tried, and condemned; some of these were pardoned; but fourteen—nine being judges—were executed. Sixteen of the signatories averted their fate by flight, three of whom, Major-General Edward Whalley, Major-General William Goffe, and Colonel John Dixwell—escaped to New England, where they died, after an exile of nearly thirty years."

caligraphy is peculiar, and her orthography still more so, and it is impossible to compliment her on either. The lines are very irregular, and in the cash accounts the figures are rarely placed under one another, so that it is often hard to understand what is meant:—

[Page 71.]

Abigail Kellond
John Coleman J
1687 Abigail Kellond
July paid fuller the
27 butcher

Sarah staid at home one week
and did not work another
of this quarter

Abigaill staid at home 3 weeks

[Page 72.]

octob 1 1685
a lent M^{r} balard at
twice 12 pound

---

thomas Adkins D^{r} 486.
as followeth 36 pound mony
pound
615 by M^{r} fownds
4 pound by M^{r} Carter
317 of M^{r} Witcomb

	L	s	d
lent M^{r} Adkins [blot]	L	s	d
more mony—31—10	L	s	d
1686		19	16

May 21th John Stphens

	s	d
D^{r} to Clothe salt & vinager	s	d
more one ½ pound	37 ·	9*

* It is hard to explain the figures, and not always easy to make out what they are; and owing to the absence of stops, and the original spelling of many of the words, the sense in many cases is not very obvious. The horizontal lines are drawn across the pages in the original.

	s	d
whited brown thred	2	6
more one gallon vinager	1	6

[Page 73.]

had of John Willams

one line of ueal :— —
one sholder of muton
one line of ueal :— —
one leg of muton 36
one line of ueal 65 [or 615]
4
one peace of beeff 28

Boston febr 6 1684*

paid John williams
and cloasd all acompts

one leg of muton 36
one qarter of veal 615
a parsel beef 4
a qarter lamb 1 11
a qarter of lamb
a shoulder of muton
a leg of muton

[Page 77.]

Mr Adkins Dr 36 pound
in mony

---

had of John Smith
one neeck of veal
one peece of beefe 11
one peece of beefe 6
one peece of beefe 13
one peece of beefe — — 10

* The mems. have not been entered regularly and chronologically, and this is the earliest date in the book.

one quarter of lamb £ 103*
one peece of beefe — — 10
a parsel of beef — — 30
one toungue 3 pound
of suet one qurter [*sic*]
of lamb — — —
one leg of veal 5 pound
May
25 a necke of veal
July a quar [*sic*] lamb 17 a brest veal
13 24 a neats toungue
August 27 a quarter lamb
one peece beef.†

[Page 80.]

Boston may—[blotted out] 1686
6 lent M^rs viall widow /
forty shiling in mony
lent samll Adams in mony
four [? blotted] pound
lent M^r ffownes . £1 =
lent M^r frost . . £. 10
July cash [blot], to Joseph
10 townesend in part : 13
28 paide m^rs viall for
milke
John Strang C^r one firkin
butter waigin [weighing] 68 pound
lent M^rs paige at
twice . . . . . £2 : 10 ·

[Page 81.]

Thomas Adams D^r Ja$\bar{n}$ 11^th^ $8\frac{5}{6}$
due to me when made up a$\bar{c}$p^mt^
twenty pounds fiue shillings . . £20 : 5

* The figures in the book are not placed one under another.
† The butcher's account need not be pursued further.

By Thomas Baker & 1 [blot] silk .	£ 5:10=
more for suger .	£ 0 14
by Iron & goods 16—16.9.6 . .	£ [blotted]
by mony	£79 16
more mony	£ 6: 0 0
tow groos butons	£ :=9 : 0
by m[r] thornton	£ 5 : 0 0
more mony	£:12=0 0
more mony	£ 2=0 0
more 2 hhds malases	£ 6=0 0
more mony	£50=0 0
more mony	£26=0 0
one p searg [piece of serge ?] . .	£ 3=10 „
six thousand bords*	8 6
more mony	£15=0 0
for the well	£10=17=

[Page 83.]

the feather man C[r] 200 15 neat
hundreds at 10[d] p pound 8 : 19 : 2†

---

ditto is D[r] six pound three shil
ings & six pence paid himself

Cash is D[r] to M[r] Nelson by
M[r] Indecot for M[r] hoby
& myself this 8[th] July
1686 . . . . . £10 : 00

Thomas Hunt is D[r] for one
tun Iron . . . . £22 :

Augt 2[d] William Rent [or Kent]
D[r] to one pipe madera wine

* Bords for boards, or cords.

† This is 215 pounds of feathers at 10*d.* per pound, which come to £8 19s. 2*d.*

[Page 87.]

paid goodman farm [or farne] .	£ 1 0 0
paid M[r] Cheekley	£ = 15
paid stephen minot [?] . . .	£312*
paid the women for making the girls gouns	
things belonging	£20 =
paid tow men	£ = 7 =
a fan	£ = 5 =
tow pare black glous [gloves] .	£ 1 =
pare black silk stock ings kneet	£ = 16
tow scarfs tow hoods . . .	£ 3 = 4
63 [? blotted] yds allamods at 4 p yds	3 ~~0 0 0~~ £13 = 8 : 6
peece black ribon	£ 1 = 8 =
M[r] Rise	£ 1 = 10
mecarte	£10 = 19 : 2
savage	£16 : 2 : 5
Adams shoumaker	1 10

[Page 89.]

Roger Kilcup [?]	£:50 : 4 00
M[r] foxcraft	£: 8 = 8
M[r] Cooper	£: 1 = 10
M[r] foster	£ = 6 6
M[r] Driver	£ = 6 =
shous for the girls † . . .	= 16 =
the negros cloths	1 = 15

[Page 92.]

M[rs] Page D[r] for	14 Aug.
gall vinager	
more vinager	6 gall
more vinager	2 gall

* Probably £3 12*s*.

† By "the girls" is probably intended Col. Foster's two daughters, for they were then unmarried. The eldest, Sarah, did not marry the Governor's father till 1703, and Lydia did not marry till 1706.

more vinager 2 gall
more vinager 2 gall
March the 2 gall
25 fild the Cask 2 gall
2 gall

1693 July the 17 we
washt the 21 paid
nurs

Apraell 4th paid nurs
for washing

[Page 101.]

I paid Jone [?] for
washing the 30
seneary *

Margery went
into the ssout †
the 6 day of August
99 beads on Sarah Hutcinsons [*sic*]
necklace and 502 [*i.e.* 52] on Abigails
necklace
50 : 4 : beads on Abigaills
gold necklace
To make an Almond Pudding ‡
Take 6 ounces allmonds one quart
of cream 16 [or 18] eggs 8 whits and to
yolkes 8 yolks only spice rosewo
puff paste bottom and edge of dish

[Page 114.]

Boston August 13 ·710
Cesar § cared [carried] Mr Mather
to Roxbury

* I am at a loss about this word.

† The initial letters are two long ss or two letters f. The t is at the edge of the page. Perhaps the word *south* was intended.

‡ This receipt is repeated at p. 103.

§ Cæsar, probably a negro. About this time he was frequently employed to carry or convey members of the family or others to different places, as to chapel or lecture.

15 cared me to Rox
17 M^r^ foster to lectter [lecture]
and me to Raunds
24 cared us on to [?] the
comon *
28 five a clock went
to minister Alin
29 cared M^r^ foster to
Rox
03 † to lecter & comon
6
september cared M^r^
foster to Rox ‡ 7 M^r^ foster §
again to Rox
and me to M^r^ Alen

[Page 115.]

september 14^th^ 1710.

cared me to lectur
21 cared me to M^r^ Alens &
to lecttur
26 cared me to M^r^ Alens
burring ‖ 27 cared me
to M^r^ Gibes 28 carred
me to lectur October
5 carred me to letcture [*sic*]
11 caed [*sic*] me to M^r^ Coueles [?]
13 cared me to letctur
19 cared me to lectur
26 carred me to letcter

* Boston Common, close to the city.

† The figures are here reversed. It should be 30.

‡ Roxbury was a village a mile south of Boston; but the buildings have advanced, and they now join.

§ After Kellond's death she married Col. John Foster, and perhaps this is the same.

‖ Burying or burial, I presume. The name of Mr. Alen, or Allen, does not occur again.

27 carred me to M^r^ Stoda^d^ [edge of page]
2
November [blot] carred
me to lectur

[Page 116.]

Nouember 6^th^

carred me to M^r^ wal
9 carred me to lectur
23 carred me to
lectetur
Foster went to schooll to
M^r^ Harris the 9 day of July *

1711 May the 17 1711
Elizabeth Mason came to live at
service with me for 6 pound wages [blot]
the beginning of June paid her 5 shillings
the latter end of June she recived of me
18 yards of say at 15 pence per yard
11 of August paid her 5 shillings the
26 of september paid her 10 shillings
the 16 of October paid her 10 shillings
the 17 of November her half year
was up 8 and 6 pence being due I paid
her and 10 shillings towards another
half year
shilling
1711 Foster went to school to M^r^ Owen to larne
to read and write the 9 day of July
and the 9 of October being a quart
of year I paid him 10 shillings
9 of January a quarter.

* This last sentence, and to the end of the page, is in a different and a better handwriting, namely, the handwriting of Sarah, eldest daughter of Col. Foster, who married the Governor's father. The Foster here spoken of was the Governor's elder brother, born September 18, 1704, and died in the autumn of 1721, aged 17.

[Page 117.]

1711 September the 10
Martha Pue came to suckle my
child Thomas Hutchinson * for 6
shillings per week and 4 weeks
after this nurse came on monday
the 8 of October I paid her 1 : 4
the 3 of December being 8 weeks
after [obliteration] 2 : 8 being due for that
time I paid her the said third day
of December 3 weeks after being
the 20 second of December paid
her 18 shillings

$17\frac{11}{12}$
March the 18 Ann Wakefield came
to live with me

1713 Mary Adams came the

October the 8 Sarah Hutchinson †
was sent to school to M^rs^ trivet
for 4 pence a week the third day
of December being 8 weeks after
I paid her 2 : 8 the 14 of January
paid her 2 shillings the 10 of march
paid her 2 shillings 8^d^

[Page 119.]

1713 had of M^rs^ Coosen of Roxbury
upon Account of Thomas Hutch
inson sundrys fowls eggs ‡

* This was afterwards the Governor. He was born the day before, that is, on the 9th of September, being a Sunday, in the year 1711. On page 118, and in another handwriting, the nurse's surname is spelt Pew.

† This child Sarah was born in 1706, and was now seven years old. She married Mr. Welsted, one of their ministers of repute. She died in 1775.

‡ If this is Thomas the child, now aged two years, the amount of eggs, chickens, cakes, and butter consumed, speaks well for his early digestive powers. I only select those where the prices are clearly indicated, for the sake of comparison with present prices.

1715
June 5 chickens 8^{p} piece
7 chickens at 7^{p} piece
1716
June To 6 chickens 6^{pe} 3 :
1717 Aprill To 3 pound of butt^{er} 1 : 8
May To 4 pound of Butter
at 10 pence per pound : 3 4

[Page 122, near the bottom.]

1717
June 11 Entered Abigaill Hutchinson *
To lẽrn To Dance
July 19 Entered Sarah Hutchinson
Nove^{ber} to cash paid M^{r} Justice [?]
for Abigaill 4 pound

[Page 124, near the bottom.]

1719
Aprill 13th 80 : 6 golld beads on Lydias
neeck lace
99 on one of Abigails
96 on the other

[Page 128.]

1716 november 16
susanna Cader [or Cadeer] came
into my house as dry nurse

Decem^{ber}	To cash paid her	1	4	:
Janu^{ry}	To cash paid her	1	4	:
Marc^{h}	To cash paid her	2	8	:
Aprill	To cash paid her	1	:	:
May	To cash paid her	1	:	:

* Most of the entries in this part of the book have subsequently been crossed out with a pen. I do not find the exact date of Abigail's birth recorded. She is on the pedigree between Sarah, born 1706, and Thomas, born 1711. Abigail married John, son of Judge Davenport, and had a daughter. Secondly, William Merchant, and had no further issue.

June To 12 yards linnen
cloth at 3ˢ and 2ᵖ per ʸᵃʳᵈ 1 : 18
Agust To cash paid her 1 2

1717
November To cash Lent
7o 9 beaᵈˢ Susanna Cadeer 3
on Sarahs necklace
1718 June the 17 Paid Mʳˢ Tuck
For Sarah and Abigaill
Hutchinsons scholling [*sic*] 11ˢ 4ᵈ
1719
17 shillings and 3ᵈ recived
of me towards another quarᵗᵉʳ
from the 13ᵗʰ off January

[Page 129.]

1718 June 16 To Cash paid
Mʳˢ Wooddell for Elisha *
and hannahs schooling 3ˢ
4 pence due to me

1719

[Page 130.]

1717 † June the 7ᵗʰ
Emme ipps came into
my house to sukle my
Child Lydia for 7ˢ and
6ᵈ per week ‡
[Here follow sums paid to her.]
98 beads on 1 string
1004 on the other string
of my golld necklace

* This child Elisha was born in 1715 or 1716, and died August 2, 1739. Hannah, born in 1714, was now four years old. She subsequently married the Rev. Samuel Mather.

† The dates are very irregularly entered, and do not follow in their proper order.

‡ Lydia subsequently married Mr. George Rogers, and left two children, namely, Nathaniel, who died about 1770, and a girl, I believe called Sarah, who died in 1776. Lydia died about 1745.

[Page 132.]

1717 Abigaill Hutchinson
June 11 Entered with Mr Eustant [?]
To Learn to Dance

		£	s	d
Entrance	1	:		
Decber 11	6 months To Cassh	4	:	:
Jany 11				
July 11	6 months To Cassh	4	:	:
October 11	3 months To Cassh	2	:	:

Annah Barrell Came
to live with me may 5th
1719

[Page 133.]

July 9 1717 Sarah Hutchinson
Entered To Learn

nothing		£	s	
Janry	To Dance For Entrance	1	:	:
Febry	To cassh paid him	4	:	:
August 10	To cassh paid him	4	:	:
Novebber 10	To cassh paid him	2	:	:

[Page 135.]

Feabry the 14th 1721
Elizabeth Waters Came
Into my house to Suckle
my child * for 8s per
week

[Page 138.]

1723 May the 14th
Elizabeth Flag [or Hag †] of Wobory

* There is a blank left for the name of the child, possibly not then decided on. Judging by the ages of the other children, it is likely to have been Hawkins, which child did not survive long.

† The word Flag or Hag is blotted, and therefore uncertain. The child Elizabeth died young. There were two more children born to the Governor's father and mother, but they are not mentioned in Kellond's book, for here

To Cassh paid her for
Suckling my child
Elizabeth Hutchinson
8^{s} per week

The rest of the book is blank, with the exception of one or two chance entries. Thus, William, or Billy, the Governor's youngest son, has been trying to write his name, with the date 1762, on page 143, when he was nine years old. And the same young hand, in the same year, on page 155, has scrawled the rough draft of a letter, thus :—"To mr Joseph Turell of Boston Feb 25 1762 Sir I Should Be Glad if Would lend me 3 V of Cato Yr." At page 240 we have the words—"Thomas Kellond His book," and the name is several times written at page 246.

A considerable portion of Chapter XIII. of the second volume of Palfrey's 'History of New England' is devoted to the Regicides, and to the efforts of Kellond and others to apprehend them. Whalley died about 1674, and Goffe in 1679 or 1680; and the earliest date in Kellond's book, by the hand of Abigail Hutchinson, is Feb. 6, 1684.

It is recorded at page 117 of this book, that Thomas Hutchinson's wet nurse, Martha Pue, or Pew, was engaged on the 10th of September, 1711, and in some family memorandums of this Thomas, afterwards the Governor, written by him at the end of the fifth volume of his Diary, he gives us some biographical particulars of his early life, schooling, and education, not to be found elsewhere. Thus, he writes of himself:—

"Thomas Hutchinson, son of the last mentioned Thomas Hutchinson, was born in Boston, Sunday, September 9th, 1711, about 11 o'clock in the evening; and was the first person born in the house which had been built between twenty and thirty

---

the family memorandums end. The next child was Foster, born in 1724, the Governor's younger brother, who survived and grew up, and married a daughter of Gen. Mascarene, and left a family. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he removed to Halifax in Nova Scotia, and there his descendants continued to reside. They have long since, however, died out in the male line, and the only representative now remaining of Foster's branch is Mr. William John Stirling.

years, and which afterwards came to him by inheritance.* In March, 1717, being about 5 years and ½ of age, he was admitted into the North Grammar School, of which M^r^ Thomas Bernard, afterwards Minister of Andover, was then master. In July, 1723, he entered the College in Cambridge, M^r^ Leveret being then President.

"It was part of the exercise of the scholars to read a verse or two each out of a Latin Testament into Greek every evening at prayer time, before prayer in the Hall; and it was a practice of some, to take a leaf of the Greek Testament, & put into the Latin Testament, which was termed *hogueing*. Young Hutchinson was tempted once to follow so bad an example; but guilt appeared so strong in his face, that the President ordered him to shew his book, which he did in great confusion, and received this severe reproof—*A te non expectavi*, and a small pecuniary punishment. The first part made the deepest impression, and cured him of the disease of hogueing for the rest of the time he remained at college.

"Being left to himself, he studied little more than the common recitations; and after four years was little better qualified for the degree of Batchelor of Arts, which he received in 1727, than when he first entered. All the time he was at College he carried on a little trade by sending ventures in his father's vessels, & kept a little paper Journal & Leger [*sic*], & entered in it every dinner, supper, breakfast, & every article of expense, even of a shilling; which practice soon became pleasant; & he found it of great use all his life, as so exact a knowledge of his cash kept him from involvement, of which he would have been in danger.† And having been a very few instances negligent in this respect for a short time only, he saw the consequence of this neglect in a very strong light, and became more observant ever after.

* This was the town house that was destroyed by those who practised the third, or superlative degree of liberty, according to Burke's classification. Burke will not be forgotten further on, where there is a rod in pickle waiting for him. Note at end of Ch. VII.

† As so many books and other objects are known to have been destroyed in August, 1766, we are disposed to assign all losses to that event. It may not have been so in this case, though nothing is now known of such a journal.

"When he left College he went into his father's counting house, and became a Merchant Apprentice, from 17 years to 21. He saw how much he had neglected his studies at College, and applied to his school master, (who succeeded M^r^ Bernard, and whose tuition he was under about five years), and desired he would allow him to spend two or three evenings in a week in going over some of the Latin Classicks, which he readily consented to. In a short time he acquired a relish for the Latin tongue, which he never lost. Soon after he put himself under M. Le Mercier, the French Minister, and then began to learn the French tongue; but Monsieur Langloiseier,* arriving at Boston soon after, in Gov. Burnet's family, & M^r^ Lidius of Albany, who had lived and married in Canada, and M^r^ Chardon, a young gentleman of fortune from London, being also in Boston, a French Club was formed, of which the three gentlemen above named were members, and M^r^ Gridley, the Lawyer, M^r^ Jo. Greene, Lovell, and two or three more New England young gentlemen were members, & the whole conversation was to be in French.

"In these ways he acquired a competent knowledge of the Latin & French, accustoming himself to reading authors in both languages, and at length he found very little difficulty in either. History was his favourite study; and when a boy, before he went to College, he chose rather to spend an evening in reading Morton's 'New England Memorial,' Church's 'History of the Indian War,' Dr. Mather's 'Lives of the N. England Governors,' &c., than to be at play with boys in the street. And he had made some advances in the English History. The tragical account of K. Charles's sufferings and death hapning [*sic*] to fall into his hands, tho' it produced tears, he went through it with eagerness; and Baker's 'Chronicle,' and Fox's 'Martyrology,' being among his father's books, afforded him much entertainment.

"Until he was about 22 he spent too much of his time with gay company. Lieutenant Hawke, afterwards Admiral, & Lord Hawke, D^r^ Bruce, Officers of the station ship, Cap. Durell, L^d^ Augustus Fitzroy, George Townsend Franklin, both

* Or Langloise in.

afterwards Admirals; Jack Hardy, George Durell, were midshipmen, and all acquainted. In 1732 Gov. Belcher, going in the man-of-war to Casco Bay, upon a treaty with the Indians, and young M^r^ Hutchinson being one half owner of a new sloop, he put ten guns on board; and with the Governor's son Andrew, & six or eight more young gentlemen on board the sloop, he went down in her to the treaty, where he spent 8 or 10 days.

"Before he came of age he had, by adventuring to sea from two or three quintalls * of fish, given him by his father, when about 12 years old, acquired four or five hundred pounds sterling.

"When he was about 22 years of age he first became acquainted in M^rs^ Cotton's family in Boston. She was then the widow of the Minister of Bristol, her first husband being M^r^ Sanford, a gentleman of Newport†, who left three daughters and a good estate, which they took as co-heirs. The eldest about 18, the next 16, and the youngest 10 years old; & though all agreeable, the eldest, called the handsomest of the three. After gallanting them to three or four assemblies, concerts, &c., M^r^ Hutchinson's acquaintance began to banter him with the danger of the marriage noose, and it was natural to suppose the eldest to be the object of his pursuit; and as his visits were general, and at first they were alike to him, she herself might well enough suppose it to be natural; but this did not long remain a secret. After a short time the eldest made a journey to Newport for a week or ten days. M^r^ Hutchinson then let the second know the wound she had given, & which she only could cure; and with her allowance he applied to her mother for liberty to be more constant in his visits, which was granted; and when her eldest sister was expected from Newport, he waited on the second, to meet her at dinner at Dedham, and his attentions were so much engaged by this time, that the eldest sister and the rest of the company were at no loss where he had made his choice. From this time he forsook all his former evening acquaintance,

* A hundred pounds weight.
† Newport, Rhode Island.

and found the truth of what he remembered in the *Spectator*, the time of his courtship being the happiest time of life he had seen; and though he had a handsome fortune in prospect, he determined that if it should be utterly lost, no other person in the world, let her fortune have been what it would, could have broke off the match. He married Margaret Sanford May 16th 1734, being in his 23rd year, and she not completing 17 until the 10th of June following.* The 16th of May he never failed for 19 years successively celebrating as the happiest day of his life, making it a constant practice to invite his relations and nearest friends to dine with him on the occasion. In 1735 he was admitted a member of the Church of which Mr Welsted was minister. In the year 1737 he was chosen a selectman for the town of Boston. This early notice of his townsmen was not a little pleasing to him; and the pleasure was much increased when a month or two after, he was chosen one of the Representatives of the town, the other three being the famous Elisha Cooke, Thomas Cushing, and Timothy Prout.

"The paper currency of the Province was the subject which took up the attention of the people. The depreciation of it occasioned great inequality and injustice in all trade and dealing. The major voice of the people, notwithstanding, was for postponing the funds [?] for drawing it in, and for making further emissions. His mind was known to be contrary to the mind of the people. He was nevertheless again elected the

* It may be remembered that he was no alien to the Sanford family, inasmuch as Bridgetta Hutchinson had married John Sanforde four generations before. It was a fortunate marriage, as it enables me to edit these notes. The elder sister, Mary, married Lieut.-Governor Andrew Oliver, whose daughter Sarah was my grandmother, so that I have the blood of both sisters in my veins. The Sanford armorials were—Ar a chief Gu., and these co-heiresses gave them to their descendants. The youngest sister Grizel, then ten years old, never married. She went with her relations to England, and died of age and infirmity. In the fragmentary diary of Elisha H., she is mentioned as being in Sackville Street, London, under date October 11, 1779. Nine years after, namely, August 24, 1788, the following notice occurs—"Walked to Kensington Square, and found Mrs. Sanford as well and in as good spirits as when I saw her there two years & a half ago." The writing has nearly faded out. She survived till 1792. In the diary of Dr. Peter Oliver these words are found—"1792, October 28. Aunt Sanford died at Brompton, aged 73, helpless & speechless."

next year; but the party for paper money intended to put it out of his power to hurt them, by preparing a set of instructions enjoining the represent[s] to promote the continuing the funds and the emitting more paper bills. When the Instructions were reported in town meeting, M[r] Hutchinson publickly argued against them, as iniquitous, and declared that he should not observe them.

"Mr. Balston, a vociferous man, called out 'Choose another Represent[e], M[r] Moderator;' but this was not seconded, nor could it be done. He publickly and zealously opposed the measures in the house, and the next year, 1739, lost his election. Being the summer of that year in company with several of the Representatives of his acquaintance, and divers other persons at the Castle, where a man was very ill with a putrid fever, and the day being hot, and a close air, and the evening, while they were upon the water, very cool, he was not many days after, seized with a violent putrid fever, as were also, within a few days, almost the whole of the company, and other persons who were at the same time at the Castle, to the number of near 40 in all.

"He lay several weeks, great part of the time his life despaired of; and at length was left, or rather after having been on recovery, fell into a languishing state. He had three of the most eminent physicians, who agreed upon the bark in tincture, which after having always produced a large evacuation, and brought him a second time to death's door, and the country air was advised to. He went to M[r] Taylor's at Milton, and by direction, carried his bark with him.

"As soon as M[r] Taylor saw it and heard the effects, he would not suffer him to take any more; and after abstaining three or four days, confining himself to milk and vegetable diet, he was able to sit on a horse; and from walking, soon came to a gentle pace and trot, and in three or four weeks was perfectly well. His three physicians were Perkins, Davis, and Boylstone. Davis came to see him after being two or three days in the country; thought he was better, and asked if he followed prescriptions? Finding he had not taken the bark, he broke out, 'They may quack you up a little while,

but you will never be a well man again;' and went off in a passion. The other two were more candid.

"In 1740 he was again elected a Representative for Boston. This year was famous for the Land Bank, a most iniquitous scheme, set afoot by M^r^ John Colman, a needy merchant, opposed by the principal merchants in town and province, and supported by men in the country towns, and most of them of little property. The merchants set up what they called a Silver Scheme, issuing notes to be redeemed in ten years with silver. M^r^ H. favoured neither, but considered the latter as without any fraudulent purpose, which he did not think could be the case with the former. The H. of Representatives in general favoured the first.

"The determination of the line between Massachusetts and N. Hampshire had taken from Massachusetts a great tract of country, the inhabitants whereof desired to return; and they, with the proprietors, petitioned the King that the land might be restored to the Jurisdiction by which they were granted. M^r^ Hutchinson was chosen, at a meeting of such proprietors and inhabitants, their agent, to sollicite their petitions, and sailed for London in the *John Galley* the 1^st^ November, and arrived at Dover the 28^th^, after a very blustering winter passage, in a ship very deep laden.* He would probably have succeeded in his application, if his principals had not failed in furnishing necessary evidence of some facts, the notoriety of which it was supposed supplied the want of evidence. After waiting in England until autumn in 1741, and longing to return to his native country, and to his family, he left his business with his friend M^r^ Eliakim Palmer, and sailed from the Downs the 11^th^ of October, in the *Earl of Gainsborough*, Captain Carey, a fine new ship of 350 tons,

* The first letter in the series of bound volumes, blue leather backs, folio size, is written from London to his wife, the date being April 13, 1741. The series comes regularly down, the first volume ending with 1779, the second with 1800, and the third with 1880. The letters in these volumes speak more or less of matters referring to America. There is also another volume of similar size and binding, containing the letters of Elisha Hutchinson to his wife, during the three years they were separated, owing to the war. He accompanied his father to England in 1774, and she could not get a passage and follow him till September, 1777.

and landed at Cape Cod the first of December, and crossed in a small scooner to Barnstable, and from thence by land to Boston.* He does not remember, through his whole life, any joy equal to that of meeting his wife again, after 13 months' absence. At the election in Boston for Members, he failed of a vote; but M^r^ Allen, one of the members, being chosen into the Council, M^r^ Hutchinson was chosen for the town in his stead, and continued to be chose annually until 1749. In 1746 and the two next years he was Speaker of the House. His brother-in-law, M^r^ Oliver, was set up against him; each gave his vote for the other, and M^r^ Hutchinson had only a majority of one vote. In the afternoon he gave his vote for M^r^ Oliver, who was chose of the Council. From 1742 to 1749 some, and generally all the Town Members, were considered as of the Country Party, and he of the Court.† M^r^ Allen and M^r^ Tyng particularly were very opposite to him. While he was Speaker M^r^ Allen was expelled for something virulent against the Governor, a charge of consenting to a villainous law, of which the Speaker took notice; and M^r^ Allen, several days refusing any explanation or acknowledgment of his fault, was expelled, and being re-elected by the town, the House refused to admit him.

"In 1745, a flag of truce coming from Louisburgh for exchange of prisoners, a balance upon settling the expense was due to the Frenchman, who, in part of pay, desired three barrils [*sic*] of wood axes, for the use of the French wood-cutters. A report was thereupon spread that he had supplied the Frenchman w^th^ Indian hatchets, tomahawks, and other instruments of war, and upon a search of the vessel the casks were brought ashore in triumph, a brother of M^r^ Allen's being a Chief Manager; and though it appeared there was nothing but common wood axes, which was a common article of trade

* In 1880 there was printed at Boston, Mass., a volume containing the diaries of the two successive Judges Benjamen Lynde, father and son. This valuable contribution to history was privately printed, but by a preliminary notice it may be inferred that the reading world is indebted for it to the industry and the care of Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver. Under date December 2, 1741, we observe the following entry in the diary—"Breakfasted at M^r^ Hutchinson's, dined at M^r^ Jeffry's, supped at Wardell's." This was the very day after Mr. Hutchinson's return to America from England.

† In George II.'s reign, those who supported the King were the Court party; the Jacobites were the Country party.

with the French, still these were said to be capable of being used as war instruments. After much abuse, he was obliged to desire a certificate from the Governor that they were put on board by his order, which certificate he published in the newspapers.

"But nothing made him more obnoxious to great part of the people than his quarrel with paper money. So early in his life as the year 1736 he published a small pamphlet upon the subject,* and carried with him a manuscript of his composing to England; consulted S^r^ John Bernard† upon the provinces borrowing a sum sufficient to redeem it all; but the iniquity of a depreciating currency was too much known to fraudulent debtors, and not enough to honest creditors, to carry his scheme into practice. In 1747 there was application made for the reimbursement of the charges of the expedition against Louisburgh. The currency having sunk one half of its value, since that expedition, the sum expected would be near enough to redeem all the paper money extant. M^r^ H. being Speaker, laid a plan before the House for importing the grant in Spanish dollars, and exchanging with them the paper money, and making silver at 6*s.* 8*d.*‡ the ounce, or dollars at 6*s.* each, the only lawful tender for the future, and forbidding, on a severe penalty, the currency of paper for the future. This rather caused a smile, few apprehending he was in earnest; but upon his appearing very serious, out of deference to him as Speaker, they appointed a Committee, who for some months, tho' often called together, gave but little encouragement.§

* He was twenty-five. Nothing now seems to be known of this pamphlet.

† Not the Governor, who was Sir Francis Bernard.

‡ The figures are interlined, and are not very distinct.

§ On the fly-leaf at the beginning of his Almanac for 1770, he has jotted down the rates of silver for a long series of years. The memorandum stands thus:—

"Rates of Silver in—

1714	8/6	1734	25/-
—15	9/2	—37	26/6
—16–17	12/-	—38	27/-
—21	13/-	—39	28/6
—22	14/-	—44	30/-
—24–5	16/-	—45	36/-
—25–6	15/6	—46	36/- 38/-
—30	18/-		40/- & 41/-
—31	19/-	—47	50/-
—33	21/-		55/- & 60/-

"However, after persevering more than a year, the Bill was carried through. When it had passed, great part of the people was in a fury. M^r^ H. more than once was threatened with destruction from some of the people of the town, and his house taking fire on the top, the Lanthorn being in a blaze, some of the lower class cursed him, and cried 'Let it burn.' It was moved in Council to appoint a guard at his house in the country, which he desired might not be done; such was the infatuation, that it was common to hear men wish the ship with the silver on board might sink in her passage. At the election for Represent^s^ of Boston, in 1749, he failed of a vote by a great majority, this being the objection. He was, however, chosen into the Council that year by a great majority, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the Boston members. Scarce a year had expired after the exchange of the money before the people in general were perfectly satisfied, and sensible to such a degree of the benefits they enjoyed from it, that M^r^ H. was as much praised for his *firm*, as he had before been abused for his *obstinate*, perseverance.

"In November the 6^th^, 1752, the death of his mother was a heavy stroke; and in the summer of 1753 his brother and minister, M^r^ Welsted,* with whom he had lived in close friendship, was struck with the palsy in the pulpit, and died in a few days, to his great grief; but the 12^th^ of March took from him his wife, after she had been delivered four weeks. From the first of her danger he never left his house, and seldom her chamber. This was the loss of more than *dimidiam animæ suæ*, and the remembrance of her alone was sufficient to prevent him from all thoughts of another marriage. Such was his attachment, that she appeared, in body and mind, something more than human, and in his almanack he wrote these lines, from Thuanus,† upon the death of his wife:—

"'Jamque vale, mea lux, nuper mea sancta voluptas
Nunc tenebræ et gemitus, desideriumque perennes,
Donec honoratæ, decurso stamine, vitæ,
Post exantlatas, in publica commoda, curas,
Mors ærumnoso tandem me corpore, solvat,
Ett patriis, quo nunc præmitteris inserat, astris.'

* His eldest sister Sarah had married the Rev. Mr. Welsted. She survived him, and died February 4, 1775.

† Jacobus Augustus Thuanus, from his French name De Thou, a clever

"With her dying voice, and eyes fixed on him, she uttered these words—'best of husbands.'

"Two years before this, in April 1752, he was appointed Judge of Probate and Justice of the Common Pleas for the County of Suffolk, in the place of his uncle, Edw[d] Hutchinson, who died in March preceding.* It was his intention to quit all mercantile business for a happy retreat with his wife and children, to an house he had built in Milton. His attentions to these parts, and the business of the Gen[l] Assembly, was the only relief from the distress of his mind upon the death of his wife. He was employed from the year 1744 in most of the public treaties and negotiations as a Commissioner, and in 1749 was at the head of the Commission which settled peace with the Indians at Casco Bay; in 1754 was one of the Commissioners at the General Congress, by order of the King, at Albany. The other four, on the part of Mass. Bay, were Samuel Welles and John Chandler (T. H.), Oliver Partridge, and John Worthington. The same famous D[r] Franklin was one of the Commissioners from Pensilvania. He, with M[r] Hutchinson, were the Committee who drew up the plan of Union, and the representation of the state of the Colonies. The former was the projection of D[r] F., and prepared in part before he had any consultation with M[r] H., probably brought with him from Philadelphia; the latter was the draught of M[r] H.

"Upon M[r] Shirley's† going to England, in 1756, the Government came again to Mr. Phips,‡ whose age had now

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poet and historian, born at Paris in 1553. He was of delicate bodily constitution, but of great mental power. He studied law, but entered the Church under the auspices of his uncle, the Bishop of Chartres; visited Italy in 1573, and was employed in negotiations in various places; in 1578 made Counsellor Clerk of Parliament. In 1579 he entered the service of Government, and rose high in honour. His Latin was classical and good. He died in 1617.

* This Edward was half brother of his father, who married Lydia, Col. Foster's younger daughter, whose only surviving child Elizabeth, married the Rev. Nathaniel Robbins, whose descendants have continued to flourish in Boston down to our own time.

† Mr. Shirley was appointed Governor in 1740, and left for England in 1756.

‡ Spelt Phipps in the Governor's printed 'Hist. of Mass. Bay.'

rendered him less fit for it than ever.* Lord Loudoun, from Albany, corresponded with M^r^ Hutchinson, and when he came to Boston to meet Commissioners there, consulted with him upon every measure, and all succeeded to his L^d^ship's content. M^r^ Phips dying soon after, Lord Loudoun wrote to M^r^ H., intimating an expectation of his succeeding M^r^ Phips. The Council also wrote to M^r^ Bollan, to desire his endeavour that a person from within the Province might be appointed. They had a view to M^r^ H., but one of the Council, M^r^ Royal, made great interest for the place, and flattered himself, if his friends in England did not flatter him, that he would be appointed."

Mr. Pownall was appointed to succeed General Shirley. Mr. Pownall's biographers say a few hard things of him that we cannot say are justified. Americans ought to have praised him, as he rather favoured their views. Tudor's 'Life of Otis,' p. 42, says:—"Pownall first came to this country as secretary to Sir Danvers Osborne, Governor of New York, and was then appointed Lieutenant-Governer of New Jersey. Shirley took him into his confidence, and communicated his plans to him, and he was accused of betraying this trust, by anticipating all the important information in his own communications to the Ministry. He doubtless saw the defects of Shirley as a military commander, and in taking part with his enemies, Delancey and Sir William Johnson, he acted with private ingratitude, though it might conduce to the public good to effect a change in the command. He went to England in 1756. He was there appointed Governor of Massachusetts.† His politics were those of Chatham; and he came to his Government full of zeal and animation, to promote the grand and decisive principles of that Minister, for putting an end to the contests with France in America, by depriving that power of all its North American possessions.

"On his arrival in his Government, he could not be treated with much cordiality by those officers of the Customs and other departments who had been the friends of Shirley, and who thought the new Governor had used unfair intrigues to supersede him. Their

* Under date this year, 1756, the following occurs in the diary of the younger Judge Lynde—"July 7. Exceeding hot; dined with Capt. Osborn; Lt.-Gov^r^, etc., there; Hutchinson's Bill rejected by House."

† 1756, July. "29th. Fair, hot; news of Gov^r^ Pownal; dined at Plim^th^; at night at Cushing's."—Diary of B. Lynde, Jr. "August 9th. Fair; Governor's entry into Boston."—*Ibid.*

politics, also, were not of the same school. He cared less about enforcing the obnoxious Acts of Trade, and the collections of the revenue from them, than for a vigorous prosecution of the war. To this point he directed all his efforts, and gave many proofs of activity and address. He took into his confidence such men as Judge Pratt and Dr. Cooper, who had much popular influence, and he associated affably and readily with all classes of people. This conduct counteracted in some degree the prejudice he excited in a community distinguished by a very severe tone of manners, in which the light and free conduct of a man of wit and pleasure appeared wholly unsuited to the formal dignity and cautious propriety which was expected in their Chief Magistrate.

"In one of the satirical pieces, it was objected to him that he would sometimes 'sit in the chair without a sword, in a plain short frock, unruffled shirt, with a scratch wig, and little rattan.' The title of this pamphlet, which is in the library of the Historical Society, is as follows:—'Proposals for Publishing by Subscription the History of the Public Life and Distinguished Actions of Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Brazen, Commander of an American Squadron in the last Age; together with his Slighter Adventures and more entertaining Anecdotes. In three volumes in quarto, adorned throughout with cuts; being the judicious abridgment of the unwearied author's own most elaborate and costly performance of thirty-one volumes in folio. By Thomas Thumb, Esq., Surveyor of the Customs and Clerk of the Check, 1760.'

"Hutchinson was appointed Lieutenant-Governer in 1758, and as he was very popular, he was of great use in aiding the Governor in his efforts to draw out all the resources of the Province in the prosecution of the war. There was, however, neither similarity of manners nor cordiality of feeling between them. Pownall associated very intimately with the enemies of Hutchinson, and the latter, in his turn, exerted himself to destroy the Governor's popularity. But these differences, fortunately, did not operate to impede the efforts of the Province in the prosecution of the war.

"Pownall began his administration in Massachusetts at a period when the country was depressed, both from the great sacrifices and the repeated disasters of the previous years. His administration, though short, was eminently successful. But he found all the principal officers of Government opposed to him, and the friends of Shirley endeavouring to make him odious for his conduct towards that officer, and called in wit and ridicule to aid their cause. He therefore, after two years' residence, obtained leave to exchange his Government with that of South Carolina,

and left Boston in June, 1760, the two branches of the Legislature showing their respect by accompanying him to the place of embarkation. He held this appointment but a short time before he resigned it, to be sent in an official capacity to the Combined Army in Germany in 1762. After he obtained a seat in Parliament, he opposed all the measures of the Ministry which led to the War of Separation.* He argued in favour of giving the Colonies a representation in Parliament, considering their situation to be analogous to that of the Counties Palatine in England. His views were in some degree like those of Dr. Franklin, in wishing to keep the Empire together. [!] Pownall was a member of the Royal Society, and fond of scientific pursuits. He died at Bath in February, 1805, in his eighty-fourth year."†

Tudor says that when Pownall was in Parliament he opposed the Ministry. It is hard to say on what authority Tudor made this assertion, for Pownall's own speeches prove just the contrary. Pownall gave countenance, and even imprudent encouragement, to a certain amount of constitutional liberty, and supported such principles under Whig Ministers at the earlier portion of his parliamentary career; but his hearers forgot that he meant to limit them to constitutional liberty, so that his imprudent encouragement led them soon to think that he was a partizan, and that he would approve even of their excesses. Those who have sown the wind shall reap the whirlwind, and those who inflame the people with declamations about visions of undefined liberty, must not be surprised if this leads on to scenes of rebellion. The American revolt was much encouraged by certain members of both Houses of Parliament in England. There would be no difficulty in arguing that the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lords Chatham and Camden, Edmund Burke, John Wilkes, and a few more, were in a great degree responsible for the rebellion in the Colonies. They sowed the wind, and then, when the whirlwind came, they would have put limits to it if they could. Speaking in the autumn of 1775, Charles Fox said, "the Americans were not justifiable in the extent of their proceedings."‡ And Lord Chatham, who had used his best eloquence in encouraging them to resist the measures of the English Government, at last found they were going too far, so he changed his tone and said—

* This is contrary to fact. He changed his views and supported the Tory Ministry. More anon.

† From 'The Life of James Otis of Massachusetts,' by William Tudor, p. 42.

‡ Adolph., ii. 273.

"But I must own I find fault with them in many things. I think they carry matters too far. They have been wrong in many respects. I think the idea of drawing money from them by taxes was ill-judged."* He first led them on to this, and then he began to blame them. Lord Lyttleton gave his mind pretty plainly to these incautious noblemen, in his speech of December 15, 1775. He said—"Those who defend rebellion, are themselves little better than rebels."

Mr. Tudor says above, intending to eulogise Governor Pownall, "His views were in some degree like those of Dr. Franklin, in wishing to keep the empire together." As regards Dr. Franklin, this is something we did not know before. And also, "He argued in favour of giving the Colonies a representation in Parliament." If Pownall ever thought that this was within feasibility, or would be agreeable to the Americans, he was mistaken in both. The distance was too great to make representation satisfactory, and the Americans themselves did not want it. They say as much in their Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain. They speak of the powers assumed by the English Parliament, and add—"in which we are not represented, and from our local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented." This put the question aside altogether.

Livingstone, at page 87 of his 'Military Operations in North America,' from 1753 to 1756, a book in the Historical Society Collections for 1800, uses harder language than the case merits. He says:—

"Pownall is insatiable of praise; he cannot only hear himself flattered, but what is more unaccountable in a person of tolerable sense, he can even flatter himself. He has uncommon application, and a good memory. He has some knowledge of American affairs, but is so eager for promotion that he cannot brook the thoughts of a gradual advancement,—is so intent on the contemplation of his, as to lose all patience in earning it. Wonderful is his knack at pluming himself with the schemes and inventions of others, a remarkable instance of which I shall give in the following anecdote. The scheme of a naval armament on Lake Ontario, projected by Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, before the war, submitted to the then Ministry, and now recommended to the Congress at Albany, by some means happened to be hinted without doors. Pownall drew up some loose undigested proposals on American affairs, and urged this scheme as a new unthought-of measure,

* Bigelow's 'Life of Franklin.'

absolutely requisite to secure the command of these inland seas. He claimed the sole merit of being the original author of so useful and necessary an expedient."

Mr. Hutchinson proceeds thus with his narrative :—

"But M^r^ Pownall being appointed to succeed M^r^ Shirley as Governor, he prevented any appointment of Lieut^t^ Governor, that he might have an opportunity of recommending a person after his arrival. M^r^ Hutchinson had been known to him at Albany; afterwards at Boston; had correspondence with him when in England, from whence he gave hints of an intention to appoint M^r^ H. L^t^ Governor; and upon his arrival let him know that he had mentioned him to Lord Halifax, but that the appointment would not be made until his letter should be received, and desired to know M^r^ Hutchinson's mind, who did not rate it so high as it's probable M^r^ Pownall expected he would, though he did not decline it. M^r^ Pownall had at first recommended himself to the esteem of M^r^ Hutchinson by very obliging behaviour, and afterwards at Boston by the like; but the arts which he used to undermine M^r^ Shirley had lessened that esteem. He soon saw the like arts using to distress Lord Loudoun, from whom he expected the command of the provincial forces; and M^r^ Hutchinson suspected he should meet with much trouble, unless he joined with him in every measure.*

* * * * *

"Lord L. was an honest good natured man; had been friendly to P., but not giving him the command of the Provincials, he could never forgive it. Major Gen. Abercrombie succeeded. M^r^ Pownall sought from him the same appointment, which he excused as politely as he could; and particularly mentioned the importance to the King's service, that he should continue in the Province. His resentment was as strong against Abercr. as it had been against L^d^ Loudoun.

* * * * *

* Here follow a few personal remarks which are not material in a historical point of view.

"There had been an allowance of 4^{d} p day p man, [when the Provincial troops were out on active service,] made by the Assembly for provisions. He [Governor Pownall] took it in his head to advise some of the leading members of the House to reduce it to 3^{d}, and desired M^{r} Hutchinson to promote the measure, which he declined, as it would have a tendency to make a breach between the General and the Province, and hurt the service. 'Oh, by ——,' says he, 'if I could not raise a party of the Civil, against the Military, whether it was Majority or Minority, I should not care a farthing, only let it be a party!' Whether Gen. Amherst ever heard of this or not, I do not know; but I have no doubt that the representations made by him to Ministry, caused the recall of Gov. Pownall. To let him down easily, he was nominated Governor of S. Carolina; but upon Gen. Amherst hearing of this nomination, he said to Brig^{r} Ruggles, who was then in the army under the General, on the frontiers—'Depend upon it, M^{r} Pownall will not go out a Governor again to any of the American Colonies.' And another Governor was soon after appointed to South Carolina."

The diary of Judge Benjamin Lynde, Jun^{r}, alludes to several persons mentioned above:—

"1757. Lord Loudon, General of King's forces in America, entered at Boston; Secretary Willard died, and Andrew Oliver, Esq., Secretary.

"April 4th. Died Spencer Phipps, Esq., Lt. Governor, and then Commander-in-Chief of the province. Gov^{r} Shirley then being called home, the government devolved on the Council, until the arrival of Gov^{r} Thomas Pownall, 3^{d} August following."

After Mr. Pownall had settled himself down in England, he became a candidate for a seat in the House of Commons; and we gather from the Parliamentary Debates that he obtained a seat for Tregony, in Cornwall, in 1767, from a death vacancy. He, however, lost his election for that place on a subsequent contest in the autumn of 1774, a circumstance which is alluded to in the Diary of Governor Hutchinson, in the following words:—

"1774, Oct. 15th. Governor Pownall has lost his election at Tregony. Bob, or Robert, a Waiter not long since, and who has

served coffee to many of the H. of Commons at St. James's Coffee House, is returned for two boroughs. Strahan, the Printer, chose, and also a Coal Merchant, who, a little while since, was a Barber."

After this defeat, he made advances to Lord North, the Tory Prime Minister, and gave him to understand that if he could come in under his auspices he would support his Ministry; and at the General Election, in January, 1775, he was returned for Minehead, in Somerset. By this time Mr. Pownall would seem to have modified his views on the subject of American liberty. To go and tell the mob that they ought to have more liberty is like the letting out of water, or sowing the wind. Perhaps he perceived that they were now going in for what Edmund Burke called "the extreme of liberty," and that even a good thing, when enjoyed to over-excess, must be curbed. Be that as it may, he henceforth supported the restraining measures brought in by Lord North, and opposed the introduction of Burke's Conciliatory Bill.

"He [Pownall] now saw the Colonists resisting the government derived from the Crown and Parliament; opposing rights which they had always acknowledged; arming and arraying themselves, and carrying their opposition into force of arms. Under such circumstances he could not deny the necessity which impelled this country to assume an hostile position. The Americans had rendered it necessary."*

And during the debate in November, 1775, when Burke introduced his Conciliatory Bill, Pownall combated the notion which had been set up, to the effect that the English Parliament was assuming new powers over the Colonies; for he spoke of various Acts which, "from the twenty-fifth year of Charles II. had laid duties on the Colonies for the purpose of raising a revenue for England."†

Lord Mahon speaks of him in the following terms:—"Mr. Pownall had been Governor of Massachusetts, and still retained the title. He was a worthy well-meaning man, and often spoke on colonial affairs, but in a very tedious strain, so that, as Franklin laments, 'he is very ill heard at present.' (To Dr. Cooper, Feb. 24, 1770.) It is probable, therefore, that very little of his speeches would have reached posterity had they not been carefully reported by himself."‡

* Adolphus, 'Hist. of Eng.,' ii. 209.
† *Ibid.*, ii. 292.
‡ Lord Mahon's Hist., near end of ch. xlvii.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1805, informs us that he married firstly Harriet, daughter of Lieut.-General Churchill, and widow of Sir Everard Faulkner, and by some writers they are spoken of as "Mr. Pownall and Lady Faulkner." She died 6th Feb., 1777. He married secondly, August 2, 1784, Mrs. Astell, of Everton House, in Bedfordshire. He was born in the year 1722, and died at Bath in 1805, in his eighty-fourth year.

CHAPTER III.

"M^{r} Pownall* sailed on the 3rd of June 1760, leaving the command to L^{t} Governor Hutchinson, with whom he was much offended for not joining with him.

* * * * *

"The Assembly was then sitting, and three or four days after the Governor sailed, the House and Council, upon the recommendation of the L^{t} Governor, by a general vote elected M^{r} Bollan the Provincial Agent, whom they had dismissed a few months before, after long solicitation from the Governor for that purpose.

"Francis Bernard Esq.,† appointed to succeed M^{r} Pownall, arrived from New Jersey the 2nd of August. King George the Second dying the 25th of Oct^{r} the L^{t} Gov. thought it not improbable Lord Halifax might be influenced by M^{r} Pownall to appoint a new Lieut. Governor, and M^{r} Bollan wrote to the L. G. that there was a probability of demurs; but not long after, he wrote that L^{d} Halifax had heard something of his Governor [Government?] with which he was not pleased, and that soon after the L^{t} Governor's‡ was sent to him to be forwarded when neither the Governor's nor Secretary's were finished.

"About a month after M^{r} Bernard's arrival, M^{r} Sewall,

* Amongst the papers there is a MS. book of folio size, being the *Instructions* issued to Mr. Pownall, as Governor, and containing a long list of Acts of Parliament, which he was to study, and which Acts were also supplied to him. The Sign Manual of George II. is at the beginning and end. And there is a similar book of *Instructions* directed to Governor Bernard, worded exactly the same, and with the lists of Acts of Parliament. This has the Sign Manual of George III. A similar book was doubtless furnished to Governor Hutchinson, but it is missing. Perhaps it was left with his letters in the garret at Milton.

† Eventually made a Baronet for his services.

‡ Perhaps the Lieut.-Governor's commission or confirmation is intended. The passage does not read clearly.

Chief Justice, died.* Mr Gridley, the first lawyer at the Bar, met the Lt Gov. the next morning in the street, and said to him that he must be the successor. This was unexpected; but it caused the Lt Gov. to think seriously upon it, for it was an employment which nothing but a diffidence of his qualification for it would render unwelcome to him.

"A day or two after Mr Otis Junr came to him with a letter from his father at Barnstaple, desiring the Lt Gov.'s interest with the Gov., that Mr Otis, the father, might be appointed a Judge of the Court, presuming Mr Lynde,† the eldest Judge, would be appointed Ch. Justice. Whilst the L. G. was reading the letter, Mr Otis Junr said to him, that if he had any thought of the Chief Justice's place, he had not a word to say for his father. The L. G. gave such answer as shewed he was not without thought of it, but that he was undetermined whether, if offered, he should accept, and that the mention of him was unexpected, or a general answer of that uncertain nature. This did not prevent the father and son from the most warm and zealous solicitations.

"A month had passed, when the Govr observed to one of Lt Gov.r's friends, that many people had pressed him to appoint the Lt Gov. Chief Justice, but he had never said a word about it himself. This caused the Lt Gov. to say to the Gov. that he had been silent because he wished to leave the Governor free to do what appeared to him most proper and not from any disdain of asking any favour.‡ As the

* Stephen Sewall died September 11, 1760. "His name should be transmitted with honour to posterity."—Hutch. 'Hist. Mass.' iii. 86, note.

† This was Benjamin Lynde, the second of that name.

‡ Under date August 11, on one of the blank leaves of the Almanac for 1770, the following memorandum of a curious visit from Mr. Otis is recorded:—

"August 11. Mr Otis stopped at my house at Milton, in his way to Plimouth, and after salutations, desired to see me in private, tho' in the morning, about 8 or 9, he smelt strong of rum, and carried the disorder of mind wch that had increased in his countenance. He said he was an unhappy man, and had been cruelly persecuted, and he knew I had been so; 'But,' says he, 'God knows,' clapping his hand to his heart, 'that I had no hand in it.' He went on, that he hoped he had a right to travel the road for his health, that he was in the peace of God and the King, that he considered me as the representative of the King, and the King as the representative of God, and was come to apply to me for protection. I made him

resentment of the Otises increased, the L[t] Governor thought himself bound some time after to signify to the Governor his opinion of the trouble it would occasion in his administration, and to assure him that he, the L[t] G., would afford him the same assistance as if he had been appointed Ch. Justice, if he had any inclination to comply with Otis's solicitation; but he answered, that he should not appoint M[r] Otis, if the L[t] Gov. declined the place. And soon after the L[t] Gov. was appointed.

"This employment engaged his attention, and he applied his intervals to reading the law; and though it was an eye-sore to some of the Bar to have a person at the head of the law who had not been bred to it, he had reason to think the lawyers in general at no time desired his removal. About the year 1763 or '64, he had serious thoughts of resigning his place of L[t] Governor, and had wrote a letter to that purpose; but before he had an opportunity of sending it to England, something occurred which caused him to change his mind. The post, however, was of some prejudice to him with the people. Affairs which came before the Court in which the Prerogative was concerned, such as Writs of Assist., [?] suits brought against the officers of the Customs, the Admiralty Court, and prosecutions of rioters at the time of the Stamp Act, &c. The people were . . * to bring him under a bias, though he must have taken the same part if he had not been L[t] Governor.

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a very soft reply, assured him of all y[e] protection in my power, and he, with great ceremony, took leave."

There is no explanation as to what circumstance Mr. Otis referred to, when he said, "he had no hand in it." The unfortunate man, some time afterwards, lost the balance of his mind. Both father and son, at the commencement of their career, had been good, sound, loyal men; but owing to some disgust, or vexation, or disappointment in respect to the Chief Justiceship, they veered their sails, and steered into the troubled waters of republicanism.

"December 23, 1765. Otis is fiery and feverous. He is liable to great irregularities of temper, sometimes in despondency, and sometimes in a rage." Again—"September 3, 1769. Otis talks all; he grows the most talkative man alive; no other gentleman in company can find space to put in a word." J. Adams's Diary. Lord Mahon's Hist., v. 271, 3rd edit.

* Word of doubtful reading.

"The Governor was very active in promoting seizures for illicit trade, which he made profitable by his share in the forfeitures; but the Surveyor General, who envied him his profits, differed with him, and suspended the Collector at Salem, who was the Governor's creature.

"There had been other disputes, in none of which the Lt. Gov^{r} ever interested himself, nor did the Gov^{r} make him privy to them. But having occasion to send to the Ministry a number of Depositions concerning illicit trade, they were all sworn to before the Attorney General, or some other Justice of Peace, except the Depositions of the Deputy Judge of Admiralty Court, which, for what reason the Lt. Gov^{r} knew not, the Gov^{r} desired might be attested by the Lt. Gov^{r} as Chief Justice. These Depositions were all seen at the Plantation Office by Briggs Hallowell, a merchant of Boston. He reported that complaint was made in them of John Rowe, Solomon Davy, and other merchants, as illicit traders, and that they were sworn to before the L^{t} Governor, when indeed he had not any knowledge of their names being mentioned nor of the contents of any of the depositions except that of the Judge. This arriving at the time when the people were inflamed with the expectation of the Stamp Act, they were more easily induced to violence against any Crown officers; and these merchants, as one of them, M^{r} Rowe, acknowledged, stirred up the mob to attack the houses of the Custom House officers, the Register of the Admiralty, and the Chief Justice, the last of whom was made the principal object; and on the 26th of August, 1765, at night, the mob entered his house,* and not only destroyed, or cast into the street, or carried away all his money, plate, and furniture, together with his apparel, books, papers, and every other article in the house and cellars belonging to himself and family, the furniture of a kitchen only excepted, and pulled down as much of the partitions and roof of the house as the time between eight o'clock in the evening and four in the morning would admit."

* Possibly this account of these untoward events may be a first rough draft of what was afterwards printed in his History, at page 124 of vol. iii.

Dr. Peter Oliver, one of the sons of the subsequent Chief Justice, speaks of this riot in his Diary, and of his courtship with Sarah H., the Governor's daughter. Let these things furnish an excuse for quoting the first few pages of it.

"Peter Oliver, 3rd son of Peter & Mary, [Clarke] was born in Boston, Massachusetts Bay, June 17, 1741, O.S. From this time till 1756 he was back & forwards from Boston to Middleborough, his father moving to Middleborough, in the county of Plymouth, in the year 1744. July the 1st he went to the scholl [*sic*] in Newark, New Jersies, about 200 miles from his father, with a very heavy heart: however, lived in Mr Burr's family, one of the best in the country. He staid at school [*sic*] under Mr Odell, the Master, till the 1st of October only, when the whole college was moved to Princetown. The autumn of 1756 I studied under a new schoolmaster, a Mr Smith, & lived & studied with him till Sepr 30, 1757, when Mr Burr, the President, died of a fever. I came first to Brunswick, & took passage in a schooner, Capn Gibbs, for Rhode Island; was abt 6 days in my passage thither, exceedingly sea sick.

"Abt the 1st week in Octr I got home to Middleborough.

"In Novr, abt the 2d week, I went to Boston with my father & mother; lodged at Milton, at G. Hutchinson's, who was then only Mr Hutchinson, or perhaps Lieutenant Govr. I remember it was of a Saturday evg, & the 1st time I ever saw his eldest daughter, Sally, who was afterwards my wife. I went the next day to Meeting with the family.

"In this month I was examined at Harvard College, Cambridge, & was admitted into the Freshman's class, under Mr Handcock, the Tutor, my elder brother Daniel being there a Senior Sophister.

"In July my brother took his Degree of B.A., and went home.

"Nothing very particular while at College, only I spent most of my time very agreeably; became much acquainted with Mr Hutchinson's family (Elisha and I living together the greater part of my last two years), & especially with Sally. She had a very agreeable way in her behaviour, which I remember pleased me beyond any other of my female acquaints, though I had not the least thought of any connection with her.

"While I was at college I lost a favourite uncle, Clarke, who was a physician in Boston, & likewise some cousins.

"In July 1761 I took my Dege of B.A.

"In Augt 21 follows I went to live at Scituate with Dr Stockbridge, as an apprentice. Here I enjoyed a many happy & more happier Hour [*sic*] than I ever experienced in my life before. I

had no care or trouble on my mind—lived easy, & became acquainted with an agreeable young lady in the neighbourhood, but only on a friendly footing.

"In March 21, 1764, I left D^r^ Stockbridge's, and went to Boston to reside at the Castle, to understand the nature of the small-pox, under D^r^ Gelston. I staid there till the last of Ap^l^ follow^g^, when I cleared out, as they term it; went to Middleborough in May; and in June set up for myself in the practice of physic, amidst many difficulties & obstructions. My father built me a small shop near his house. I gradually got a little business, but poor pay.

"In June 1765 first pay'd my addresses to M^ss^ [Mistress] S. H., and obtained leave of her father in Aug^t^ follow^g^, being just before his House was tore down; he losing everything he had in his House; his Daughters & the rest of the family likewise shared the same fate.

"I went down in a few days after to see the family; found M^ss^ S. H. most terribly worried & distrest.

"I found that courtship was the most pleasant part of my life hitherto; the family were very agreeable."

And so on. This Diary must be quoted again where it bears on subjects treated of in the text.

S. H. is the daughter that came back to her father when the house was attacked.

"The Superior Court was to be held the next morning in Boston. The Chief Justice, who was deprived of his robes and all other apparel except an undress he was in when the mob came, appeared in that undress and an ordinary great coat over it, which he borrowed, and to as crowded an audience as ever appeared in Court, instead of the usual charge to the G. Jury, he addressed himself, and represented the wretched state a town and country must be in if such mobs were suffered to prevail; that nobody knew whose turn it would be next; that yesterday he thought himself in as little danger as any of them; that to-day he has not a shirt in the world except what he has on his back; that his whole misfortune was owing to a charge against him, which, if it had been true, would have been in no degree blameworthy; but, as it hapned, was without foundation, for he declared he had not the least privity to any complaints or representations against any persons concerned in

illicit trade; and that one deposition only, of the Judge of the Admiralty had been sworn to before him. It having been advanced by some of the mob, that the L^{t} Gov^{r} had been an adviser of the Stamp Act, he took the same opportunity to avow his disaprobation of all the riotous tumultous opposition to that Act, but declared that he was so far from advising to it, that in his correspondence he had, as far as with propriety he might, used his endeavours to prevent it; and he thought it probable some of his papers to evidence it, might fall into the hands of people who brought the charge against him. He spoke near half an hour to the people who the same forenoon assembled in as great a crowd at Faneuil Hall, and with one voice expressed their detestation of the disorders the evening preceeding, a great number of the actors and promoters being present.

"The damage was estimated about 2500£ sterling. Some of M^{r} Hutchinson's best friends gave him but little encouragement to expect a compensation. He made application to the Secretary of State, and made use of his friends in England; and urged precedents of satisfaction made to Governors and other servants of the Crown, in cases not so strong as this. The Governor claimed a compensation from the Assembly in such terms as offended them and produced an angry answer.

"And the first letters after the news in England, from the Secretary of State, also recommended satisfaction in very strong terms, but several sessions passed without obtaining it.* The perpetrators were, divers of them, apprehended and committed to gaol, where they remained several days, if not weeks. They were deemed capital offenders, even by the province law, and the offence was undoubtedly Treason at common law; but the people did not intend they should be tried; and in the dead of night, a large number of men entered the house of the prison keeper; compelled him to deliver the keys; opened the prison doors; and set every man free who had been committed for this offence. They absconded for some

* The 'New Eng. Historical and Genealogical Reg.,' vol. i., No. 4, p. 306, says that Gov. H. eventually received an indemnification in the sum of £3194 17*s.* 6*d.* His own rough estimate was therefore considerably below the actual estimate subsequently arrived at.

months; after which, finding that no authority had taken any notice of the prisoners or of the persons concerned in their rescue, they returned; appeared openly, and were very active in other irregular proceedings. Indeed, there was but little room to expect a prosecution. Some of the principal people in trade would not suffer the principal actor to be committed.

"The Governor had summoned a council the day after the riot.* The Sherriff attended; and upon enquiry, it appeared that one Mackintosh, a shoemaker, was among the most active in destroying the L^t^ Governor's house and furniture. A warrant was given to the Sherriff to apprehend him by name, with divers others. Mackintosh appeared in King Street, and the Sherriff took him; but soon discharged him, and returned to the Council Chamber, where he gave an account of his taking him; and that M^r^ Nath^l^ Coffin, and several other gentlemen, came to him, and told him that it had been agreed that the cadets and many other persons should appear in arms the next evening, as a guard and security against a fresh riot, which was feared, and said to have been threatened, but not a man would appear unless Mackintosh was discharged. The Lieut. Governor asked, 'And did you discharge him?' 'Yes.' 'Then you have not done your duty.' And this was all the notice taken of the discharge. The true reason of thus distinguishing Mackintosh was that he could discover who employed him; whereas the other persons apprehended were such as had collected together without knowing of any previous plan. It was plain the Governor thought the state of the province would not bear the execution of the law, and never

* The remembrance of this riot was raked up again near ten years after, when some missing account books were being inquired for. Mr. Hutchinson had been between four and five months in England, and, replying to the inquiry, he gives the following explanation to his correspondent in America, under date November 8, 1774:—

"I am to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of 28^th^ of October. My house was destroyed near ten years ago by a mob, and all my papers of every kind scattered about the street, and I never afterwards attempted to separate my mercantile papers from those of another kind, when part of what had been thus scattered had been picked up and brought to me; so that it would have been impossible for me to have made any judgment what balance was due from the late company of Hutchinson and Goldthwait, to the company of Halsey and Hanbury, if you had not been so kind as to furnish me with extracts from the letters which passed on that occasion," &c.

moved for any other steps for a prosecution. The L^t^ Governor with his children, lodged the next night at the Castle, but after that in his house at Milton, though not without apprehensions of danger.* The House of Representatives, tho' it was apparently impracticable to punish the offenders, repeatedly urged that it was not the act of the people, but of a number of abandoned men, who they thought should be brought to justice, and be held to make satisfaction to those who had been injured, and that the Government was by no means chargeable. But being still pressed by the Governor, they proposed consulting their towns, which the Governor conceded to.

"More of the towns either signified a willingness to make satisfaction, or left it to their representatives to do as they thought fit, than was generally expected; but whether the majority I am not able to say. Be that as it may, there is room to doubt whether it would have finally been obtained without a strong unwarrantable conduct in M^r^ Hawley, a leading member of the House.

"Soon after this riot a number of persons for whom he was counsel, were convicted of a riot in the county of Hampshire. Hawley took exception to the indictment. The offence was an opposition with armed force to the execution of law, the riots being caused by the Stamp Act.† The exception was

* "1765, August 22^nd^. This year the Parliament made the Stamp Act; Secretary Oliver made one of the stamp masters. In August a mob besett his house, destroyed a building and ruined glasses, &c., to the value of . . .

"26th. A mob rose again, besett the Lieu: Gov^r's^ house, pulled down part of it, and destroy'd his furniture, books, &c., to value of 23,000 O. T. Great change in ministry at home; M^r^ Grenville and friends out, and M^r^ Pitt reinstated with Lord Rockingham and Duke of Grafton."—Diary of Judge Lynde Jr.

† Let a lady give her opinion on politics. In the first volume of the blue-back Letter Books, there are three letters in 1765, and one in 1766, written by Mrs. Watson, wife of Col. Geo. Watson, from Plymouth, to her little daughter Mary, or Polly, who was at school in Boston. Mrs. Watson declares that the Stamp Act was not repealed on the 8th of March.

"Dear Polly,— "Plymouth, April 23, 1766.

"I was very glad to hear you got to Middelborough safe. I hope you will behave youself [*sic*] very well, and mind what your granmama says to you, for I know if you do, which I hope you will, that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you very much improved. You know what you promised me, so shall depend upon your performence of it. I have no news without I tell you it is said that the Stamp Act was not repeal'd the 8 of

overruled, the L^{t} Governor being Ch. Justice; and then in court observed, that the Crown was at liberty to prosecute for an inferior offence, when included in an offence of a higher nature; and if the offence was treason, it was also a riot; and that many instances of that sort continually hapned. Hawley however was greatly dissatisfied at his clients being convicted and moderately fined, which they had not paid, and were imprisoned. Although it had always before been urged that the offenders ought to be brought to justice, it was now proposed that satisfaction should be made to the sufferers; but that a general pardon for all offenders in any tumult, &c., occasioned by, or under pretence of the Stamp Act, should be tacked to the Bill. This was agreed to, and the Bill passed; and the Hampshire rioters, the only persons then convicted, or in danger of conviction, were released. This is one of those things which men, in a body, often do, when the greatest part of them, if to act by themselves, would detest.

"The Governor, though the Bill was not to be justified, consented to it. The prisoners were discharged. The money was paid out of the Treasury to the sufferers. When the Act was laid before the King it was disapproved; but it had all the effect designed, and nothing more was said about it.

"The Stamp Act was repealed,* the news whereof arrived two or three weeks before the election of Counsellors for 1766. The L^{t} Governor had been elected every year from 1749. He knew that an attempt would be made to leave him out of the Council, as being dependent on the Crown, both as Lieut^{t}

March: so much for politicks, since you are so grate a politicion I that [*sic*] you would not excuse my silence upon the subject. Cousin Betsey sends her love, & sends you peice of M^{rs} Burr's Plumb Cake. Sally sends her love to you.—Your Affectionate Mama,

"Elizabeth Watson.

"To M^{rs} Polly Watson."

She was afterwards wife to Elisha Hutchinson.

* "1766, March 18th. The Stamp Act repealed, on which great rejoicings in England. The news arrived here the 17th May; on it the Courts opened, and great rejoicings here.

"May 28th. Election; I sent a resignation of my seat at Council Board. The Lieut. Gov^{r}, Secretary Oliver, Judge Oliver, and the Attorney General Goffe, left out. Col. Gerrish, Col. Bowers, M^{r} Dexter, M^{r} Saunders, negatived; also Col. Otis and Colo. Sparhawk, of [the] old Board. I was 28 years a Counsellor."—Diary of Judge Lynde, Jr., p. 191.

Gov^{r} and Chief Justice. M^{r} Lynde, one of the Judges, to avoid being left out, resigned previous to the election. M^{r} Oliver, another Judge, the Secretary, and the Attorney-General, were also left out with the L^{t} Governor. It was pretty remarkable that the L^{t} Governor had two or three votes more than a majority of the whole number of voters in the choice of eighteen Counsellors; but it hapned, as it seldom does, that nineteen had a majority, and the votes for the L^{t} Governor were least in number, one only. Upon an after-trial, what is called at large, he would have been also elected, if those other gentlemen whose votes were short had not refused to vote, that as they were left out they might have the Lieuten^{t} Governor's company. Gov. Bernard negatived as many of the new Counsellors as they had left out.* This caused high resentment against him. The same year, however, upon the choice of Commissioners to treat with New York, M^{r} Hutchinson was elected against M^{r} Otis, and prevailed with by his friends to accept. The Governor the next year would have compromised the matter, and intimated to the party in opposition that if they would choose the L^{t} Governor, he would consent to some they were fond of, but they would not hearken. He came, however, within one vote of a choice of the next election of 1767, and in 1768 within two or three, after which no further attempt was made, it being known in 1769 that M^{r} Bernard was to leave the Province in two or three months. Before his departure a special Court of Admiralty was held for a trial of several seamen, who had defended themselves against a press-gang from the *Rose* man-of-war, and in the affray had killed Lieutenant Panton.† M^{r} Otis and others, counsel for the prisoners, moved that the trial should be by a jury. This was a popular motion, and Gov. Bernard, upon considering the Acts of Parliament, was of opinion that there was nothing in them to prevent it; and upon opening the Court he acquainted the people with the motion, and that the Commissioners were

* "1769, May. Election. Colo. Brattle and Coz^{n}. Bowdoin negatived by Gov. Bernard, who in July sailed for England."—Diary of Judge Lynde, Jr., p. 192.

† Hutch. 'Hist. of Mass.,' iii. 231.

considering in what manner to convene a Grand Jury and Petty Jury, and should adjourn for some days. M[r] Hutchinson, who was convinced the design of the Acts of Parliam[t] was to prevent trials by Jury, and that the Commission was utterly inconsistent, drew up a state of the case, which was perfectly satisfactory to the whole Court; and upon meeting again, Gov[r] Bernard, the President, declared to the people the opinion of the Court, and referred to M[r] H., being Chief Justice, to give the grounds of their opinion, which he did publicly. It was so plain a case that the Court, and particularly the President, would have been liable to a severe censure if they had proceeded to trial by jury, as it would have had no foundation or law to support it."

In the Almanac for 1770 there are a few notes and memorandums which, if they are worth quoting at all, ought to come in here, if chronological arrangement is consulted. This Almanac was by Nathanial Low, a student in physic, and printed by Kneeland and Adams, in Milk Street, Boston. It has been bound up with a number of blank leaves, on which the memorandums are written. Inside the cover are entries like the following: "Dudley Carlton, a Justice for Lincoln County, Bluehill Bay: recom[d] by W. Gold." "Thomas Robie Esq. Marblehead, recommended by Secretary Thomas Smith Jun[r], Falmouth, Justice." Further on: "Charles Pelham, of Newton, a Justice, by Lady Bernard." "David Sanford, of G. Barrington, by Col. Worthington, for a Coroner." "William Phips, of Oxford, recommended for a Justice, by M[r] Robins," &c. It looks as if these persons were candidates for office.

There then follows a debtor and creditor account for 1770, and some of the entries may be selected.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
Jan.	A gown at Barrat's for Sally	2	8	0
	[She married Dr. Peter Oliver, Feb. 1, 1770.]			
—	16. pd. Sister Welsted 6 D[ollars]	1	16	0
	[The dollar is down at 6*s.*]			
—	30. pd. N. Rogers by Tommy for a Qr. cask Madeira	13	8	0
Feb.	3. pd. Wm. Jackson for Billys breeches		18	0
—	M[r] Pierce, grafting & pruning last summer		11	5

		£	s.	d.
Jan.	Repairs. Daniel Vose	12	0	0
	[This man seems to have been his tenant of an Inn at Milton.]			
—	a cake for Sally, to M^rs^ Tyng ..	1	15	8
	[Perhaps a Bride Cake.]			
—	paid for a sett of Dishes to J. Green	2	13	4
—	a Johannes, out of Drawer, lost ..	2	8	0
	[Could this have been a valuable coin?]			
—	a load of Hay [see below]	1	14	6
— 17.	Graham mending chairs		18	0
—	cake for Sally. [Another!]	2	5	0
Mar. 2.	Sister Welsted 5 Ds.	1	10	0
—	Paid for 10 yds of Camlet for Peggy	2	16	8
—	a load of Hay	2	14	0
— 20.	Jean Piemont, a Wig, & year's dressing	3	0	0
Ap. 4.	Sally, to buy furniture	66	13	4
—	6 Chairs for house, and porter [carrying]	4	9	0
—	6 Ditto for Sally	4	9	0
— 23.	pd. M^r^ Hastings Steward. Billy's 2 Quarters	11	19	0
—	pd. Wm. Scott acc^t^ Linnen for Sally	5	0	10
	[Aside—Father had to smart for it.]			
—	Peter Oliver Jun^r^	600	0	0
May 9.	Sister Welsted	7	4	0
June 5.	Sister Welsted 13 ,, 6 ,, 8 & 3 Dols ..	14	4	8
— 9.	pd. M^r^ Reed per account, for Sally & Peggy	4	9	4
— 21.	paid M^r^ Shaw, Blacksmith: work for Tenements	1	0	0
—	Billy 2 Dolls. Sundays at Boston. by Niles [Silas Niles] £7. for a waistcoat for Billy. Wine, Cheese, biscuit, &c.	7	4	0
July 1.	paid Richard Billings his acct. for Elisha, to 1765	22	0	0
—	paid my subscription to Col. Miller ..	5	0	0
— 12.	To Billy to pay for 4 yds. Cloth, &c., 5 ,, 1 ,, 3, & pocket 18/	5	19	0
— 14.	Thom. Harris, lent him 3 Dollars ..		18	0
—	Billy	2	0	0

		£	*s.*	*d.*
July 16.	Miller's boys 4/ picking stones		4	0
— 17.	John Badcock mowing 8 acres & making Hay, 42/8, and Nath. Culliver 3 pist.	2	6	3
— 18.	Seth Packer, 14 days mowing, 7 Doll.	2	0	0
—	Ed. Cranebal mowing	1	1	0
— 19.	paid John Rowe for a qr. Cask of Port	8	0	0
Aug. 10.	Nurse 40/- to 12th June: Lizzy 30/- to 24 July; Ruth 24/- do.	4	14	0
— 13.	Seth Packer a dollar		6	0
— 14.	Jno. Waters a Dollar		6	0
—	Jn. Piemont, for a Wig	2	8	0
— 16.	dª Tommy to buy Exchange [?] ..	246	13	4
— 18.	W. Brown for horse hire for Billy to M-borough, & 6/6 Oats 6 „ 15, old Tenor.			
— 22.	paid Mr Bedlow's acct of chairs, Bedsteads, stand, &c., for Sally, &c. 25/- old tenor over paid.	5	12	0
— 30.	paid Tommy what he advanced for Billy, 223 8/- old tenor, viz. note on other side, & the rest in Cash ..	29	1	8
Sep.	paid John Barret & sons for a Gown for Peggy, &c. by Elisha	4	18	5
— 17.	John Hinkley, shoeing horses	1	9	8
—	paid Mr Preston for 9 yards of black cloth	3	12	0
—	paid Low to pay a young man for helping raft to Milton		4	10
—	Silas Nibs, mowing & making salt hay at lower mead, & polling to the edge of the bank, 12 10, o, T. ..	1	13	4
Oct. 25.	paid Silas Nibs 3 load of Rockweed, 3 Doll.		18	0
Nov. 3.	paid by Tommy to T. & W. Apthorp 300 Sterl. Sent W. Palmer	380	0	0
— 8.	Nurse, Lizzy, & Ruth, all paid together	4	14	0
—	pd. Mr Mayhew for Billy	2	5	4
	a Joannes for a Medal, [?]	2	8	0
— 12.	Sister Welsted, by Elisha		13	8
—	pd. Mr Brown, Sadler		14	4
—	pd. for hearth & Chimney at Milton, to Gayer	2	8	0

		£	s.	d.
Nov. 12.	Buckles for Peggy	1	12	0
Dec.	pd. by Tommy Prentice's Note, 18/8			
	Biscuit [?] for Billy	1	10	8
—	Housing wood 4/. ½ lb. Tea, 9/ ..		13	0
	[Tea 18*s.* a pound!]			
—	Sister Welstead	13	6	8
—	Waters, a Dollar		6	3
—	Moses Glover, cutting two Posts ..		6	0
—	Collection for repairing the Meeting House	2	8	0
— 7.	Haden a Guinea	1	8	0
	[The different denominations of money are apparent.]			
—	pd. Mr Gridley, Post Chaise work ..	2	18	4
— 13.	pd. James Nibs [or Niles] wages to this day, when he left my service, and John Frazer came in his stead at 15£ p annum	3	6	8
—	paid Mr Clough work for wharff, &c., 2 „ 12/8, and 3/4 for an Iron for Tea Kettle	2	16	0
—	Mr Mcneal for Bread, from 19 Nov. to 25 Decem.	3	3	8
—	paid Timothy Prout, say Benjn Stewart on Timothy Prout's Note to his wife endorsed over to me	60	15	1
—	pd. Tho. Bradford bal. for wood, 5 „ 15/6, & stop'd 3 „ 4 „ 8 old tenor, he owed Sister Welsted, which I paid her	6	4	4
—	Peter Hughes, a Chaldr. of Coals ..	2	10	8
—	paid George Lewis for men who worked at Wharff	9	12	0

"Mr Bernard sailed for London the 2nd of August, 1769, and the Government devolved upon Mr. H., the Lieut Governor. Disputes had risen to that height that Gov. B. was in doubt whether he ought not to dissolve the Assembly for passing several violent resolves of a most inflammatory nature, tending to a revolt; but instead of a dissolution, determined upon a prorogation of six months, which would

give him time for laying the state of the Province before the King, and giving such directions to the L^{t} Governor as might be thought proper. As no Assembly could meet, the inhabitants of Boston thought it more necessary to hold town meetings and merchants' meetings, and agreed upon a non-importation, and upon measures for compelling all people for conforming to it. It appeared also to be the determination of the people to get rid of the two regiments which had been ordered to Boston for aid to the Civil Magistrate; and from Gov. B.'s departure to March following, the town was in the utmost disorder, one subject for contention following another, until a sentinel at the door of the Custom House was assaulted by people in the street, which brought out a sergeant's guard to protect him; and the people increasing, and the guard being pelted with ice, brickbats, &c., at length fired, and four or five of the people were killed, and a great number wounded. The L^{t} Gov^{r} was called out of his house, and was in the midst of the people, first in the street, and then in the Council Chamber, from between 9 and 10 in the evening until 3 o'clock the next morning, when the whole guard, with Cap. Preston, who went from the main guard to prevent all unnecessary violence from being done by the soldiers, were committed to prison. But this was a cessation of a few hours only; for the next day, by 10 o'clock, several thousand people were assembled, and the L^{t} Governor, having summoned the Council, application was made by M^{r} Adams and others, a committee, representing it to be absolutely necessary that the regiments should be forthwith removed to the Castle, and therefore praying the L^{t} Governor to order their removal. The L^{t} G. answered that the troops were placed in the town by order from the King, and that he had no authority to remove them. This increased the temper of the people, and upon a second application Col. Dalrymple, the commanding officer, offered to remove one regiment, to which the soldiers on guard belonged. This was giving up the point. It was declared not satisfactory; and M^{r} Adams said to him if he could remove one he could remove both, and it was at his peril to refuse it. The L^{t} Gov. told the

Council he had no further service for them, and was going home, when Col. D. pressed him to meet the Council again after dinner, and the Council joined with him. He could not avoid it. In the meantime he signified to some of them, as they afterwards informed the L^t^ Governor, that if they were unanimous in their advice to the L^t^ Gov., to *desire* him to remove the troops, he would do it.

"When the Council came together again, the L^t^ G. was surprised to find several, who spake against such advice in the morning, in favour of it in the afternoon; and every one of them deliberately gave his opinion with his reasons, the principal of which was the impossibility of preventing the people from taking arms — ten thousand of them being in Boston, Charlestown, and Roxbury, or other towns near, ready for it. The L^t^ G. endeavoured to convince them of the ill consequence of this advice, and kept them until late in the evening, the people remaining assembled; but the Council were resolute. Their advice, therefore, he communicated to Co^l^ Dalrymple, accompanied with a declaration, that he had no authority to order the removal of the troops. This part Col. D. was dissatisfied with, and urged the L^t^ G. to withdraw it, but he refused, and the regiments were removed. He was much distressed, but he brought it all upon himself by his offer to remove one of the regiments. No censure, however, was passed upon him.

"About this time it was intimated to M^r^ H. by Lord Hillsborough, Sec^y^ of State, that it was intended he should succeed M^r^ Bernard. The difficulties he had encountered for seven or eight months, and the prospect of their increasing rather than lessening, discouraged him; and he wrote a letter of thanks to Lord H., &c., but desired to be excused, not only from the Governor's commission, but to have leave to resign that of L^t^ Governor. Before this letter arrived the commission was begun to be made out. Lord H. wrote in answer that it should stand where it did, without any other nomination, that M^r^ H. might further consider and determine. This was an unexpected honour, and together with a better prospect, wrought upon him

to make a grateful acknowledgment, and the commission passed the seals, and arrived in Boston in March 1771.* After this year near two years passed without any great complaint of his Administration. In the beginning of 1773 such measures were taken by the town of Boston, where divers resolves passed, incompatible with the authority of Parliament, and sent to all the towns and districts in the Province for their concurrence, that he thought himself obliged to lay the affair before the Assembly, to state the constitution of the Colonies, and to recommend measures for putting a stop to the unconstitutional doings of the towns and districts. This engaged him in a controversy with the Council and the House. He was convinced that no good could come from it, reason and law having no weight with the people, and whatever carries the specious appearance of liberty always prevailing. However, the prejudices soon subsided. Soon after he met the Governor of New York at Hartford in Connecticut, and with Commissioners from each Colony settled the long disputed line between the two Colonies, to the satisfaction of the Massachusetts Colony, for which, at any other time, he would have received the thanks of the Assembly; but instead thereof he met with a violent attack from them. Several of his letters, which he had written when L^t^ Governor in 1768 and the beginning of 1769, with letters from the L^t^ Gov. and late Secretary Oliver, and from other persons, to M^r^ Thomas Whately, had been procured after M^r^ Whately's death by D^r^ Franklin, and sent to M^r^ Cushing, the Speaker, were brought before the Assembly, the people having been first alarmed by a bruit, designedly

* From the *London Gazette*.

"Whitehall, 26 Oct^r^, 1770.

"The King has been pleased to appoint Tho^s^ Hutchinson, Esq., to be Capt^n^ General and Governor-in-Chief of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."

On the same day, in the same Gazette, Andrew Oliver, Esq., was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Province.

"1771, March 14th. Gov^r^ Thomas Hutchinson and Lieut. Gov^r^ Andrew Oliver, Esq., commissions published; Judges in their robes, and all the Bar in their habbits, walked in procession.

"April 5th. My Commission as Chief Justice of the Province from Gov^r^ Hutchinson, dated 21st March, 1771, published at Boston. Died Lt. General William Shirley, late Governor of Massachusetts. I sent to [as] a bearer."—Diary of Judge Lynde, Jr., p. 201.

spread abroad, that a conspiracy had been formed by great persons to destroy the constitution, &c. The letters were laid before the Assembly, and resolves passed, both by the Council and House, before the contents of the letters were known abroad, and these resolves published; one of which was to pray the Mins. to remove both Governor and Lieutenant Governor. It was not possible for greater art to be made use of to inflame the people. The measure succeeded accordingly; and though when the letters afterwards appeared in print, it appeared that the most unnatural construction had been made of some expressions in them by detaching them from what went before and followed; yet when people are prepossessed it requires time for them to consider, and depart from prejudices."

Though Franklin openly confessed that it was he who sent the letters to America, he never would tell how or where he got them. Writing to Mr. Cushing Dec. 2, 1772 ('Bigelow's Life,' p. 130), he says of the packet: "I am not at liberty to tell through what channel I received it." He again writes (*Ibid.* 193): "I heard too, from all quarters, that the Ministry and all the Courtiers were highly enraged against me for transmitting those letters." Yet he did not see there was anything dishonourable in the act. In the same, at p. 197, he writes: "In truth, I came by them honourably, and my intention in sending them was virtuous."

Perhaps, if there was anything dishonourable in the transaction, he might think that the imputation could not extend to him, but only to the person who took them surreptitiously from the owner, and that he merely received a packet which he could freely send wherever he chose. But if he was the receiver of stolen goods, knowing them to have been stolen, or, to use a milder term, "purloined," or simply "taken," how then? We will, however, suppose that he knew nothing of their previous history, and in that way put the case in the most favourable light, as far as we are concerned.

Mr. Thomas Whately had been M.P., and one of the Secretaries of the Treasury. He was a man of taste, and Walpole, in his 'Letters,' Aug. 5, 1771, thus writes of him: "They [the French] have translated Mr. Whately's Book." A footnote says: 'An Essay on Design in Gardening,' by Thomas Whately, Secretary to the Treasury during George Grenville's Administration. He died unmarried in June, 1772. Several of his Letters, abounding in

news, are printed in the Grenville Papers. Junius has a hit at him: "Tom Whately, take care of yourself."

At the time of the correspondence he was living as a private gentleman, holding no public office, and in no way connected with the Government. The gentlemen, therefore, who were writing to each other, looked upon their interchange of sentiments as private. At a subsequent period, when Mr. Hutchinson had his first interview with the King, His Majesty said: "Nothing could be more cruel than the treatment you met with in betraying your private letters"; and from the circumstances of the case they were generally so considered. Mr. Thomas Whately dying in June, 1772, his papers passed into the hands of his brother William. There was also a Mr. John Whately, apparently another brother, at this time a Secretary of the Treasury. William was a banker in Lombard Street. When the letters were sent out they were accompanied by many conditions of secrecy, as that they should only be shown to six persons, and that no copies should be taken. We all know what this sort of secrecy means, and what will be the end of it. It is plain that secrecy would not have accomplished the objects in view any more now than in the preceding case of Governor Bernard, whose letters were purposely had out, printed, published, and circulated, "to raise the fury of the people against him." Secrecy would not have effected these ends. Amongst the collection in the family there is a copy of the original American edition of these purloined letters, printed in Boston by Edes and Gill in 1773; and there is also an English edition, printed by J. Wilkie in 1774, to which are added Remarks, and the Assembly's Address, and the Proceedings of the Lords' Committee of Council, with Mr. Wedderburn's speech, &c. The Committee pronounced these letters as having been written "in the course of familiar correspondence, and in the confidence of private friendship" (p. 132). And they say further, on the same page, "and which letters appear to us to contain nothing reprehensible, or unworthy of the situation they were in." The 'New Eng. Hist. and Genealogical Register,' i. 307, observes: "In the letters, however, there was no sentiment which the Governor had not openly expressed in his addresses to the Legislature."

The Lieutenant-Governor, Andrew Oliver, was exceedingly distressed as well as angry when the rumour of this transaction first reached him; and judging from some of the letters in his Letter Book, which have never been made public, he seems to have almost suspected the honour, or want of due care, in Mr. William Whately, in whose custody they ought to have remained

secure. The following, dated June 1, 1773, occurs in a letter to this same Mr. W. Whately: "I am now to write to you upon a very serious affair—an affair w^ch^ much affects my peace & honour, the peace & honour of my best fr^d^ the Gov^r^, & the Hon^r^ of your family. I am told this day that a number of the Gov^rs^ Letters & mine, to your late Brother Tho^s^ Whately Esq., are transmitted to Boston, & have been communicated to a large Com^ee^ of the House of Representatives now sitting, which are represented as great grievances, and worthy of censure. It is said they are to be published; and indeed, they had better be published than not, for the people are now made to believe there is something in them treasonable against the State: and it is possible such representation may be productive of mischief. I remember your Bro^r^ once wrote me, that the publishing of Gov^r^ Bernard's Letters to the King's Ministers was a great cruelty. I therefore cannot see how it is possible he sho^d^ have been guilty of such a thing himself, or indeed, of what is much worse than exposing official letters, the delivering up confidential letters, and thus betraying his Friends. Nor can I suspect it of you, his Admin^r^ and I have openly declared as much: yet the honour of one or the other will be called in question by the world, till the matter is explained. If they have been obtained clandestinely, w^ch^ is what [I] suspect myself, it is much better that the name of such an insidious wretch sho^d^ be exposed to the world, and the manner of his accomplishing his detested purpose, than that the reputation of men of honour should be called in question. It would be but doing justice to the rest of mankind to expose such a villain, that they may avoid him as the pest of society. I hope you will therefore give me leave to expect such an explanation of the matter as I may, for the honour & safety of the Gov^r^, as well as my own, be at liberty to publish to the world, and to hold up the name of so base a miscreant: for nothing would be more disagreeable to either of us than to be obliged, in our vindication, to publish your Bro^s^ Letters, w^ch^ may serve as a clue to what we had wrote him.

"I am sure S^r^ that your own heart must rise against the Traitor, & that your own feeling will make you to realize how I am hurt on the occasion."

Two days after, he wrote the following letter on the same subject to Robert Thompson, Esq.:—

"Boston, 3^d^ June, 1773.

"Sir,—I am so well convinced of the sincerity of your regards for me, that I will make no apology for troubling you with an affair of my own, as it so nearly affects my peace and quiet. I am

basely betrayed. A number of my letters, four it is said, which I had wrote to the late Mr Whately, in confidence, together with a number of other letters wrote him by my very good Friend Govr Hutchinson, have been some how or other filched out of his Cabinet, and transmitted hither, with design to injure us. I have by this conveyance wrote to his Brother the Banker in Lombard Street, and have freely let him know that I am so hurt on the occasion, that I must pray an explanation from him. The letters have been read in the House of Representatives, and they have this day passed a resolve, without any previous inquiry, of either of us, that they have a tendency to subvert the Constitution. They were delivered into the House, as I am told, under a promise that they shod be returned without taking copies, which terms make it look very suspicious that they have been obtained clandestinely. I cannot suspect either the late Mr Whately or his Bror the Adminsr of such a gross breach of confidence: but the action is so detested by all men of honour, that their reputation will be in danger of suffers if the matter is not explained: it does suffer now with some, tho' it is a thing only possible, that either of them should betray the correspondence; most people suspect Mr Temple, but I mention his name to you in confidence. He is suspected I say, but I know no other reason for it but because he was the late Mr Whately's correspondent. If he should be found to be the man, the Govr & I think we have a right to know it, and the manner how he obtained the letters; and not only to know it ourselves, but to have liberty to let the World know it. Nay, we think we have a right to such letters of his as affect either of us, or have any tendency to subvert the Constitution, that the charge may be retorted upon him. Whoever the Traitor is, for it is impossible that either of the Mr Whatelys shod have transmitted them to Bostn he has no right to expect that the survivs Brother shod suffer the odium to fall upon themselves in order to prevent its falling upon him. My feelings are so keen under such base treatment, that I am sure you will forgive my earnest desire that you would second my request to Mr Wm Whately for such an explanation of the matter as will throw the odium where it ought to fall.

"P.S.—Aug. 9. These Lrs having produced some injurious reflections of the 2 Houses on the Govrs character & mine, & a request to His Majesty to displace us, as well as some illiberal reflections on the late Mr Whately's character in our New E. Papers, I hope his Brother will look upon himself interested in the attack, & exert himself in discovering the author of the mischief."

There is another letter from the same to Sir Francis Bernard, dated August 9, mostly on the same subject, which contains nothing very different, except a sentiment in one of the paragraphs, which is this: "I do not however blame them for printing the letters, since it was determined under your administration, that printing papers was not taking copies of them." This is a nice distinction.

A certain Member of the English Parliament has been more than once pointed at in connection with this business, but his name has never been mentioned. Another letter from the Lieut.-Governor to Mr. Thompson, dated Boston, Oct. 9, 1773, has this remark: "I do by no means suspect the present M^r^ Whately, & if his Bro^r^ had left them, as Junius [Americanus, Hutch. Hist. iii. 318] tells the public, w^th^ a Member of Parliament, to seduce him" —to seduce him, in short, from his integrity, and tempt him into the commission of a dishonourable act, perchance to satisfy a bit of spleen.

Mr. Temple continued to be suspected, "although," as a letter of Jan. 7, 1774, has it: "although, when they first came abroad, his own Bro^r^ said—Whoever sent them was a d——d villain."

In the bundle of old newspapers, now bound into a volume with blue leather back, there are two letters signed "A Member of Parliament." One of them occurs in the *Public Advertiser* for Thursday, November 25, 1773, in which he says: "Though I was not the immediate instrument of bringing to light those letters, which have opened a scene of villainy almost incredible, yet I am so particularly acquainted with that transaction as to affirm, you have falsely and wickedly adduced M^r^ Whateley's authority, to charge it upon some gentlemen living in or near Great George Street." In speaking of Great George Street, Mr. Temple was indicated.

A month after, on December 30, in the same paper (of which four copies are saved), the M.P. addresses "Antenor," and says: "I thank you, Sir, for your Address to me, and the many civil things it contains. But as you have mistaken your man, they do not lay me under any very great obligation.

"In vindication of a gentleman whom you, and others of your stamp, had falsely charged with a breach of honour, in obtaining from M^r^ Whately the Banker certain letters written by Governor Hutchinson, Oliver, &c., I affirmed, that to my knowledge, those letters had not been in the possession of M^r^ Whately since the death of his brother," &c.

Mr. Bancroft writes ('Hist. of Am. Rev.,' iii. 544): "The

Member of Parliament who had had them in his possession, never permitted himself to be named."

Mr. John Temple had been Surveyor-General of the Customs in the Colony, had married a daughter of Mr. Bowdoin, one of the popular leaders, and had himself shown sympathies with the people. He was dismissed by the English Ministry from his employments, and seems to have fancied that Mr. Hutchinson had been instrumental in his removal. In subsequent years they met, and this was proved quite untrue. Mr. W. Whately found it necessary to come forward and explain what he knew, and the following letter of his appeared in the *Public Advertiser* of Dec. 11, 1773:—

"Some time about the month of October in the last year, [1772] M^r^ Temple applied to me, and informed me that he wanted particularly to see a paper relating to the colonies he had formerly transmitted to my brother, with a letter from himself accompanying it, and that he believed some of the letters of Governor Hutchinson, M^r^ Oliver, and others of my brother's friends in America, might probably afford some light into the object of his enquiry. Unknown almost as M^r^ Temple was personally to me, I deemed the friendship my brother had constantly shewn him, entitled him to every assistance in my power, for the purpose desired, and I therefore made no scruple to place that confidence in him, as to lay before him, and occasionally during his visit to leave with him, several parcels of letters from my late brother's correspondents in America, in the exact state in which they had come into my possession, some regularly sorted, and some promiscuously tied together; and among them were several from M^r^ Temple himself and his brother, and from Governor Hutchinson, M^r^ Oliver, and others: and during the intervals that I was in the room with M^r^ Temple, we did together cast our eyes on one or two letters of Governor Hutchinson, and I believe of one or two other correspondents of my late brother. In July last I received information from M^r^ Oliver of Boston, that several letters to my late brother had been laid before the Assembly of the Province: upon which I waited upon M^r^ Temple, and told him I thought myself entitled to call upon him to join his name with mine, in asserting the integrity and honour of both of us: that he, and he only, had ever had access to any of the letters of my brother's correspondents in America, and that I was called upon to account for the appearance of the letters in question. M^r^ Temple assured me in terms the most precise, that (except some letters from himself and his brother, which he had from me by my permission), he had not

taken a single letter, or an extract from any I had communicated to him. I saw him twice afterwards on the same subject, and the same assurances were invariably repeated by him, and confirmed by him in the most solemn manner."

Perhaps it would be difficult to find a single copy of these old newpapers either in England or in America in the present day; and though the quotations from them are rather lengthy, it is hoped that their scarcity, at all events to all persons except some privileged few, together with one or two other considerations, may plead excuses for such copious extracts.

After the above solemn assurance on the part of Mr. Temple, no wonder if he felt wounded and hurt to find that he was not believed; and his annoyance became increased to a scarcely endurable degree when he found himself persistently attacked by anonymous writers in the public prints, as by "An Enemy to all Villains, whether in High or Low Life," in the *Public Advertiser*, Aug. 24, and Sep. 4, 1773, and "Another Enemy to Villains of every Denomination," in the same for Nov. 10, and so on. He felt his character as a gentleman at stake, and being unable to get any satisfactory redress, he sent his friend Mr. Izard with a challenge to Mr. Whately, and a duel took place in Hyde Park on the 11th of December, 1773. The following heads of this singular encounter are taken from a long letter by Mr. Temple, printed in the above Journal for December 30, 1773, and in the *St. James's Chronicle*, and in the *Craftsman, or Say's Weekly Journal* for January 1, 1774, all of which papers are at hand:—

"It is with infinite regret I find myself obliged to mention M^r^ Whately, and that sometimes, in terms of censure. . . . I gave M^r^ Whately every assurance that a gentleman could give, that I had not taken any one letter nor a line of one, from among those he shewed me, but such as he saw, and gave me leave to take. . . . Some time after this explanation between M^r^ Whately and myself, several paragraphs appeared in the newspapers, highly injurious and dishonourable to me. . . . That gentleman suffered the unfair and injurious representations, under the sanction of his name, to pass unexplained. . . . Under so direct a charge, I thought it would not become me to be any longer silent. . . . The gentleman who waited upon M^r^ Whately with my invitation, told him he would attend me as a Second, if M^r^ Whately would have one on his part. M^r^ Whately declined having any Second, and therefore I brought none. He appeared at the place appointed with a sword only. I gave him one of my pistols. We discharged them mutually; mine being, at his request, the first, without

effect. If his was not directed at me, it escaped my observation. I then drew my sword, and approached him, who had also unsheathed his, with a persuasion, grounded on his coming with a sword only, when the choice of weapons was in him, that I was to encounter an adversary much superior to myself in skill. I soon found my mistake; and as far as I could reason in such a situation, determined, by wounding him in the sword arm, to end the business without a fatal stroke. But my skill was not equal to my intention; it soon became a struggle, instead of a regular combat, and I could only avoid making a full lunge, which probably would have wounded him mortally. The contortions of my antagonist's body during the struggle exposed parts which, in a regular encounter could never have been touched. When he turned himself to seize the blade of my sword with his left hand, I supposed he received the wounds in his left side, and in some violent effort his shoulder must have been exposed. The extreme smallness of the wound in that part being, as I am informed, a mere puncture, proves it to have been accidental. Had my purpose been unfair, I should have taken the life that was in my power: had it been mortal, every wound would not have been artificial, and one only dangerous, not from its depth, but its direction. I understand it is said he was down. In such circumstances it is as impossible to account for everything that happens, as to remember everything that passes. But of this I am sure, that though he slipped once, he never fell."

At this stage the progress of the combat was arrested by the approach of strangers.

Mr. Izard, who had carried the challenge, but who was not wanted as a second, proceeded, however, to the park, and brought away Mr. Whately, who was bleeding from several wounds. The latter also (*Pub. Ad.* Jan. 8, 1774) sent his version to the papers, but too long to quote, except a few of the heads. Among other things, he says:—"Unskilled, and altogether unpractised, as I make no scruple to declare myself in the use of arms, and the shortness of time [the same afternoon] not admitting of any purposed preparation, I provided myself with the only weapon I had at hand, which is the reason, and the only reason, that I appeared on the spot with the sword only. Upon M^r^ Temple's expressing himself that he presumed I had pistols about me, I told him I had not; but that, if he was provided with firearms, I was willing to share his arms with him; and upon his fixing upon the spot, he delivered to me one of his pistols, and bid me take my distance. I retired a small space, and desired to receive his fire, which he

gave me without effect. I then pointed my pistol in a line with my antagonist's body, but purposely raised considerably above his head. Mr Temple then drew his sword; I did the same. He soon took occasion to observe to me that he perceived I was no swordsman, which I readily confessed. Early in the contest he seized my sword with his left hand, and bid me ask my life. I peremptorily refused, and a slight effort disengaged us. I very soon had him at the same advantage. I had his sword secured in my left hand, and my own sword at liberty; when I bid him not to ask his life, but to take it unasked. We were again disengaged, and soon I once more availed myself of another opportunity to seize his sword, and again I bid him take his life unasked. He proceeded on each of these occasions as not hearing me; at least, he made no reply. I am far from unwilling to make allowance for the infirmity of my opponent. After this I made no further effort to seize his sword, but continued to act on the defensive only, though on several occasions many parts of his body appeared to my judgment to be unguarded, and, with security to myself, open to my attack. My conduct was so obviously defensive, that it was even noticed by Mr Temple, to whom I made no other reply than that I should defend my life. The contest continued, the countenance of my antagonist still sometimes bearing strongly the marks of passion and rage. It was, I presume, under some such unhappy, ungovernable influence, that late in the affair, and not long before we were parted, he declared he would put me to death. But in this part of my narrative let me add, that he never appeared to me to make any long lunge at me. One or two horsemen and some persons on foot were soon afterwards at no great distance, and making up to us, and my foot, in retreating, happening to slip, I fell, first on my sword hand, and then on my left hand; and before I could recover myself, several persons were near to us. Mr Temple stepped up to me, and said we should meet again; and even proposed then to withdraw. I do not recollect that I returned any answer. In a little time Mr Izard came up to us, and now finding my loss of blood was considerable, and that my breast was affected in a manner that made me draw my breath with difficulty, I accepted Mr Izard's offer to take his coach, which was then in the park, and near at hand, to convey me to Mr Sanxay's, or Mr Davenport's, my surgeons," &c.

Unfortunately, this duel did not bring Mr. Temple peace. Not only was the suspicion against him not cleared away by it, but he was declared to have done the dishonourable thing, of wounding his antagonist after he was down.

In the *Public Advertiser* for Jan. 8, 1774, there are letters by the principals, and affidavits by four persons who were attracted to the spot by hearing the reports of the two pistols, and who witnessed the greater portion of the sword encounter. In the same paper, two days after, there are letters by Mr. Izard and by the duellists, which are not very amicable in their tone.

In the same, of Jan. 11, there are two other affidavits, the same being by the coachman and footman of Mr. Izard, who had driven their master to the park, and who accidentally became spectators of what took place. The footman swears that Mr. Whately never fell at all.

The *Craftsman* for Jan. 1, 1774, prints a letter of Benjamin Franklin, which can scarcely be omitted here, though it has often been quoted before. It runs thus:—

"Finding that two gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel, about a transaction and its circumstances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent, I think it incumbent on me to declare (for the prevention of further mischief, as far as such a declaration may contribute to prevent it) that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. M^r^ W. could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and for the same reason, they could not be taken from him by M^r^ T. They were not of the nature of 'private letters between friends'; they were written by public officers to persons in public station, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons, who might be influenced by them to produce those measures; their tendency was to incense the Mother Country against her Colonies; and by the steps recommended, to widen the breach, which they effected. The chief caution with respect to privacy was, to keep their contents from the Colony Agents, who, the writers apprehended, might return them, or copies of them, to America. That apprehension was, it seems, well founded; for the first Agent who laid his hands on them, thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituants.

"B. Franklin,
"Agent for the House of Representatives
"of the Massachusetts Bay.

"Craven Street, Dec. 25."

This letter of Franklin's serves, no doubt, to puzzle the question very considerably. He got a great deal of censure from many quarters. A writer in the *Morning Post* for January 16, 1774, who

signs himself "An American, known to many of them," when speaking of one, whom he prefigures under the formula "Dr. F—n," says, *inter alia*—"His rectitude and honesty (before very much doubted) received a severe stroke in the affair of purloining the papers of Governor H—n from M^r^ W—ly."

The duel is several times alluded to in the Governor's Diary.

"Aug. 3, 1774.—Went to Court. Two Knights of the Bath invested with the Order in the King's Closet,—Gen^l^ Howard & Col^l^ Blaquiere. King enquired of me concerning the climate in America, &c. Lord Suffolk treated me with singular courtesy. I told him of T—'s desire to see me. He said he saw no objection; but mentioned again, in confidence, that they knew he took the letters from the present M^r^ Whateley."

Thus the suspicion stuck to him, and not to the Member of Parliament.

"Aug. 8.—Just before dinner M^r^ Temple called upon me alone and unexpectedly . . . . I had, in all the affair of the letters, acted with the utmost caution, and had wrote, in answer to a letter from the present M^r^ Whately, that I did not charge M^r^ Temple, & had not done it. Upon my mentioning the letters, he said that affair of Whately had hurt him more than anything else. As he hoped to see the face of God, he never meant to kill him; and he believed M^r^ Whately would own that he aimed to fire his pistol wide of him.

"Aug. 12.—M^r^ Whately mentioned a circumstance of his duel which he has not mentioned in print, viz.—That when Temple fired, he observed that he did not take aim at him; and agrees with, or renders probable, what Temple said, that he purposely fired wide of him."

Writing from Milton, to his youngest son Billy, who was then in England, under date March 9, 1774, he says in a letter, preserved in one of his Letter Books:—"Remember, my dear son, that a strict regard to honour, integrity, and virtue, if there was no higher motive to it, is absolutely necessary to the obtaining a lasting reputation in the world; and chicanery, shuffling, and fraud will sooner or later blast the characters of those who practise them; and I am of opinion my observation will be verified in the characters of the persons, whoever they may be, who have carried on the affair of the letters, on this side the water, as well as the other. Neither of your brothers dare venture to appear."

There are one or two other letters in the collection bearing on the same subject, but these remarks are already so very lengthy as to forbid further quotation.

In the middle of the fiftieth chapter of his History, Lord Mahon discusses this question. In a note he tells us that J. Adams, Jan. 28, 1820, wrote to Dr. Hosack as follows:—"M^r^ Temple, afterwards Sir John Temple, told me in Holland that he had communicated these Letters to D^r^ Franklin." But on the other hand, as Mr. J. Adams goes on to remark, "D^r^ Franklin declared publicly that he received them from a Member of Parliament," which Mr. Temple was not.

Was Mr. Pownall the said "Member of Parliament"? He had been suspected by some persons from his knowledge of America, from his personal acquaintance with several who were more or less connected with the affair, and from the feelings which he was supposed to cherish towards some of the parties connected with it. But this suspicion may have been quite wrong.

Apologies are due, and are freely offered, for the length of these remarks. It was hardly possible to pass the subject over unnoticed, for the Letters are occasionally alluded to by the King's Ministers in England, and without some explanation of the circumstances, any allusions would be veiled in obscurity.

CHAPTER IV.

"However, a few months had great effect that way [removing prejudices], when another affair was brought on which raised the flame higher than ever it had been.

"A large quantity of Tea, subject to a duty of 3d. per lb., by advice of Ministry, was shipped to the Colonies, and 600 chests of it was ordered to Boston. It was soon resolved by the people that this duty should not be paid."

Those who are familiar with American history have had enough of the Tea riots, and most persons might feel that sufficient had been said upon the subject to satisfy most appetites; but there are several letters in the editor's hands which may contain something new, and as they have never yet been given to the public, to withhold them would be a fault. The following is the original, bound up in the first volume of the three folios with blue leather backs, written from Milton to one of his sons—probably the eldest, who had taken refuge in the Castle.

"Milton, 30 Nov., 1773.

"My Dear Son,

"Hall, arriving on Sunday, caused one of the old sort of Meetings of Town and Country the next day, where they resolved, in Doctor Sewall's Meeting House, that the tea should be shipped back, and that no duty should be paid, and 25 were appointed as a guard upon the ship last night, Hancock and Adams being two of the guard. The gentlemen, except your uncle Clarke, all went to the Castle about 3 o'clock yesterday. The L. G. writes me that the Meeting was desired by M^{r} Clarke's friends, to be adjourned until this morning, in order to some proposals. I hope they will not comply with such a monstrous demand. I have just sent Talbot to Town with a Declaration to be read by the Sheriff, if they will give him leave. This may possibly cause me to take my lodgings at the Castle also. I was in town yesterday with the Council, who would only do what is worse than nothing. Remain

where you are until you hear further, and whilst you may with safety. My love to all: I can write to none.

"Your affectionate father,

"THO. HUTCHINSON."

Such was the state of the times in Boston. Twelve days after this the Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, wrote officially to M^r^ John Pownall, a brother of Thomas Pownall, the ex-Governor, one of the Under Secretaries of State for the Colonies, who was in London. M^r^ Oliver's Letter Book is a folio bound in white vellum, and almost all the letters have been entered with his own hand.

"Boston, 11th Dec^r^, 1773.

"Sir,

"I had the honour of your letter a few days since, of 12 Oct^r^, and immediately send off the enclosed for Gov^r^ Hutchinson who, tho' late in the season, thinks it best still to reside at his seat in Milton. The importation of the East Company's Tea has given him much trouble; but he has conducted [himself] with such firmness in that affair hitherto, as must give him great credit. It has brought him fresh abuse, insomuch that some of his friends have strongly urged him to retire to the Castle for safety, where the consignees [his sons], together with the Comiss^rs^ of the Customs now are. I was of opinion he was not in immediate danger. None of the tea is yet landed, and the issue is yet uncertain. I doubt whether you will hear from the Gov^r^ by this ship, and therefore enclose you the Even^g^ Post of the 6th for your information respecting the tea affair. I know nothing now concerning it since the date of the Newspaper. I have not seen the Gov^r^ for this week past, and cannot inform you what his determination is about making use of his leave of absence: if I should be called to take the chair in this turbulent time, I am sensible it will require great firmness to conduct the affairs of Government aright; and I wish I could foresee any good effect from that moderation which my nature inclines me to, without also giving up the Rights of the Crown, and violating the Constitution. I mean to do my duty."

Some people take but slender interest in the reading of letters. They do not like this form of having information laid before them. They look upon them as fragmentary, and not of a style of light reading sufficiently amusing. And yet, if there are charms in novelty, it is certain that in such effusions as have never yet seen the light, there must of necessity be something new. But the historian is mainly bent on collecting and laying before his readers

all the most authentic information he can obtain, relative to the subject of which he is treating, irrespective of the dressing up, or of the mode of seasoning. There is a great pleasure in getting at a new truth or a hitherto unknown fact out of an original bit of writing: and there is nothing more fresh than the unrestrained flow of sentiment and opinion in a letter that comes direct from the unstudied hand of the writer.

From Thomas, the Governor's son, to his brother Elisha:—

"Castle William, Dec. 14, 1773.

"Dear Brother,

"I imagine you are anxious to know what the poor banished Consignees are doing at the Castle. Our retreat here was sudden; but our enemies do not say we came too soon: how long we shall be imprisoned 'tis impossible to say. I am glad for your sake you can remain in quiet where you are. The proceedings of the people, while assembled, you have in print. We have since had application from the owners and masters of the vessels to receive the teas, who at the same time acknowledged 25 armed men were watching the vessel to prevent it: however, they have protested against us. I suppose they have taken this step more to serve themselves than to hurt us; but being surrounded with cannon, we have [part torn] them such answers as we shou'd not have dared to do in any other situation. I hear there is a meeting of the mobility to-day, but don't know the result. I hardly think they will attempt sending the tea back, but am more sure it will not go many leagues: it seems probable they will wait to hear from the southward, and much may depend on what is done there. The Commissioners are all with us, and we are as comfortable as we can be in a very cold place, driven from our family's [*sic*] & business, with the months of Jan^{y} & Feb^{y} just at hand. I hear you have been to Milton, tho' I suppose you [are] quite safe where you are: yet it's best to keep close till the infernal spirit is lay'd, or at least cool'd. Give my love to everybody, and tell Peggy [his youngest sister] I have the pleasure of drinking her health very often, with the other toasts of the Town. I wish to be with you, but think it quite necessary we should all be together till something is settled. I am, your Affectionate Brother,

"Tho^{s}. Hutchinson, Jun^{r}.

"P.S.—Our situation is rendered more agreeable by the polite reception we met with from Col. Leslie and the other gentlemen of the army. At present I think I shall not speedily return to Boston, if allowed to quit this place."

From Mr. John Row to the Consignees. Not dated, but evidently written in December, 1773, and just before the tea was destroyed.

"Saturday.

"Gent^{n},

"As the people seem so very uneasy abo. this importation of Tea, I think my Duty out of friendship to you to desire this affair may be Reconcild; & as your young Gentleman has told mee, you could not pay the Duty for want of cash. Give me leave to offer you what is wanted to pay the Duty, Rather then the affair should be any longer kept up in anger in the minds of the people. This I do out of Regard—& you make take [*sic*] yr own method of Repaying mee.

"You may think it perhaps an officiousness in Mee, but be assurd it's for the sake of peace.—I am, with Esteem, Gent^{n}, your most Obt. Ser^{t}, "John Row.

"Mess^{rs} Hutchinson.

"If I should be out of the way, M^{r} Jnman, my Bookeeper, will procure you the cash."

The above letter was well meant, and we hope it was well received.

The next is from T. H., Jun^{r}, to his brother Elisha, who was at Middleborough:—

"Milton, 9 Jan., 1774.

"Dear Brother,

"I have been here a few days, having stole up the river with Salisbury, the Gentlemen being all of them still at the Castle, & it's probable I shall return there in a day or two. The tea saved out of Loring is housed at the Castle. The Bostonians now say we shall not return to town without making concessions. For my own part I shall not be in a hurry, nor much grieved, if I do not see it this twelvemonths: but I suppose shall quit the Castle some time this week, as we are all provided with retreats in the country. I have had a disagreeable six weeks of it, but am in hopes the issue will be well.—I am, your Affectionate Brother,

"Tho^{s} Hutchinson, Jun^{r}."

From the same to the same:—

"Milton, January 21, 1774.

"Dear Brother,

"I wrote you some time ago. I was in hopes our harrassment was drawing to a close, and that we should leave the Castle the last week. M^{r} Faneuil & myself coming off, caused a suspicion that we intended for Boston, which was the means of Saturday's

notification, which I sent you. Mr Faneuil is since returned to the Castle; and I am really more confined than if I was there, as I keep pretty close to my room. Mr Jonn Clarke sails in a few days for England, in a ship, Coffinn, Master, of which I am very glad, as it may prevent misrepresentations of our conduct on that side the water. A man from Plimouth to-day bro't the acct of the base treatment Col. Watson & yourself met with there. I am sorry it hapned, as it will be a harvest for Edes & Gill [printers], but it can't be helped. My friends advised me to go to Court, & the Court adjourned over to this week; but they have generally advised me the contrary since. I have forwarded Palmer's acct with the C. [?] & remitted £600 on the last sales. I intend to employ somebody to collect what debts I can, but suppose we are generally considered as outlawed.—I am, your Affectionate Brother,

"Tho. Hutchinson, Junr."

No memorandum has been saved that will explain the nature of the treatment that Col. Watson and Elisha met with at Plymouth. The circumstance is again alluded to in the following letter:—

"Milton, February 4, 1774.

"Dear Brother,

"Yours, giving me an account of your Plimouth tour, I recd. I am glad you are safe returned to Middleborough. I wish you had not gone to Plimouth at all, but what has hap'ned cou'd not have been foreseen. If we are are [*sic*] able to live quiet in our retreats, it is as much as I expect at present, as I am sure no opposition will avail anything. Perhaps the Honorable Judges of the Superior Court may screen the poor Consignees, as I am told the flame is kindling fast against them, & it is thought it will not be safe for them to come to Court, unless they comply with every demand made of them; their stations will not be the least security to them. The Governor seems determined to go to England, unless prevented by the Lt Governor's declining state, which I think increases upon him very fast. What do you think of giving up the Store? I am told it is kept shut up, & the few things in it may easily be removed. The man waits. I am your Affectionate Brother,

"Thos Hutchinson, Junr.

"I'l send the Book next opportunity if I can get it from Boston."

At the risk of being rather prolix, it is necessary to give an original letter written at this period by General Gage, who was

in England, and in communication with the different members of the Ministry. It is in the first vol. of the blue leather-back Letter Books. Any letter can be easily found, as they are arranged consecutively according to date.

"London, Feb. 2d, 1774.

"Sir,

"My last to you was from the country: on my return to town the conversation ran on Letters, &c., published in the Newspapers on the subject of the obtaining your Letters, which were transmitted to Boston: a Duel ensued, and Mr Franklin at length came forth and acknowledged himself to be the person who had obtained and transmitted yours and Mr Oliver's Letters to Boston. No man's conduct was ever more abused in all companys than his was, for so vile a Transaction; nor any man's character more honourably mentioned than your own. All this you will have heared [*sic*], and I only mention those Transactions lightly.

"The Petition to remove you and Mr Oliver was heared on the 29th ulmo., before a numerous Council, and a crowded audience; and I was of the number of the latter. Dr Franklin had leave to be heared by Council; Mr Dunning, who having no Facts to produce, for attested copies of Letters transmitted to America in an anonymous letter, he allowed to be no proof. He rested the prosecution entirely on the Petition, expatiating on the propriety, justice, and expediency of removing all Governors obnoxious to the People, without examining into the grounds of their complaints: that the Petition proved both you and Mr Oliver to be obnoxious: and that was a sufficient reason for His Majesty to remove you both. This is all I could gather from his argument. He spoke low, and I could only catch words now and then.

"Mr Wedderburne took a large field, in which he displayed his oratory amazingly, and I believe no lawyer ever spoke his real sentiments more than he did on this occasion. He defended your prudent and faithful conduct for years past, in which he introduced the conduct of your opponents, and treated the Resolves of some of your Town Meetings in a manner so ludicrous as to set the room in a loud laugh. He then proved that the Letters complained of were not public, but private letters between friends; which being read, all present were convinced of; and that the measures pursued by Government, deemed oppressive by the Bostonians, were in consequence, not of the Letters in question, but of letters from Govr Bernard, Commodore Hood, General Gage, &c., &c.

"Next came on the obtaining and transmitting the Letters to Boston, the Duel, and D^r^ Franklin's publication: and he was serious, pathetick, and severe by turns: and I suppose no man's conduct and character was before so mangled and torn, as D^r^ Franklin's was at this time: people wondering he had confidence to stand it, with the contemptuous looks of the audience upon him.

"The Petition was rejected unanimously; and the Letters as unanimously judged to be meritorious. I sincerely congratulate you and M^r^ Oliver upon a victory as compleat as was ever gained; which has made you more known, and higher in the esteem of the people of this country.

"The fate of the Teas at Boston and Philadelphia is known, but no account yet from New York.* People talk more seriously than ever about America: that the cricis is come, when the Provinces must bee either British Colonies, or independent and separate States. What will be done, nobody I believe can yet tell. People talk, and I apprehend publish their own, or the conjectures they have heard from others. Nothing can be fixed. I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,

"THO^S^ GAGE."

It is now time to continue Mr. Hutchinson's narrative, which was dropped near the commencement of this chapter, immediately after the words—"It was soon resolved by the people that this duty should not be paid." The break occasioned by the interposition of these letters will be fully compensated for by any new point in historical research which they may contain. The narrative then proceeds:—

"One third of the tea was consigned to two sons of the Governor; and it was insinuated that he was a promoter of the measure, though it was directly contrary to his wish, and to the interest of his sons, who were put out of a profitable business they were in, of importing tea themselves. The Governor, foreseeing the difficulty that must attend this affair, advised the consignees to order the vessels when they arrived, to anchor below the Castle; that if it should appear unsafe to land the tea, they might go to sea again; and when the first ship arrived, she anchored accordingly; but when the master

* "The whole value of the tea destroyed being estimated at eighteen thousand pounds."—Stedman, i. 87.

came up to town, M^r^ Adams and others, a committee of the town, ordered him, at his peril, to bring the ship up to land the other goods, but to suffer no tea to be taken out. The ship being entered, the Custom House Officers would not clear her out until the duty on the tea was paid. This brought on greater disorder and confusion than ever. A formal demand was made of the Governor to give a pass for the ship without her clearing at the Custom House. This he could not do without violation of his oath. The tea was destroyed by the mob. The Governor was charged with having been the cause of it, by refusing to give a pass."

Dr. Ryerson, of Toronto, put forth two very handsome volumes entitled 'The Loyalists of America;' and although there is a high-flown Dedication to Her Majesty at the beginning, and a notice of sundry copies of his work presented to Ministers and persons in high places at the end, there runs through his pages an under-current of sympathy with the republican opposers of English supremacy, which looks rather contradictory, and is sometimes very puzzling. In his Preface he says that "the history of the Loyalists of America has never been written, except by their enemies and spoilers;" and yet, in illustrating the different points of his subject, nearly the whole of his quotations are taken approvingly from the printed books of these very "enemies and spoilers." It is much to be wished that there had been a little more original matter brought forward; and it would have looked more consistent with the alleged loyalty of his professions if he had drawn his supports in a greater degree from our English historians whose fidelity to the Crown was unimpeachable. He proceeds to speak of "those English historians who have not troubled themselves with examining original authorities, and in some instances imbibed the spirit of American historians, and deprecating everything English, and all who have loyally adhered to the unity of the British Empire." It would not be very inconsistent to apply these words to himself.

The two Governors of Massachusetts, namely, Sir Francis Bernard and his successor, who were the most noted for their fidelity to the English Crown, and the most trusty and trusted by the King and his Ministers, whose servants they were, and whom they were bound to obey, whose lot was cast in very difficult times, and in very unpleasant times to themselves, and against whom no charge of an illegal stretch of power, of tyranny, or of

harshness was ever sustained—these two men, whose loyalty brought upon them the odium of the Sons of Liberty, are the two persons against whom the United Empire Loyalist pours out his greatest measure of bitterness; and where he cannot speak strong enough with his own pen, he calls in the aid of Bancroft, Franklin, Ramsey, and a few more, by repeated quotations from their unfriendly writings.

As Dr. Ryerson calls himself a Loyalist, it might be expected that he would pay some respect to Governor Hutchinson's explanations of the difficulties that beset the tea question, and would join with another loyal man in trying to disentangle them. Mr. Hutchinson's great crime was his unflinching loyalty among men who were not loyal. If he had been less faithful to his trust, he would have been more popular. The Loyalist had read enough to understand the points of the case, if he had cared to understand them: but though he had not seen the statements in the manuscripts that are now for the first time printed in these pages, he had at all events read the printed 'History of Massachusetts' written by the same author, and he even quotes from vol. iii. page 435, where the explanations are given. He receives all statements on the loyal side with reluctance, and imputes to the loyal Governor the most sinister motives for everything he did.

He also ventures to affirm that the Governor had no right to dissolve a town meeting, known to be hostile and illegal, as if the King's Representative did not possess the authority to issue a Proclamation for the purpose, or send the Sheriff to read it: and that the meeting could not be legal was plain, not only from its being assembled for illegal purposes, but from the fact that its organisers did not venture to call it a "legal town meeting," but they called themselves so drawn together simply "the body:" for such meetings were not confined to the known and privileged inhabitants of Boston in "legal town meeting" assembled, but were composed of the lowest and the volunteers who had flocked in, without any qualifications as citizens, to join with the Bostonians. And yet Dr. Ryerson asks—"Upon what legal, or even reasonable, ground had Governor Hutchinson the right to denounce a popular meeting?" and a little lower down—"or what authority had Governor Hutchinson to issue a Proclamation and send a Sheriff to forbid a public meeting, which the Charter and laws authorised to be called and held, as much as the Governor was authorised to call and hold his Council?" &c. The bias of his mind is very plain here—as plain as his disregard to the legal and the truthful considerations that bore on the case.

No objection could be raised to his being a Republican, or a Liberty Boy, or a Rebel if he liked, for every man is free to hold what opinions he chooses, or to attach himself to what party he prefers; but whilst his sentiments and his sympathies are all that way, and the large majority of his quotations are taken from those writers who were in revolt or in antagonism against the Mother Country, it is strange that he should proclaim himself a Loyalist, and bepraise himself with considerable satisfaction about it in his Preface. His own book is the evidence against him. The worthy descendants of those "enemies and spoilers," as he terms them, now hold high and honourable places in the United States, but it will rather puzzle them to decide whether to look upon him as a friend or as a foe.

He draws a parallel (vol. i. p. 386) between the cases of the Boston tea ship or ships, and those of New York and Philadelphia, which were sent back, and blames the Governor for not doing as was done with them: but the cases were totally dissimilar the one from the other. The tea ships to those two cities brought cargoes of tea, and it is implied that they brought nothing else, so that there was no difficulty in their turning about and going back the same way they came: whereas the Boston ship, whose case has been the subject of discussion, was more than half laden with winter goods for the merchants, which they could not do without, so that the ship of necessity must proceed up to the wharf to discharge that portion of her cargo. It was Mr. Adams and the Committee that ordered the master and the owner "at their peril, to cause the ship to be brought up to town:"* and it was they also that would not allow the tea to be landed, although the consignees offered to store it away in a safe place until they could communicate with their principals. With a startling disregard to truth Dr. Ryerson perverts all these facts, that are clearly given in a book which has been more than fifty years in print, the accuracy of whose statements has never been called in question. If his performance does not please the Loyalists of Great Britain and Canada, it is not likely to please the Americans in the States much better, who are denounced as "enemies and spoilers."

The simple points of the case, divested of all argument, are the following:—

On Sunday, November 28, 1773, the first tea ship arrived in Boston Harbour, and anchored below the Castle—Mr. Adams and the Committee ordered her to come up to a certain wharf of the

* Hutch. 'Hist. of Mass.,' iii. 430.

city, which she did—the merchants' goods were landed—they forbid the tea to be landed, although the consignees undertook to store it away in a place of safety until they could get instructions from their principals—this was refused, because they were determined that the tea should go to sea again—the ship was therefore ordered to leave—she could not leave without an official Clearance from the Custom House—the Custom House officers could not grant a Clearance until she was empty of all her cargo, or as long as any part of it remained on board—but the tea should not be landed—then the Governor was applied to for a Pass, in order that she should pass out of the Harbour without being stopped by the guns of the Castle, or of the men-of-war lying in the roadstead—but the Governor explained that according to law and the custom of the port, he could not grant a Pass until the ship had received a clearance from the Custom House: he would commit a fraud and break his oath if he did—but the Custom House officer could not grant a Clearance until she was cleared out.—What a complication! And what a dead lock! The Bostonians cut the Gordian Knot by throwing the tea into the Harbour. Now, who was to blame? Historians hitherto have never taken the trouble to sift out the grains of truth from the passion and contradictory argument of which the subject was a wild conglomeration. To blame the merchants for having the ship up and taking out their winter goods—to blame the Custom House officers for declining to give a Clearance when the ship was not empty, which they could not do—or to blame the Governor for not giving a Pass without the Clearance, which he could not do—was all silly in the extreme.

But, to resume—

"He had obtained an order from the King to go to England, if he should judge it necessary; and finding the people more and more enraged against him, he resolved to avail himself of the order, and was treating for his passage, when the Lieut.-Governor died. Though, by the letter of his order he could be justified, yet upon this unexpected event he thought he should be blamed, as he would leave the powers of a Governor with the Council, who had joined with the people in their measures, particularly in an impeachment of the Chief Justice [Peter Oliver, younger brother of the Lieutenant-Governor], for receiving his salary from the King, then lay before the Court,

which would be acted upon as soon as they had power. This caused him to alter his intention; but before his letters reached England advice had been received there, by letters to Bristol, that he had taken his passage. This alarmed administration, it being reported that the L^t^ Governor was ill; and thereupon General Gage was appointed Governor, and assurance was given Mr. H. that he should be no loser by it, and that it was the King's intention he should be reinstated as soon as General Gage's continuance should be judged no longer necessary; and he was left at liberty either to go to England, or to remain in the province.

"He thought the former most eligible, though a very undesirable measure at his time of life; and he took his passage in the first vessel, and arrived, and landed at Dover the 29th of July,* 1774."

Here ends his narrative entitled, "Hutchinson in America," written at the end of the fifth volume of his diary, which volume takes in the dates from August 1st, 1777, to August 31st, 1778, and it was probably during that interval that he wrote this account of his ancestors and some other things not to be met with elsewhere. Towards the close of it, as related above, some passing allusions are made to three several points, which are the following, namely—

1. His preparations for a voyage to England.
2. The unexpected death of the Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, which deranged all his plans.
3. And the impeachment of Chief Justice Peter Oliver, "for receiving his salary from the King."

All these points are more or less alluded to in the original Letters, of which there are three volumes of folio size, and having blue leather backs, by way of distinguishing them; or in the copies of Letters in several Letter Books, which copies, however, are mostly in the handwriting of the persons themselves; or they are alluded to in diaries and memorandum books: and if any of

* The word "July" is a mistake for June. The Diary, further on, shows all about it. He landed June 29th; got to London the next day; had the long conference with the King on the 1st of July; and in reality, on the 29th of July, he was dining with friends at Pope's Villa at Twickenham. Rather a singular mistake for the writer to have made. After he wrote it he probably did not take the trouble to read it again, and so he never discovered the oversight.

these sources of information are quoted, this is the right place to do it.

Chronologically speaking, the first or earliest intimation of leave of absence to pay a temporary visit to England—for at that time it was intended to have been only temporary—appears in the copy of a letter bearing date June 26, 1773.* This intimation is contained in the following paragraph :—

"It is not improbable, my lord, that it may be of advantage to me in my private affairs to make a voyage to England in the Fall, and it may appear to me to be for His Majesty's service. I humbly beg your Lordship's favor in obtaining from His Majesty [leave] for my absence from the province for six or nine months, in case that I shall find it necessary for either of the reasons I have mentioned."

Various were the surmises that were thrown out by various people when it became known that he was going to England. Some hazarded the thought that probably he was summoned to give an account of his stewardship to an angry King or country : others that he was certainly in for a reprimand : and some preferred to think that he had been sent for, rather than to believe that he had himself originated the step by applying for leave of absence. If the Colonies were to continue as appendages to the Mother Country, it is certain that things could not go on as they were. There were two alternatives :—either law and order must be enforced by the adoption of more stringent measures than had hitherto been resorted to : or else the Colonies must be given up altogether. Men scarcely thought that by this date things had come to such a pass as this—but they had, though. If the Governor had to maintain the authority of England over an unwilling people, no wonder they hated him : and the more he did his duty the more they hated him : and this is the true secret of all their malevolence. In party struggles people do not stop to inquire who is morally right, or who is morally wrong ; but every man is only intent on having his way ; and the worst abuse the best, simply because they are opposed. Franklin was in London ; and writing to Mr. Cushing, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Aug. 24, 1773, he says :— "I am told that the Governor has requested leave to come home :

* This letter is not in the Governor's handwriting. It is a copy in the handwriting of the late Rev. John Hutchinson, Canon of Lichfield, the same who edited and published the third volume of the Governor's History in 1828. The original is missing.

that some great persons about the Court do not think the Letters, now they have seen them, a sufficient foundation for the Resolves: that therefore it is not likely he will be removed, but suffered to resign, and that some provision will be made for him here."

Of the three points alluded to above, we will take the first, which concerns his preparations for the voyage. The following is taken from his Letter Book which, for distinction's sake, may be described as being of folio size, and covered with old marble paper. It ends abruptly, without signature, and the name of the correspondent to whom it was sent is not recorded.

"Boston, 24th January, 1774.

"Dear Sir,

"Although I have wrote to you very lately, yet, as M^r^ Clarke embarks suddenly in this ship, and wishes to be the bearer of a letter to you, I was loth to refuse him. To say the least, he has been engaged in a most unfortunate affair to him and to the other consignees, who, to the eternal reproach of the country, are forced to sculk about to avoid insults from a deluded populace. I could never see any one step which has been taken by those gentlemen [the consignees] but what may be vindicated. Destitute of all protection from the laws, they had recourse to the military power, vested in the Governor alone by the Constitution; and they would have failed even of that, if there had been no force in the Province, besides its proper inhabitants, and must have complied with every requisition made of them, tho' it had been followed with their utter ruin.

"I expected that it would have been necessary for me to have gone to England in the Fall, and sollicited His Majesty's leave, which was granted and forwarded sooner than I could have hoped, but was, from the 17th of August to the 15th of November on its passage.* Had it arrived in common time, I could have been provided with a passage in the *Arethusa* or *Lively*, Men-of-War; and the state of the Province was such that I might well enough have justified my leaving it; but since my receiving the Order of Leave, no ship has sailed but what has been so small that I should have been afraid of the

* The official letter granting this leave of absence seems to have been mislaid, as it is not found among the collection of papers.

fatigue of a winter's passage, being constantly sea-sick in a small vessel: and if it had been otherwise, the tumults caused by the tea were every day increasing, and I should have feared the King's displeasure if I had left my government until the fate of the tea was determined. We have no accounts yet of the arrival of what was intended for New York. The issue there will have its effect upon the conduct of the people here; and I believe will have some influence on the measures of the Assembly here, which I am to meet next day after to-morrow. In the meantime I am settling my private affairs, that I may be prepared to go or stay, as the event may make advisable, and have my eye upon a ship at New York, concerning which I expect to hear the the [*sic*] first post. If any letters should come directed to me, and I should be absent, they will remain with my son, without communicating to any person." *

The next day Peggy wrote the following letter to the wife of her brother Elisha, Peggy being at this time seventeen years old.

"Milton, Jan^{y} 25, 1774.

"Dear Polly,

"You may now know how to pity me, who have been running from a mob ever since the year sixty-five; † but soon do I hope to be out of their reach, as I am now pretty certain papa will not go without me. We had a little contest, but you know the women always gain their point. * * * *

"I will take care that the things you mention are sent to the L. G.'s. My fingers are so cold that I can but just tell you I am your

"Affectionate Sister,

"Peggy Hutchinson."

Two days afterwards, the Governor wrote the next letter to one of his sons, though it is not certain which, but probably

* His eldest son Thomas, Judge of the Court of Probate, who remained in America for two years after his father had left.

† "But in Boston there had always been a mob, which, under the direction and auspices of men behind the scenes, and opposed to British rule in any form, was ready to come forth as opportunity offered, in lawless violence against the authority of the Crown and its officers."—Ryerson's 'Loyalists of America,' 2nd edit., i. 288.

Thomas, the eldest. The letter is the original one, and in his own handwriting. It is bound up in the first volume of the blue leather-back series :—

"My Dear Son,

"I have only time to send the News-papers, and to tell you in answer to what you wrote about accompanying me to England, that it certainly will be best for you not to be in England when any examination is brought on about the late proceedings here, as it must make you enemies ever after. I have so short a time to remain, that it's of no great importance in what part of the world it's spent. If I find it best you should come after me, I will let you know it. Nurse said nothing to me of M^r^ Tupper's message about the Doctor's wine until this minute, or it would have been ready for the waggon.

"Your Affectionate Father,

"Jan. 27th. THO. HUTCHINSON."

He had now fully made up his mind to undertake the voyage as soon as possible, and he wrote to Governor Tryon, at New York, on the subject of procuring a passage.

"Boston, 2^nd^ February, 1774.

"Dear Sir,

"Although I am not required to go to England, unless I should think it for His Majesty's service, yet, my last letter from the Secretary of State supposes it's probable that I have embarked; and the present state of the Province is such, that I see no prospect of being serviceable here. At present there is no ship bound from hence with tolerable accommodations, and the sea is so unnatural to me that I could very illy bear the motion of a small vessel. I am informed that a fine ship, the *Duchess of Gordon*, will sail soon from New York. Shall I ask the favour of you to inform me when it is likely she will sail? Whether I could have a passage for myself and daughter, and two servants? or if not so much room, for myself and one servant; or whether there be any other good roomy ship, not a new one, that will sail in a month, and will take passengers?" &c.

It may be inferred from the evidence given below, that Elisha had betrayed some feelings of discontent, fancying that his brothers had been better provided for than himself; but his father endeavours to explain away this false impression, and to satisfy his son's mind on a point that probably touched him closely.

"Milton, 6 Feb^{y}, 1774.

"My Dear Son,*

"If I had no children I would not take the trouble of a voyage to London at this time of life, but would retire, hoping to make my estate last as long as I lived, though I kept to as expensive a way of living as I am in at present; but I hope to make such provision there, that I need not spend my estate while I live, but leave it to my children who come after me. If I could see any prospect of advantage in your business, I should encourage your going; but to be at two or three hundred pounds sterl. expense, and no equivalent, I believe will not be thought prudent. If I go I can judge, and should not be against your following me, if I see any benefit from it; besides, I think the appearance of going away and carrying so great a part of my family, may be a disadvantage to me here, and in England. I see no prospect of sailing in less than a month, and the L^{t} Governor is in so hazardous a state, as to make it doubtful whether I can go at all.

"If you mean that I have given more money to either of your brothers than I have to you, you are under a mistake, unless Billy has spent more than I yet know of; and if he has, he must take so much the less by and by, it being my intention that my children shall account after my death for what they receive in my life time. If you mean the advantage of being in London, I doubt whether it will prove an advantage; but if it be, Tommy's going there was at my motion, to apply for a compensation, and so far as I thought he might be of service, I made an allowance to him, but he bore the greatest part of the charge himself:† and as for Billy,

* Blue leather-back Letter Books, vol. i. Date February 6, 1774.

† This implies that Thomas, the eldest son, had paid a visit to England. No evidence of such a visit appears elsewhere.

I could not resist his importunities and the advice of some gentlemen, who thought such a voyage would be of benefit to introduce him to some employ, as he had no turn for business; but he knows that if he will spend what I intended for him in this way, he cannot have it in any other.

"I begin to hope it will not be long before you will be able to be in town. I saw the three M^r^ Clarks yesterday at M^r^ Burch's, in their way to dine at Roxbury. They have been upon some treaty, and think that some of the highest Liberty men begin to see they have carried the matter too far with respect to the Consignees. A few days will determine it. Jonathan was to have sailed this morning, but I have not seen the ship go down to-day. I am

"Your Affectionate Father,

"THO. HUTCHINSON." *

"Elisha Hutchinson, Esq.

"At Middleborough."

From Thomas Hutchinson at Milton, to his brother Elisha, at Middleborough :—

"Milton, February, 1774.

"Dear Brother,

"I rec^d^ yours, enclosing M^r^ Vose's note,† and will get the money for you if I can. Your shoemaker sent the enclosed note, which I will pay if you desire it; if you have anything else you want transacted there, my friends have been very kind in offering their services, and I can get it done for you. You will by the papers see how the matter stands with the Judges. It is unfortunate for Judge Oliver he stands alone. I hope he will sooner or later meet the just reward of his firmness: his friends generally think it not advisable for him to come to Court, as there's nothing too extravagant to be put in

* This letter is sealed with the Governor's large oval seal in red wax, somewhat broken. It bears the motto—LIBERTATEM COLO, LICENTIAM DETESTOR. It looks as if this motto had been assumed in allusion to the state of the times. Several electrotype copies of this seal were made from it in 1882.

† From several memorandums in the Almanack of 1770, above quoted, it seems that Vose was a tenant of the Governor's, and that he kept an inn at the town or village of Milton.

execution at this time; the House came in a body to the Governor yesterday, renewing their request that he would dismiss the Chief Justice; if they do not succeed, it must increase the flame against the Governor. [It] has been publicly said the L^t^ Governor's illness has occasioned the Gov^r^ to suspend his voyage, at least, for the present. I see no prospect of our being discharged until we hear from England. Mess^rs^ Clarks and Faneuil are still at the Castle. I have not been anywhere but from House to Barn, and Barn to House, since I wrote you last. My love to all. I am

"Your Affectionate Brother,
"Thos Hutchinson, Jun^r^."

"I send some letters and papers at M^r^ Lyde's desire.

"Pray forward the enclosed, and get an answer when you can."

The following letter to the Earl of Dartmouth touches upon most of the points that at this time engrossed the attention of the public mind. It shows to what a lamentable state of disorder the affairs of the Province had drifted into, and how difficult it would be to apply a remedy.

"Private. Boston, February, 1774.

"My Lord,

"The letter, copy whereof I enclosed to your Lordship in a private letter of the 19th of October, has been publickly read in the House of Representatives, together with several other letters from the same person, the first or second day of the Session, the Speaker having read one of them to the Secretary, in which the writer says, that the terms of conciliation proposed in the letter from the Council and House, are so reasonable and moderate, that he is encouraged to expect they will be complied with. I directed the Secretary to apply to the Speaker for a copy, which he promised to give him; but after renewing the application, the Speaker informed him they were private letters, though they were publickly read in the House, and are now in the possession of a Committee of the House, appointed to take under consideration the state of the

Province. By this artifice a correspondence is carried on, of a very bad tendency, secure against detection.

"The answers, both of the Council and House, are very exceptionable, malicious as well as illiberal; that of the Council especially, discovers so much rancour against the present Governor and his immediate predecessor, such indecent reflections upon His Majesty's Ministers of State, and obliquely upon the King himself, that they cannot escape your Lordship's observation. It is really the performance of one man only; the Council being, by so many changes made in it for seven or eight years, so modelled that nobody is left to oppose the designs of the new modellers of government with the least degree of spirit or, in most cases, to say Nay to the proposals made to them.

"But the proceedings against the Judges of the Superior Court are more alarming. Advantage was taken of the weak state of body, by which the mind was also affected, of one of the Judges, and he was induced, in consequence of the resolves of the last Session, to send a letter to the Speaker, expressing his determination to comply with the demand of the House. Having carried this point with one, the others were afraid of increasing the rage of the people against them, if they refused to comply with the renewed demand made upon them the present Session; and one of them assured me that he was constrained to a compliance, merely because his person, his wife and children, and his property were at the mercy of the populace, from whom there was nothing which he had not to fear. I used every argument in my power to fortify him, but could not prevail, and none but the Chief Justice refused to comply. I proposed dissolving or proroguing the General Court; but that, as being done upon their account, it was supposed would bring the rage of the people upon them as much as their refusal, if not more.

"The Chief Justice lives forty miles from the town, and his friends being much concerned for his safety, dissuaded him from coming to Court. One of the Judges is confined to his house by the small pox: the other, who is very infirm, and who first complied, can give but little attendance; so that the

business of the Court must be continued to the next Term. Indeed, there is no prospect of any notice of the late extravagances in the town of Boston, the Grand Jurors for that town being persons who were among the principal promoters of the meetings which occasioned the destruction of the tea, and were undoubtedly selected to prevent any prosecutions. I see no prospect of persuading the people who disapprove of these proceedings, to support me in my opposition to them, unless they could be sure of protection. They all give one and the same answer. Matters, they say, are now carried to such a length, that either, order will be restored to the Government by the interposition of the authority in England, or we shall take it for granted they intend to yield to the demands of the leaders of the people here, and suffer the independency they lay claim to: and as soon as we see, as we shall do in the spring, which is the case, so we shall govern ourselves; if the latter, we must join with those from whom we have hitherto kept separate, and submit to them on the best terms they will grant us.

"Despairing of success in any further attempts for His Majesty's service, I had determined to avail myself of the leave given me to go to England, and was preparing for my passage with a view of being there before the middle of April; but, before it would have been possible for me to embark, the Lieutenant Governor had declined so much in his health, that I was obliged to put a stop to the provision which was making for my accommodation on board a large merchant ship at Casco Bay bound to Bristol; the physicians pronouncing his case very hazardous from a bilious disorder. He was brought very low by the same disorder some years ago, and in a short time recovered his former state of health; but the symptoms now are more threatening, and age, with the trouble he has met with, seems to have worn out his constitution. A short time, I think, must enable me to make a more certain judgment. If he recruits, and returns to his former state of health, I intend, the first opportunity after that, to reassume my preparations; but if he should die, I shall be in doubt whether, notwithstanding my leave, His Majesty would approve of my leaving the province until a successor be appointed. I must therefore pray that

there may be no suspension of your Lordship's correspondence at a time when your directions may be very necessary; and if your Lordship shall think anything necessary to be communicated, which it may be inconvenient to come into the hands of the Council,* and shall condescend to communicate it in a private letter, it will, in case of my absence, come to the hands of my son, who will either deliver it to the Lieutenant Governor, if living, or forward it to me, as may be thought proper.

"I see no prospect, my Lord, of the government of this province being restored to its former state without the interposition of the authority in England. I rather think the anarchy will continually increase until the whole province is in confusion. I received intelligence a few days ago of town meetings held in the county of Berkshire, adjoining to the province of New York, to form combinations against the payment of Lawyer's and Sheriff's fees in Actions at Law, because they thought the established fees by the law of the province were too high. Success in the opposition to the supreme power over the whole, leads the subjects of subordinate powers to conclude they may also shake off such subjection whensoever they are dissatisfied with them. The restoration and maintenance of this supreme power would, I conceive, restore and maintain the subordinate powers. Some persons, who pretend to be well acquainted with the designs of the opposers of government, are very sanguine that they have laid a regular plan, and pursue it step by step; and they say that after the Acts of Parliament imposing duties are all repealed, the Commissioners and other officers of the Customs shall be all removed, and the trade shall be free and open. This may be conjecture only. It is certain that some of them declare upon Change, that no seizure shall be made of teas from Holland, and I doubt whether we have any Custom House officers who would have fortitude enough to enquire after them. But I question whether they have formed any other plan than

* Bearing in mind the use that had already been made of the private letters of Governors Bernard and Hutchinson, this precaution will seem reasonable to reasonable people.

in general; as soon as they have carried one point to attempt another; and in a few years they say that, from the natural increase of the Colonies, they will be strong enough to cast off all subjection of every kind.

"This would be easily prevented by the King's taking or keeping possession of the fortresses in every Colony, and keeping only one ship of the line in every principal seaport; but this has little or no tendency to maintain interior order, and the servants of the Crown will, notwithstanding, be continually exposed to the resentment and rage of the people, unless they join in or connive at their irregularities.

"The people, my Lord, in every Colony, more or less, have been made to believe that, by firmly adhering to their demands, they may obtain a compliance with every one of them. That the colonies are so much in debt to the merchants in England, and that they are so necessary to the manufacturers there, as will effectually prevent any measures which may tend to destroy or lessen the debt, or lessen the consumption of the manufacturers. In this Colony all this is openly asserted in the House of Representatives, for the sake of the people in the Gallery: and it is added that, from past success, a judgment may be made of future; but if there was any room to doubt, yet they had now gone too far to stop, and the best chance they had was by persevering, and going to the utmost length; and frequent hints are thrown out that, if they are not able by their votes and resolves, there is, however, virtue and valour enough in the people to effect all that is desired. All the present disorder in the Colonies is undoubtedly owing to neglect in suffering that sense of the supreme authority of Parliament, which, seven years ago, in every colony, it was thought treason with force and violence to oppose,* gradually to go off from the minds of the people, until it is entirely lost.

"A conviction of this authority, or a persuasion that, at all events, the Parliament will maintain it against all opposition, will restore order; but how this conviction or persuasion is to

* These are remarkable words, it having been denied by the leaders of the popular party that they had ever been bound by Parliament at all—plenty of Acts of Parliament to the contrary notwithstanding.

be effected, I must humbly submit to your Lordship, as I must also the expedience of leaving to the subordinate legislature in the Colonies, the raising monies by Taxes or Duties, whenever it shall be thought fit that requisitions should be made from them; only I beg leave to suggest that it would greatly tend, if it is not absolutely necessary, to conciliate the affections of the Colonies to the parent state.

"For the more safe passage of this letter, I shall enclose it to a gentleman who sailed from hence about a fortnight ago, and desire him to wait on your Lordship with it. Being one of the Consignees of the East India Company, all of whom, I think, behaved with great firmness and propriety, and are not yet suffered to appear in town, he will be able to give your Lordship a very full account of that most criminal proceeding, and of the principal actors in it.

"From a sense of my duty to the King, I have represented in a private letter to your Lordship the general state of the province, which I expected to have been able to do in a more particular and circumstantial manner in person. Although I have said nothing which is not too notorious to be denied, yet such prejudices have seized the minds of the people in general, that representation of the most publick proceedings, if unwarrantable, is pronounced unkind or unfriendly; and by one step more, the person representing [it] is declared an enemy to the country.—I am, most respectfully," &c.

The foregoing letter is long, but it contains several interesting points calculated to arrest our attention. In opening his mind to the Minister for the Colonies, he felt that there were no such things as secrets. Experience had shown him that the ingenuity of the opposers of government could get possession of almost any morsel of so-called private correspondence they might desire. It is plain, also, that all his constitutional resources for the support of the royal authority were exhausted, he was utterly at a loss what to suggest for the further maintenance of it. And there are symptoms in the above, as well as in some other communications to England, of a consciousness of despair, when he surveyed the state of the province, and the

entire impossibility, by any means at his disposal, of restoring things to order. If patience, great forbearance under much provocation, perseverance, and steadfastness could have achieved it, surely he would have succeeded. Considering that he was born and bred in America, nurtured in the schools, and habituated in the habits and sentiments of the very atmosphere which he breathed, perhaps his steady loyalty during a prolonged struggle, in which he had so much to lose and so little to gain, was to many persons remarkable. Indeed, it may appear so to us at this distant day. Some of his enemies declared that all his measures were only dictated by sordid and ambitious motives. Where is the appearance of it? He had nothing to gain from the King but empty honour. On the other side, he had all the friends of his youth to leave, and many to lose; to imperil the property which he had inherited from his ancestors the first settlers, or gathered together by his own industry, and which he cherished for the maintenance of himself and the benefit of his children; and to risk the break up of his establishment, connections, and resources, in the utter ruin that seemed to be impending. It is said that the actions, or motives for action, in most men, are guided by self-interest. This may pass when he is a free agent, but even then it is too selfish a motive to be classed as an honourable one. There are other and higher incentives, such, for instance, as principle and a sense of duty. If a public man or other functionary is not actuated by the spirit of these latter, he will never do his duty to his employer, or gain credit to himself. "Moreover, it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful." The man who is moved by self-interest is not the man to be found faithful. But in party warfare, even this great and universal virtue is held up to be denounced as a vice. "You have been faithful to my opponent, I know, but for that very reason I hate you." Such is the feeling, and such will be the judgment.

Mr. Bancroft, in his 'History,' has undertaken to write what purports to be a character of Governor Hutchinson, too full, however, of the spice of party malevolence and blind condemnation; a principle of writing that precludes from the reader all chances of finding in it any hope of justice or of sober

truth. He brings against him charges of having attempted to effect a variety of measures which, if carried out, would have brought about the ruin of the Colonies—a process which would be like trying to sink the boat in which he himself was floating. As all the Governor's fortunes, all his substance, and all his interests lay in America, foolish, indeed, must he have been to have destroyed the country out of which he drew his existence, and the hopes of maintaining his family. Herein, indeed, he differed from all the other Governors of Massachusetts, who had come out from England, and whose properties were in that country. He was a native, and loved the country of his birth; and whilst he ardently desired its prosperity, he considered that that prosperity would be best promoted by continuing loyal to the Mother Country. In one place Mr. Bancroft speaks of him as "the complaicent, cultivated, and truly intelligent Hutchinson"; in another he says, "he excelled in the art of dissimulation, and knew how to veil his selfishness by the appearance of public spirit"; in another he imputes to him the vices of avarice and ambition, "and avarice in an old man is cowardly and mean." Wherein resided this avarice and this ambition? Was it in his desire for offices, and the emoluments attached thereto? Scarcely, when we learn how very limited were the salaries paid to public officers in the Colony in that day. By his talents, and by his administrative abilities, displayed in both Houses of the Legislature, he became Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1746, at the early age of thirty-five. He was appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Suffolk in 1752, when he was forty-one; and his uncle, Edward Hutchinson, who had presided in the Probate Division, dying that year, he succeeded him.* "He was also, where the power of the Crown was united with the nature of this provincial legislature, appointed Judge of Probate for the county of Suffolk, the most important county of the province; and afterwards Chief Justice of the province, as also one of His Majesty's Council. As Judge of Probate he conciliated the admiration, esteem, and love of all who

* 'Sketches of the Judicial Hist. of Mass.,' p. 304. By Emory Washburn.

either repaired to him for justice, or appeared before him as council for the litigant parties; the widow and the orphan repaired to him as their guardian; and the doors of his office, and his house also, were ever unlatched to their petitions for relief and advice. His placid temper and his invincible patience, seemed marked out by the god of nature for the discharge of this most difficult office, where litigants appeared who were uninstructed in all the forms necessary to conduct their cases, and too frequently carried them on with the impertinence and roughness of unpolished nature; but his decrees were given with so much legal judgment and undisguised integrity, that the lips of envy and party abuse were ever fast sealed against any impeachment of his official justice. This office he discharged with peculiar pleasure; for upon his once being asked by a friend why he did not resign this very troublesome office, since he sustained those of Lieutenant Governor and Chief Justice also, and as the profits of it were very trifling? His reply was this, viz. :—'It gives me so much pleasure to relieve the widow and fatherless, and direct them what steps to take in managing their estates, and also in reconciling contending parties, that I would rather resign my other offices, and discharge this alone, without fee or reward.' In mentioning these three offices, which M^r^ Hutchinson sustained at the same time, it may be noticed, that the envy and ambition of some, and the envy and avarice of others, were roused by the possession of so many by one man; but let it be remembered that the pecuniary stipends of this province to their servants, were similar in profit to the wages of sin—for no man could get a living by them; and those three united in M^r^ Hutchinson, although each of them was as profitable as any other office, did not afford him a decent support for his family." *

This eulogium is well sustained by Mr. Bancroft himself, who observes :—"As a judge, though he decided political questions with the subserviency of a courtier, yet in approving wills, he was considerate towards the orphan and the widow; and he heard private suits with unblemished integrity. In adjusting

* The Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion to the year 1776, in MS., p. 35.

points of difference with a neighbouring jurisdiction, he was faithful to the Province by which he was employed." *

Before Governor Thomas Pownall left the Colony—"The Commissions of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., for Lieutenant-Governor, and Andrew Oliver, Esq., for Secretary of Massachusetts Bay, were published in Council, June 1, 1758." † There is no documentary evidence in England to show whether this post of Lieutenant-Governor had been coveted by him or not, though there may be in his private letters in America, which were taken with his house at Milton, and of which Mr. Bancroft had made such free use.

The amount of the salaries attached to the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor do not seem to have been with certainty fixed: at least, we are led to suppose so, when we see that writers of that day, when speaking on the subject, use expressions that imply doubt. In a letter written by Andrew Oliver some years afterwards, to the Hon. John Belcher, when his own promotion had been proposed to him, the following remark occurs:—"You will probably have seen before this an account of the appointments for this Government from the *London Gazette*. This does not mention the salaries of the Gov^{r} and the L^{t} Gov^{r}; but our newspapers have it that the one is £1,500 and the other £300 ℔ an., which I believe you may give credit to." ‡ Again, when addressing Mr. John Pownall, April 5th, in the same year:—"I had the honour of your letter, dated in Nov. last, conveying to me your kind congratulations upon the late mark of his Majesty's favour conferred upon me. I cannot doubt of having had your good offices on this occasion; and pray you to accept my best thanks for every instance of your regard. My L^{d} Hillsborough acquainted me of this appointm^{t} on y^{e} 1st of Apr^{l} last, and that his Majesty had been pleased to annex to it an allowance of £200 ℔ an.: and since that Castle Will^{m}, which was a usual appendage to the

* In settling the boundary line between Mass. and N. York. Hutch. 'Hist. of Mass.,' iii. 391.

† *Ibid.*, iii. 75, Note, and 86, 87.

‡ Letter Book of A. Oliver, white vellum cover. Jan. 14, 1771.

place of L^{t} Gov^{r}, had been put into other hands, Sir Francis Bernard advises me that £100 a year has been added to this appointment."

There is an original letter of the Earl of Hillsborough, bearing his sign manual, of August 7, 1772, in another letter book, addressed to Mr. Hutchinson, in which it speaks of £100 a year appropriated to the Fort-Major of Castle William. It is conveyed in the following paragraph:—* "The enclosed copy of my letter to the Lords of the Treasury will inform you of the provision His Majesty has been pleased to make for the support of his law servants in the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and I have the additional satisfaction of acquainting you that I shall by this packet signify His Majesty's commands to Lieutenant-General Gage, for the appointment of Captain Phillips to be Fort-Major of Castle William, with an allowance of one hundred pounds p. annum, free of all deductions, and payable from the time his former command ceased."

Again, Mr. Bancroft writes:—"His sordid nature led him to worship power." By the year 1770, however, he had had enough of power and high places, and the free-and-easy manners of the Patriots, so called, for he not only shrunk from the prospect of further advancement, but, wearied and disgusted with ill-treatment, he rather desired to be relieved from all the offices he then held.† "Before the arrival of [his] the Lieutenant Governor's letters in England, desiring to be excused from any further share in the administration, the King had been pleased to direct a commission to be prepared, constituting him to be Governor of the Province, in the room of Sir Francis Bernard, and to promote M^{r} Oliver to the place of L^{t} Governor."‡

In a former chapter, when mentioning the retirement of Sir F. Bernard, and the proposal of the home Government to advance him to the first place, it is recorded that—"he wrote a letter of thanks to Lord H[illsborough], but desired to be

* Original letters, blue leather backs, vol. i., August 7, 1772.

† In Rep. vero, quanquam animus est præsens, tamen, voluntas etiam, atque etiam ipsa medicinam, effugit. 'Cicero ad Atticum,' epist. 18, lib. 1.

‡ Mr. Paxton succeeded Mr. Oliver as Secretary.

excused, not only from the Governor's commission, but to have leave to resign that of L^t^ Governor." Did this incident lead Mr. Bancroft to say—"His sordid nature led him to worship power"?

And this historian, in proceeding further to enumerate his vices, informs us that he loved money, but he does not tell us how much work he had to do in order to earn it. Money and work ought to balance each other, and the labourer is worthy of his hire. No doubt he held in his hands a group of high-class offices not commonly centred in one man: but we may ask Mr. Bancroft to be so good as to point out to us, how many men there were at that time in America who could have filled them as he did? We have seen how the Assembly paid the judges—"Even their door-keeper had a larger stipend."* Whether he loved money or no, one thing is quite certain—he loved work. Truly he did not eat the bread of idleness. In recording the confiscations of his estates in America, we might expect that a covetous man would express his grief in the most impassioned language; for if it was his great desire to gain property, it must needs be an equally great grief to lose it. "To gain property," says Mr. Bancroft, "was the most ardent desire of his soul:" and yet if this writer speaks true, it is strange that he should dismiss the notice of his losses by a few unstudied words in his Diary, *e.g.*—"Nov. 14, 1776.—My property which was at Milton sold at Vendue. Washington, it is said, rides in my coach at Cambridge."† And again:—"Sep. 30, 1779.—M^r^ Blowers writes to M^r^ Bliss, of June 30, that one Brown of New York had purchased my estate at Milton for 38,000£ lawful paper money." In the same way some other estates in Rhode Island and other places were seized. This is a very cool and laconic mode of dismissing such important subjects.

Speaking of the period when Boston, by the mild forbearance of the Governor, had drifted into a state of riot and tumult, it

* 'Orig. and Pro. Am. Reb.,' p. 128.

† In an inventory of his effects taken at Milton, occurs this entry—"A new coach, cost £105, besides freight." From the mention of freight, this coach must have been had out from England, and is probably the one Washington laid his hands on.

is held up against him as a crime that he "urged them [the Ministers in England] incessantly to bring on the crisis by the immediate intervention of Parliament." Most people would say that this was a very constitutional mode of proceeding—the most constitutional that could have been devised. Can Mr. Bancroft have forgotten that the Colonies were founded and fostered under the shadow of this constitutional power, and that a series of statutes passed the Legislature, and were in force, during the reigns of the Jameses, Charleses, Anne, and the Georges, for the guidance of the affairs of the plantations, and that Americans never questioned their authority, but lived happily and prosperously under them, until "this new doctrine of independence" * substituted Mob Law for Constitutional Law? These early Acts of Parliament, and the then loyal adherence to them by all orders of men, have been sufficiently alluded to at the commencement of this volume.

Not less heinous was the crime of desiring that his letters should not be opened and read by strangers.† What would Mr. Bancroft think if any friend, not to say enemy, were to open his escritoire, or waylay his letters *in transitu*, and turn them over, or take copies of them, even if these letters did not treat of the important business of the country, which, under all Governments, requires a certain amount of reserve? It is well known that no Ministry could carry on the affairs of a nation if its despatches were to become common property. The treatment of his letters in Franklin's case, following those of Bernard, had taught the Governor how much honour was to be expected from political opponents. The remembrance of this might have warned Mr. Bancroft that he was venturing upon delicate ground, which, however, he did not see, any more than Franklin in his case, for the latter wrote to Cushing, saying:—"I came by them honourably, and my intention in sending them was virtuous." It is not the custom in Europe to go to

* Bancr., iii. 463.

† Stedman, i. 84, writing in 1773, says—"Their present Governor was M[r] Hutchinson, a native of Massachusetts Bay, a lawyer and a man of learning, who had filled the office of Chief Justice of the Province with general satisfaction, and was appointed Governor on the resignation of Sir Francis Bernard, in the year 1770."

Franklin's private code of morals to learn virtue. And the American historian takes a great deal of trouble to search out and stigmatise a long list of expressions from the Governor's letters to influential persons in England,* in which the writer candidly declares that he has many things to say which he cannot trust to paper.† Thus, he wrote to Whately—"keep secret everything I write:" to Mauduit—"my sentiments on these points should be concealed:" and some others which, though only used with the necessary caution which a statesman is obliged by his responsible position to maintain in his despatches, are made to appear as if he were "like one engaged in a conspiracy or an intrigue." So easy is it for party malevolence to twist the most harmless actions into evil where men are bad enough to do it.

Such writers have endeavoured to make out that he was recalled, superseded, and then set aside. It appears, however, that the voyage to England originated in himself, in an application for leave of absence from his post "for six or nine months;"‡ and the announcement in the *Gazette*, dated Whitehall, April 2, 1774, states that General Gage's active operations in America were to continue only "during His Majesty's pleasure;" it having been fully expected that the Province would be soon reduced to order, and that Mr. Hutchinson would then return and resume the functions of his office. During the short period of sixteen months that the General held his appointment, there was very little of the civil administration left for him to do, so soon did military matters occupy the anxious thoughts of every person whatever. Gage was succeeded by Sir William Howe, October 10, 1775, and we hear of nothing but martial operations afterwards.

Washburn attempts to shelve him in a very unceremonious manner. He writes of him thus:—"He went to England,

* From the collection of about 1500 letters taken at Milton.

† Even Cicero felt this:—"Multa enim sunt, quæ me sollicitant, anguntque, quæ mihi videor, aures nactus tuas, unius ambulationis sermone, exhaurire posse. Ac quidem sollicitudinum aculeos omnes ,et scrupulos, occultabo. Neque ego huic epistolæ, atque ignoto tabellario, committam."—Cic. ad Att., ep. 18, lib. 1.

‡ Letter of June 26, 1773, already given.

where he became a pensioner of the Crown, and died at Brompton, near London, June 3, 1780, having experienced the fickleness of Prince's favours, in the neglect with which he was treated during the last years of his life." The Governor had an allowance from the Treasury, which kept him, as it were, in hand, until the time should come round for his return: being still considered by others, and by himself too, as the Civil Governor of Massachusetts.* That he considered himself so is abundantly plain from many passing remarks scattered here and there in his Diary and Letters. He uses the following words in his Diary, Feb. 24, 1775, after he had been eight months in England:—"I called at M^r^ Knox's house before breakfast, to let him know my opinion of the impracticability of his plan, and that, as Governor, I should not dare to give my assent to any Act framed according to his proposal. He seemed himself to be less attached to it than yesterday." He here seems to speak with the feeling and the authority of the Governor in reserve, who expected to be again the acting Governor before long; and in numerous places both he and his friends allude to his going out at no distant date. He writes:—"April 27, 1775.—Called upon M^r^ Cornwall. He advises me to think nothing of a return to New England until next summer." Again:—"March 5, 1776.—At M^r^ Doyley's. He says things now go on to his mind, and he hopes to see America in order before another year. He complimented me with an opinion that I ought to go out soon." It may well indeed be argued that he was virtually Governor during the whole of this period until his death on the 3rd of June, 1780, being a space of ten years wanting five months, and that he was the last Governor of Massachusetts.

Washburn further says:—"Though a baronetcy was offered to him, which he declined for private reasons, still, he was very much neglected." But from his Letters and his Diary, which remain, and from stray remarks made by his relatives, it seems that he was perfectly satisfied with the treatment he met with from the King and his Ministers; and in more than one place

* See his Diary further on, and amongst other places November 12 and December 2, 1774.

it is declared that every promise that any one of them had ever made to him had been faithfully kept. Writing August 27, 1774, he says * :—"If you do not see those public marks of honour conferred which my letters intimated, it is not because they have not been offered to me; indeed, no part of the assurances given have failed." Again, August 29 :—"With respect to myself, marks of honour and distinction have been offered me to the full of what I was encouraged to expect; but my time of life, and the inequality of my fortune, has made me hitherto think it not prudent to accept them." We should not have looked for this from the covetous and avaricious and ambitious man, as described by Mr. Bancroft.

We must not expect that the most able ruler in talent, or the most indulgent in administration, should ever enjoy the love of the disaffected: as well might we expect to see the criminal love the law that restrains him. The most constitutional passages in his purloined letters were madly declared to reveal a plan for enslaving the Colonies, and to be subversive of all the most cherished institutions in America: but to this he replied—that it had not been the design of them "to subvert the constitution of the Government, but rather to preserve it entire." † And in their cooler moments the Americans themselves have admitted that they contained no sentiment which he had not openly expressed in his addresses to the Legislature; ‡ and the editor of one of the printed editions, p. 4, observes—"I am at a loss to find what there is in them which can be a ground of blame." §

Mr. Hutchinson was the King's representative in Massachusetts, bound by oath to support the authority of the King and Parliament by all constitutional means; and if he had

* His letter book covered with old marble paper.

† Bancroft, iii. 511.

‡ 'New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.,' i. 307.

§ It has become painfully manifest in Europe that American history has to be written all over again. If in a young country, struggling for an origin and intoxicated with her freedom, her leaders deal in flattery, self-glorification, and the *suppressio veri* to please the masses, it is not so in an old country like England; she has no mob either to fear or to flatter; she can be honest and true to herself; she can afford to speak truth, or let others do so, even if that truth is not flattering.

yielded to the popular demands, he would have become, to all intents and purposes, a rebel; but because he would not do so, there was no crime in the calendar that rebels did not impute to him. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is the King's representative in that country; but what should we think of him if he were to join the Fenians, Land Leaguers, or Home Rulers, by whatever name the disaffected may be called? Yet the cases in principle are not very different. A comparison of this sort brings out the enormity of the idea. Had he been an alien or a stranger in America, he might have been suspected of being indifferent to its interest or welfare; but Mr. Bancroft says truly enough—"he loved the land of his nativity;" and there are many passages in his writings which bear this out. Thus to Pepperell on August 15, 1774:—"I am not able to subdue a natural attachment to the very soil and air, as well as to the people of N. Eng^{d}." * Again, in September, to Mr. Lee:—"I have been offered titles of honour, and it has been intimated to me that I may have a much better Gov^{t} than I have had. I have hitherto made the insufficiency of my private fortune an excuse † for not accepting the one, and my time of life will be for the other. I hope to leave my bones where I found them, and that before I part with them I shall convince my countrymen I have ever sincerely aimed at their true interest." And we will just take one from his Diary, written five years afterwards. Under May 15, 1779, he says:—"Though I know not how to reason upon it, I feel a fondness to lay my bones in my native soil, and to carry those of my dear daughter with me." ‡

No doubt the American dispute looked very differently whether it was surveyed from Boston in Lincolnshire, or from Boston in Massachusetts. We would wish to act fairly, and give the Americans all allowance for the different point of view.

Of the three points mentioned above, the first has now been

* His marble paper cover letter book.

† Diary, August 15, 1774.

‡ He alludes to Peggy, who died September 21, 1777, and was buried September 25 in a vault in Croydon Church, Surrey, to which vault the grieved father eventually followed her.

M.r Andrew Clerer Nat 23 March 170[illegible]

disposed of. The second referred to the death of the Lieutenant Governor, which took place on the 3rd of March, 1774, and at once put a stop to all his preparations for departure.

The following letter to the Earl of Dartmouth was hurriedly written on the day of the death, and sent off immediately to England:—

"Boston, 3rd March, 1774.

"My Lord,*—

"Hearing of a vessel at Falmouth bound to England, I hope to get this letter on board, that by the first opportunity I may acquaint your Lordship that the Lieut^{t} Gov^{r} died last night,† after a few weeks languishment. I dare not, without his Majesty's express order, leave the Province until some person shall succeed, altho' it would otherwise, as I conceive, have been for his Majesty's service, as well as for my personal benefit. Whether it will be tho't proper that a successor shall come from England, or that any Gentleman belonging to the Province should be appointed, I am not able to judge. As soon as I can determine upon a fit person or persons within the Province, I will take the liberty to acquaint your Lordship with my opinion. At present I am at a loss where to find a person who would be willing to accept the post, and who has sufficient knowledge of the Constitution, and sufficient firmness of mind to do the duty of his station, if the command of the Province should devolve upon him.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"R^{t} Hon. Earl of Dartmouth."

The next is from T. Hutchinson, Junior, to his brother Elisha:—

"Milton, March 7, 1774.

"Dear Brother,—

"I sent your shoes last week. I have not got the cash book, nor Mr. Silsbe's acc^{t} here, but send yours from the Ledger.‡ The L^{t} Gov^{r} went off suddenly at last, and is to be buried to-morrow. My friends have been trying

* Letter Book, marble paper cover.

† His executor, T. Hutchinson, Junr., writes that he died on the 3rd, which is the date of this letter. The words "last night" may mean during the last night, and after midnight.

‡ The account need not be quoted.

to sound the powers that rule at present, but do not think it safe for me to attend the funeral. The proceedings against Judge Oliver seem to be pretty well over. The Council were much embarrassed, and I doubt not the affair will end much to his honor: the Court I hear will rise in a few days. Nothing more.—I am your Affectionate Brother,

"Thos Hutchinson, Junr.

"Col. Hancock has offered himself and Company to attend the Lt Govr's funeral. Unaccountable conduct."*

Extract from a letter from Peggy Hutchinson, dated Milton, March 9, 1774:—

"The L. G. was buried yesterday. The Doctor [Peter Oliver?] will give you an account of the funeral. What havock has been made in that family within these few years! I am very glad your Grandpapa did not come down: from the rude and brutal behaviour of the rabble, I have no doubt but he would have been insulted."†

On the day after the funeral, the Governor wrote to Sir Francis Bernard, who was now in England, to inform him of the event, and of the effect it would have on his movements and administration. He gives a deplorable account of the state of the country.

"Boston, 9th March, 1774.

"Dear Sir,—

"The death of the Lieut.-Governor puts a stop to my intended voyage. His friends think the abuse he met with shortened his days. He has been languishing ever since Christmas. At the singing after the Communion he found his eyesight fail, so as not to be able to read the Psalm, but was not otherwise sensibly affected. He kept abroad until a few days before he died, but at last was seized suddenly, and after about 48 hours of a quiet lethargy, the candle went out.

* John Hancock had been appointed (probably to conciliate his party) to the command of the young cadets, a body of ostensibly loyal young men. Considering that he had behaved like a bitter enemy to the Lieut.-Governor, his offer to attend the funeral with his company (commonly understood to be a mark of honour) might well excite surprise from its inconsistency.

† "1774, March 3d. Died Lieut.-Governor Oliver, my son-in-law's father, aged 68; buried the 8th. The Parliament passed the Boston Port Bill and other penal laws."—Diary of Ben. Lynde, Junr.

"I expected to have been in London by the middle of April. My order to leave is discretionary; and unless the advantage to the public would countervail the disadvantage, I am afraid to leave the Government in such hands. This is a great disappointment to me. Five years constant scene of anxiety would weary a firmer mind than mine. In England I could have pretty well judged whether any measures could be taken which would have made a Governor more easy; if not, I hoped my services would have entitled me to a public vindication from the most infamous, groundless calumnies which the malice of the most artfull insidious men in the world could devise, and that I might be made easy for the remainder of my life, whether longer or shorter. The last winter has given me as much trouble as any three months since you left the Province. Besides the Tea business, of which you have had a full account, there has been an attack upon the Chief Justice, which has given me great trouble. I had to avoid a controversy upon the merits which, with such people, would have been endless, to save him from the fury of the people, with which he was threatened to such a degree, that his friends from all quarters, joined in persuading him not to attend the Court at Boston, to resist all their attempts to force his removal, and to save the honour of the Government without a general convulsion. The friends of Government say the cause of it could not have been conducted with greater propriety. Perhaps they flatter me. When you see all the proceedings in order, for they will all appear in the papers, you will judge. Such a mixture of improper unnatural sentiment and reasoning, rude and indecent language, sophistical and fallacious reasonings and evasions, oblique allusions and flirtt [?], below the dignity of the Robinhood, or even a Schoolboys' Parliament, you never met with before.

"Mr Clark and his son and Mr Faneuil are still confined to the Castle: my eldest son and his family are with me at Milton: my other son and his family at Middleborough: and neither of my sons have dared to appear in Boston since the latter part of November, to the total neglect and ruin of their business. We have nothing from England of a public nature

since the November mail. We suppose we are upon the eve of something extraordinary, but our case is so difficult that nobody conjectures what. Logan has been very sick, but I hear is better.—I am, &c.

"Sir Francis Bernard, Bart."

Towards the end of the Lieutenant-Governor's Letter Book,* and after his hand was still, there are two or three letters by Thomas Hutchinson, Junior, one of his executors,† written to friends to notify the event. The first runs thus:—

"Boston, March, 1774.

"Robert Thompson, Esq.

"Sir,—I am sorry to acquaint you that the L^{t} Governor (my wife's father), whose health has been upon the decline the past winter, was seized with a fainting fit on the first Inst.; —lay deprived of his reason til [*sic*] the 3rd, and then expired. As he was pleased to appoint me one of his Executors, your letter of the 20th of December, came to my hands, and I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of it. If I can be any way serviceable to you in America, I have leisure and inclination to exert myself for that purpose. It's probable when I come to look into the L^{t} Governor's affairs, I shall have occasion to write you further.—I am, &c."

It was generally understood that the troubles of the times had shortened his days. Writing to Mr. Jackson on the 9th of March the Governor says‡:—"Probably from the Newspapers you will see an account of the Lieut. Governor's death before this letter reaches you. Repeated losses of his near relations sat heavy upon him, and the indignities offered him soon after, by the use made of his private letters, hapning [*sic*] just upon the back of them, sunk his spirits, and he has been declining for several months, and at last left us suddenly, and sooner than we expected."

* Small folio, bound in white vellum.

† The second letter, which it is not necessary to quote, shows that the other executor was the L.-G.'s eldest son, Andrew Oliver, who was born November 13, 1731.

‡ Letter Book of T. H., old marble paper.

To Samuel Hood, Esq., on the 13th of March, he writes:— "I have gone through very troublesome scenes since the date of your letter, some of which you will have been acquainted with from your own Newspapers. I have the satisfaction of being assured that my conduct has been approved by my Sovereign. I wished for the approbation of my country also, but in the present state of this province they are not compatible. Tired with abuse, I had obtained leave to go to England, and should have embarked by this time, if the Lieut. Governor had not declined in his health, which kept me in suspense until the 3rd inst., when he died, which put an end to my voyage, at least until a successor be appointed; for I should be afraid of the King's displeasure, unless my orders had been peremptory. This is a great disappointment."

In a lengthy communication to Mr. Mauduit, on the last day of March, he touches upon most of the salient points of the burning questions of the day, and in alluding to the death which had then recently occurred, he says: "The Lieutenant Governor is out of the reach of the malice of his enemies. They followed him however to the grave; a part of the mob, upon the relations coming out of the Burying Ground, giving three huzzas, and yet few better men have lived."

This disposes of two of the questions mentioned above, the third being the impeachment of Chief Justice Peter Oliver, "for receiving his salary from the King." He was a younger brother of the Lieutenant-Governor, an honest man, a clever lawyer, and perhaps possessed of more nerve to withstand the rude assaults of the times in which he lived. The impeachment of the Chief Justice is treated of in the Governor's 'History of the Province,'* so that nothing need be done now except to quote a few manuscript notes which have not yet seen the light. It appears from these that several servants of the Crown, occupying different offices in the State, had, by successive arrangements made at different periods, received their salaries from England. On the 30th of October, 1767, Andrew Oliver, afterwards the Lieutenant-Governor, but at that time Secretary, wrote to Jasper Mauduit: "I find by

* Vol. iii., p. 443 *et seq.*

divers accounts from Engl[d] that there is an intention to make provision for my more certain and adequate support as Secretary. I know not whether it will be expected from me to make application for the King's Warrant for that purpose: if there should be occasion for this, I should be obliged to you if you would advise with my good friend M[r] Thompson about it. Whatever has been the practice hitherto, yet, as the Sec[y] is the K.'s servant, and he has expressly reserved to himself, in the Charter, the appointm[t] of that officer, I can see no impropriety in his looking up to the King for a support: for if his support were to depend entirely on the people, it would be, in effect, giving them a negative on the King's appointment.—I am, &c."

In a letter to Robert Thompson, Esq., of April 20, 1768, he writes:—

"I flatter myself that I shall not be wholly neglected in the provision intended to be made for the officers of the Crown, and especially for those who have suffered in its service. It is as much the cause of Government, as it is any particular interest of mine, that has occasioned me to repeat the mention of the affair to you; and I can cheerfully submit it to the decision of Government."

To John Spooner, Oct. 28, 1768:—

"I thank you for your attention to my interest. If we are like to have no Assembly till May, where are the serv[ts] of Government to look for their pay? We are in such case like to be the greatest sufferers, unless taken care of at home: a circumstance like this would be a natural introduction of the measures which have been so long talked of,—of distinguishing the sufferers in the cause of Government by its favour; and may very well be urged for this purpose. If you think proper to mention it to my friends, it may have good effect. If nothing sho[d] be done on this occasion, I should have little room to hope hereafter."

No wonder Mr. Oliver had anxieties staring him in the face; for, what with the policy of the members of the Assembly in

America, and any dilatoriness in the Home Government, the servants of the Crown were likely to fall between two stools, and get no salaries at all. November 8, 1768, he says:—"If the recommendation of the House of Commons to the King, of the case of those who have suffered in the cause of Governm^{t}, is to have any effect, there is no time can appear so proper for it as the present; as without the interposition of the King, the servants of the Government, at least some of them, are like to be greater sufferers by the dissolution of the General Court, than the Sons of Liberty themselves. The grants are annually made in the Winter Session: their case, therefore, will be very hard, if they are not only obliged to go without their own pay, but to pay those employed under them, out of their own stocks. My Deputy has already hinted to me how much he shall be distressed to go without his pay. If it had affected me only, I should not have said so much; but it appears to me that the authority of Government is equally affected"—and more to the same effect.

A consideration of the above remarks will reveal the nature of the perplexing position in which the Secretary was placed. In the autumn of 1770 it was intimated to him that he would be advanced to the Lieutenant-Governorship. On this point we are informed, in a letter written by him to R. Thompson, Esq., and dated "Boston, 29 Sept^{r}, 1770," in which he says:—"I thank you for the concern you express for my interest. My L^{d} Hillsborough has been pleased to acquaint me of my appointment to be L^{t}-Gov^{r} of this Province; but I do not expect the matter will be settled till his Lordship's return from Ireland, and it is not impossible that some events w^{ch} are taken place here since, may occasion an alteration in the arrangem^{t} of office in this prov., which had been proposed in the spring." And to William Bollan, on the 3rd of November:—"I find from the last ships from London that the Lieut. Governor's appointment and mine to other departments in Government are at length settled." And to the Hon. Jon. Belcher, Esq., from Boston, 14th Jan., 1771, thus:—"You will probably have seen before this an account of the appointments for this Government from the *London Gazette*. This does not mention the salaries

of the Gov^{r} and L^{t}-Gov^{r}; but our newspapers have it that the one is £1500 and the other £300 p. an., which I believe you may give credit to."

The Commissions for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Secretary,* arrived in America in the beginning of March, 1771, and not long after, Mr. Oliver wrote the following to John Pownall, Esq.:—

"Boston, 5 Apr^{l}, 1771.

"S^{r},—I had the honour of your letter dated in Nov^{r} last, conveying to me your kind congratulations upon the late mark of his Majesty's favour conferred on me. I cannot doubt of having had your good offices on this occasion, and pray you to accept of my best thanks for every instance of your regard. My L^{d} Hillsborough acquainted me of this appointm^{t} on y^{e} 14 Apr^{l} last, and that His Majesty had been pleased to annex to it an allowance of £200 p. an.; and since that, Castle Will^{m}, which was a usual appendage to the place of L^{t} Gov^{r}, has been put into other hands, S^{r} Francis Bernard advises me that £100 a year has been added to this appointment. I depend on S^{r} Francis to take out the warrant for the pay. I should esteem your favour in forwarding this business, if it fell in any measure within your department, or you can with propriety meddle in it. You will oblige me likewise by your care of the enclosed letters to my Lord and S^{r} Francis."

The care of the Home Government in paying its servants in America was next directed to the judges. Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, in a letter to Sir Francis Bernard, bearing date August 31, 1772, alludes to it in these words:—"If the report be true, which has begun to circulate since the arrival of the last ships from London, that the Judges of the Superior Court are to receive their salaries out of Revenue Duties, the newspapers will presently sound a fresh alarm. I have heard that one of the demagogues has said that this will bring matters to a cricis, and that they shall now effect their purpose." This difficult question was not immediately settled, nor, indeed, arranged so as to be in working order without some modifications

* Hutch. 'Hist. of Mass.,' iii. 333. Mr. Flucker was the new secretary, *vice* Andrew Oliver promoted.

of plan; but in due time the principle of it was established. There is no difficulty in perceiving the motives that the American leaders had in objecting to the arrangement, by which the law officers should be paid by the King instead of themselves. He who holds the purse-strings holds the chief command. As long as the Assembly paid the Chief Justice and the Judges, they would have them under their thumbs. In his Letter Book there is a letter of Governor Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, of Feb. 14, 1774, in which is very apparent the courage, firmness, and loyalty of Peter Oliver, Chief Justice, and younger brother of the Lieut.-Governor, at a time when he was placed in very trying circumstances. An extract will explain the perplexities of the situation.

"The House of Representatives have, in a very extraordinary manner, demanded an explicit answer from the Judges of the Superior Court, whether they would take such salaries as should be granted by the General Assembly, without receiving any salary from the King for the same services? concluding with a menace if they did not comply. The Chief Justice gave his answer, that he not only had taken his salary from the King for the last year and an half, but thought it his duty to do the like for the time to come, and set forth at large his reasons for so doing.* The other four have promised that so long as grants shall be made to them by the Assembly, they shall receive them without taking the salaries for the same time from the Crown. One of them, who has been subject to nervous disorders for several years, acquainted the Speaker before the House met that he would comply. This laid the others under a great disadvantage, and they were afraid to make themselves the objects of popular resentment. The answers of the four Judges were voted satisfactory. That of the Chief Justice was committed; and upon a Report, which was accepted, the House directed the Secretary of the Province to deliver to me [the Gov.] a paper addressed to the Governor and Council, in which they remonstrate against the Chief Justice, and demand or pray that he be

* Sir Francis Bernard, in his 'Select Letters on Trade,' speaks of a communication from Lieut.-Governor Oliver, of May 11, 1768, in which he writes—"It has been given out that no person who receives a stipend from the government at home, shall live in the country."

removed from his place. I will enclose the copy of it. What proceedings His Majesty may think proper to be had in England I must submit. It will be to no purpose to take any further exception to it here, than to decline a compliance with it: and this will be improved to inflame the minds of the people against the Governor; for if I lay it before the Council, and they shall advise to a removal, and I refuse to consent, they will call it a grievance; and if I do not lay it before the Council, they will pretend I have deprived the Council of a constitutional right of judging in all cases of complaint against the officers of the Government.

"As this proceeding against the Judges is a most explicit declaration against the just authority, as I conceive, of the King as well as the Parliament, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordship with it by the first opportunity, and not to delay it to accompany the other business of the Session after it is ended."

In less than a month after, and on the day after the funeral of the Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Hutchinson addressed some further remarks on the same subject to the same Minister.

"N° 42. Boston, March 9, 1774.

"My Lord,—

"Since the date of No. 41, the chief business of the House and of the Council has been to bring about by some means or other the removal of the Chief Justice; and for this purpose they have turned and tortured the Charter to such a degree as to frame a Constitution quite different from what was ever intended. The Articles of Impeachment will leave a lasting stain upon the character of the Government. Finding that every attempt to compel me to a compliance with, or connivance at their unwarrantable measures was ineffectual, and having some intimations that the indecency with which both the King and the Parliament had been treated by them, would oblige me to put an end to their sitting, the Council and the House each prepared a long Message, both of them rude and abusive to me; the former explaining the Constitution of the Governor and Council in so strange a manner, and by such

futile arguments and inconclusive reasoning, that they have greatly dishonoured themselves with all the judicious and candid part of the world, under whose observation they may fall, and the latter coming but little short of it. There will not be time to copy them before the post goes out. I will have the whole proceedings respecting the Chief Justice copied, and send them by the next opportunity, under the Province seal. After persisting in a measure so affrontive to His Majesty, I could not have justified the omission of a proper resentment, which I expressed in a short Message, and this morning ordered a prorogation, great part of their business being unfinished. Sunday, the 6th instant, a vessel arrived from London, having on board about 30 chests of tea, on account of several traders in tea. The next day the vessel was haled to the wharffe, where the vessels lay which had the East India Company's tea, and in the evening a sufficient number of persons, disguised like Indians, went on board and destroyed the tea in a short time; * and the next morning the vessel was haled to the Long Wharffe, where vessels from London generally unload, to take out the rest of her goods. The owners of the tea are very silent; and I think if they could find out who were the immediate actors, they would not venture at present to bring any action in the law against them. If they had attempted to land it, it's probable they would have shared in the fate of the Consignees of the Company's teas, neither of which have been able to return to the town since they were first banished.—I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord, &c."

Paragraph from a letter directed to Mr. Mauduit, and dated Boston, March 31, 1774:—

"If we have not passed the Rubicon this winter, we never shall. I will not trouble you with newspapers, because you are sure of seeing them all in the Coffee House, and in them all the proceedings relative to the Chief Justice, which are *outré* even for a House of Representatives. The two last

* This event must not be confounded with the former, already alluded to, that occurred December 16, 1773 (H. Hist., iii. 435), when 342 chests of tea were thrown into Boston Harbour, while this took place March 7, 1774, when only 30 were destroyed.

Messages of the Council and House set up an intirely new Constitution, so far as respects the Governor and Council. Their reasoning is founded upon the grossest falsities and misrepresentations, and they have dishonoured themselves and the Province, more than any set of men who have gone before them, though some of their predecessors had gone such lengths that it was supposed none could go beyond them.

"We are expecting something important from England, having yet had no intelligence how the news of the destruction of the tea was received there."

The subject of the treatment of the Chief Justice need not be further dwelt upon, than just to give the following letter, addressed to Mr. Montagu, and some other original manuscript matter that has remained for more than a century buried with bundles of old letters.

"Boston, 30th April, 1774.

"Dear Sir,—

"I was preparing for my passage to England, and should have embarked six weeks since, if the sudden decline and, soon after, as sudden death, of the Lt Governor had not prevented. You will readily conceive, after seeing the results of Council, published in the Newspapers, that I could not leave the government in their hands. This must be my apology for my silence part of the time, and since that I have been deeply engaged, and not without anxiety, in publick business. The controversy with the Assembly upon the subject of the Chief Justice, and the salaries granted by the Crown, they have taken care to publish to the world, and it could not escape your observation. I was afraid it would require more skill than I was master of to resist the apparent determination of House and Council to carry the points of removing the Chief Justice, and at the same time to keep the people from tumults and acts of violence. The Patriots are mortified, and all who are well affected to government are pleased with the manner of my treating the controversy.

"I am exceedingly obliged to you for interesting yourself so much in my behalf in the affair of the Letters, and for the advices I have received from you of the progress of that

affair.* I have a most grateful sense of the honour done me by the order of the King in Council.† It certainly has struck a damp upon the spirits of the party here, though they affect to brave it out, and the Chief says they shall yet wear the Laurel. What effect the first news of measures in England will have, I am not able to say. I have always so many present evils, that it would soon wear me out if I shou'd anticipate those that are future, any further than is necessary for such precaution as is in my power, in case they should happen. I therefore strive to avoid all anxiety concerning them. The Admiral thinks he shall be at home in June. I must enlarge by that opportunity. I may not omit thanking you for your kind mention of my son.‡ I am longing to hear that he has obtained some employment, which may give him a moderate support, and prevent a habit of pleasure and dissipation, or of inactivity and indolence. I am, &c."

In "The Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion to the Year 1776. In a Letter to a Friend," and still remaining in manuscript, there is a connected narrative of the circumstances which led to the separation of the Chief Justice from the Bench in America. The stray notices bearing on this subject which have already been laid before the reader, are quite fragmentary, having been gleaned here and there out of letters; and this fact will perhaps excuse a slight prolongation of it in a thread more regularly woven. The so-called Letter begins thus:—

"London, March 1, 1781.

"Sir,—The Revolt of North America from their allegiance to, and connection with, the Parent State, seems to be as striking a phenomenon in the political world as hath appeared

* Probably for Mr. Montague's endeavours in England to try and find out how they got into the hands of Dr. Franklin.

† There is no explanation as to what that order was.

‡ This was Billy or William, his youngest son, whom the Governor was anxious to establish in some way in England. Billy left America for England in 1772, as shown by the diary of his sister's husband, Dr. Peter Oliver, son of the Chief Justice—"Nothing material happened till May 1772, when M^rs^ Oliver's younger brother William sailed for England." He continued in England during the remainder of his life; was there when his father arrived, but died of a pulmonary complaint in v. p. February 20, 1780, aged 27, and buried at Croydon, February 24. See Governor's Diary.

for many ages past," and so on. The volume is large quarto, 11½ × 9½ in., and written on both sides of the leaf. The account begins at p. 128:—

"An affair which happened at the close of the year 1773, but was not brought into effect untill this year 1774, mortified, chagrined, enraged, and drove into right down madness, Adams and all his factious Hydra;—it was a grant from His Majesty of a salary to the Judges of the Supreme Court. Such a grant was in contemplation some years before, when M^r^ Charles Townshend was Prime Minister: but his death delayed it untill this time. The true reason of the grant was this:—The Judges of the Court had the shortest allowance from the Generall Assembly of any publick officers: even their Doorkeeper had a larger stipend. The Judges' travel on their circuits was generally about 1100 miles in a year; and sometimes it had been 1500 miles. Their circuit business engrossed seven months in the year; and the extremes of heat and cold in that climate were submitted to. For all this service, the highest grant made to them was £120 sterling p year, and it had been much less; the Chief Justice had £30 sterling more. This grant was annually made, tho' sometimes postponed; and it depended upon the humours of the prevailing partys. A late worthy Chief Justice lived almost in penury, and at last died insolvent; and one year there was an attempt, in the Assembly, to deprive him of his extra £30, because he had given an opinion in law, upon the Bench, contrary to the mind of a partizan in the Lower House of Assembly: but the affair was dropped, lest it should fix a stigma upon the House of gross partiality. The Assembly endeavoured to keep the Judges in absolute dependance upon their humor; and because they found them rather too firm to coincide with their views in the subversion of government, they made them the objects of their resentment: and in order to express it they made two new Counties, of 100 miles more travel, and shortned [*sic*] their allowance £37 10 sterling in the whole: in short, they seemed disinclined to do justice theirselves [*sic*], or to suffer others to do it.

"Several of the Judges had repeatedly represented their

cases to the Generall Assembly, praying a further allowance, and in case it should be denied to them, because they might be disagreeable to the Assembly, or to the body of the people, they were ready to resign their offices, to make room for others who were in greater esteem: but they were honoured with no other answer, but having their Memorials ordered to be laid on their Table.

"His Majesty taking the case of the Judges into his royal consideration, from his known justice and benevolence, ordered them salaries to be paid out of his revenues in America; such salaries as would keep them above want, and below envy. This was striking at the root of that slavery which the Judges had always been held under: and to give up such an arbitrary, cruel, and unjust Empire, did not comport with the pride of the present ruling powers, who now used every art of suasion and cajoling by their emisaries, and of threatening from themselves, in order to rivet the chains which they had only locked before. In order to effectuate their purpose, they made a grant to four of the Judges, equal to His Majesty's grant; but they made it for one year only. They knew that if this was accepted of, His Majesty's grant would be forfeited of course, and that the next year they could return to their wonted expedient of attempting to bring them into a compliance with their own measures. To the Chief Justice the Assembly granted an extra sum, though very disproportionate to the distinction His Majesty had made between him and the Puisne Judges: but had their grant to him been more than adequate to the King's grant, he had too intimate a knowledge of their past conduct, to put any confidence in the justice, honor, or generosity of a Massachusetts Assembly. The faction who were the prevailing part of y^{e} Assembly, were anxious to know the minds of the Judges, and appointed a Committee to ask their determination: but as the Judges had no official information of His Majesty's grant, they declined giving any answer. This was towards the close of the year 1773, when the term of the Supreme Court was just finishing in Boston, where the General Court was then assembled. The Assembly were highly incensed at not receiving a categorical answer from

the Judges: they were just determining upon the commitment of the whole Bench to prison: but some of their *out-of-door* friends, who had not breathed the pestilential atmosphere of the Assembly Room, dissuaded the *within-door* leaders of the faction from such an illegal step, since, if it was taken, they could have no remedy in law in their litigious suits, which were too common in this Province. Thus the matter subsided for the present: the Supreme Court finished the term, and the Judges returned to their respective homes; and had the Assembly finished their Sessions, and returned to their *long* homes, it is probable that Rebellion herself would have returned to *her long* home with them.

"The Judges, upon hearing some time before of His Majesty's gracious intention of such a grant, had agreed to accept of it; but when the Dog Star raged with such a scorching heat, four of them, who lived at and near the focus of tarring and feathering the town of Boston, flinched in the day of battle: they were so pelted with soothings one day, and with curses and threatenings the next, that they prudentially gave the point up. One of the Judges, upon his return home, sickened and died: the brutal faction of the Assembly sent their Messenger to him, with orders to deliver the demand of an answer to him personally, and receive his answer: the Judge was within a few hours of his exit when the Messenger arrived: he urged admission to his dying bed: it was granted, and he entered and layd his orders, in writing, upon the dying man's breast, who just declared his non-acceptance of the King's grant, and soon after expired.

"The Chief Justice was now left alone in the combat: his case was peculiar: his brethren had but lately been seated on the Bench: he had been 17 years in the service, and had sunk more than £2000 sterling in it: he had conversed with many of the Members upon the singularity of his case, and had offered not to accept of the grant (if His Majesty would permit him so to do), provided the Assembly would reimburse him one half of his loss in their service: and further, that he would resign his seat on the Bench. Upon this representation of his case, they advised him to take the King's grant. This they

did out of doors; but there was so great virtue in the boards and plaistering of the Assembly Room, that upon setting their feet over its threshold, they at once changed opinions.

"The Chief Justice, very luckily, lived about 30 miles from Boston, or perhaps he would have followed the suit of his brethren, in giving up the King's grant, conformable to that only truth which the Devil ever uttered—Skin for skin, and all that a man hath, will he give for his life; but he considered that mobs, when they set out on their expeditions, generally get a spur in their heads; and as he lived at 30 miles distance from their head quarters, in all probability they would want a spur in their heels before they could reach him. He was not disappointed in his conjecture, for he remained quiet in his recess, untill the Assembly met again 2 or 3 months after, and then the whole pack opened. A message was sent to him by the Lower House, signed 'Samuel Adams, Clerk,' requiring him to make explicit answer, whether he would accept of the King's grant, or of their grant? He replied, that he should accept the King's grant. Nothing less than destruction now awaited him. The Term of the Supreme Court was now approaching; the thunder cloud gathered black enough to crock charcoal; instead of red, the lightening flashed its white streak. There was a gallery at a corner of the Assembly Room, where Otis, Adams, Hawley, and the rest of the Cabal used to crowd their Mohawks and Hawcubites,* to echo the oppositional vociferations to the rabble, without doors. Adams now addressed his gallery men, to attack the Chief Justice when he came to Court, and they perfectly understood his meaning; even one of the Assembly men, a Col. Gardiner, who was afterwards killed at the Battle of Bunker's Hill, declared in the General Assembly, that he himself would drag the Chief Justice from the Bench, if he should sit upon it. The Chief Justice's friends wrote to him, that if he should go to Court, his life would be in danger; but he, not being conscious of such danger, attempted to go; but a most severe snowstorm happening the night before his intended journey, his attempt y^e^ next day, after a mile or two of struggle through

* This word is of doubtful reading.

snow drifts, was prevented by the impassableness of the roads. The next day one of M^r^ Adams's right-hand men arrived with a message from the General Assembly, signed again by M^r^ Adams, as Clerk, prohibiting the Chief Justice his coming to Court. He obeyed. The Messenger was a person who had been obliged, by him to whom he delivered the message, and apologised for his being the bearer of it. On conversing with him, he wept at the situation of this affair, and frankly acknowledged, that if the Chief Justice had gone to Court, he believed that he might have walked the streets in the day, but that he would not be safe in the night. It being dinner time, the Messenger was asked to dine and refresh himself after his fatigue; but he refused, and assigned for a reason, that if they knew in Boston (and they would ask him) that he ate in that house, it would give great offence. Thus, these Christian Liberty Men resembled the inhabitants of Judæa, in that malicious principle, of not eating with a Samaritan, as well as in a worse, that of thinking they did God good service in persecuting and destroying all those who dared to be of different opinions from them;—like to what Ben Johnson said of King James the First—Their souls seemed to have been born in an ally.*

"The Assembly, finding that the Chief Justice did not go to Boston to have his brains beat out by their rabble, they attacked him in a new quarter, where he happened to be invulnerable. They ordered the Records of the Supreme Court to be laid before them, hoping to find some malfeazance in his office; but they were disappointed—and every disappointment put them upon scratching their heads for new matter. At last, finding that they were pushed to extremity, they sprung a mine which involved theirselves in the intended ruin of him; they drew up an Impeachment of him, as inimical to his country in taking the King's grant; but at the same time they did him the honour of joining His Majesty with him in the Impeachment, as offering a bribe to him, which he received. This was such an insult to Majesty, that the Governor could not let it pass unnoticed, and accordingly closed the matter against them.

* Ally, so spelt.

Thus ended all their legislative attempts to ruin the Chief Justice; the private attempts of assassination they reserved for future opportunities; and several plans were formed for his destruction, which, by as many unaccountable circumstances, he escaped from the execution of. It was a little odd that they should pursue him with such unremitting vengeance, when it is considered that they had but just finished their laugh at his brethren, for being such cowards as to quit their hold of the King's grant to them.

"In the month of March 1774, the Chief Justice his brother, who was Lieut. Gov^{r} of the Province, died. He had been Secretary to the Province many years, to universal acceptance; but he had been unhappily appointed, without any application of his, to be one of the Stamp Officers, although he had wrote to his Correspondents in England against the principle of the Act, before its being passed. He had been harrassed upon this affair in the year 1765, his house plundered, and himself drove to their Tree of Liberty, and forced to a resignation; he had also wrote to a friend in England, his private sentiments on the Constitution of the Colonies; those letters were also stole at the same time when Gov^{r} Hutchinson's letters were pilfered; the vengeance of the faction was carried to, and beyond the grave; upon his interment a large mob attended, and huzzaed at the intombing the body; and at night there was an exhibition at a publick window of a coffin, and several insignia of infamy; and at this exhibition some members of the General Court attended. Could Infernals do worse?

"The Chief Justice his risque of his life was too great for him to pay his final visit to the death-bed of an only brother, and his friends advised him not pay his fraternal respect to his brother's obsequies; the advice was just, for it afterwards appeared that, had he so done, it was not probable that he ever would have returned to his own home. Never did cannibals thirst stronger for human blood, than the adherents to this faction; humanity seemed to be abhorrent to their nature; and the whole tenor of their conduct to this time will justify the observation."*

* The writer of the above was the Chief Justice himself.

And now all the three points alluded to above have been disposed of, namely, the Governor's preparations for paying his proposed temporary visit to England; secondly, the death of the Lieut.-Governor, which put a stop to his movements; and thirdly, the impeachment of the Chief Justice, the particulars of which, in the present day, we are almost ashamed either to write or to read.

The Governor was relieved of many uncertainties and many anxieties by the somewhat unexpected arrival of General Gage in Boston, on the 13th of May, 1774. There was a rumour in England that the Governor had taken his passage, and that the Lieutenant-Governor was dying;* and when this reached the King and his Ministers, a sense of alarm was felt lest the Province should be left without any Governor at all. Without waiting for official, or for any information on these important points from America, as intelligence travelled very slowly in those days, and delays might be dangerous, no time was lost in despatching a General Officer, who was to combine in himself both the civil and the military powers; and so little was a prolonged struggle apprehended, that the military administration was looked upon as likely to be only of a transient nature, and that as soon as General Gage had allayed the popular tumults, Governor Hutchinson would resume all the functions of his office. His appointment in the *London Gazette* was in October, 1770:—

"Whitehall, 26 Oct^{r} 1770.

"The King has been pleased to appoint Tho^{s} Hutchinson, Esq., to be Capt^{n} General and Governor-in-Chief of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England."

And the announcement of General Gage's appointment was the following:—

"Whitehall, April 2, 1774.

"Tho^{s} Hutchinson, Esq., Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in North America, having humbly requested His Majesty's leave to come to England, the King has been

* This is briefly alluded to in the Governor's printed History, vol. iii. p. 458.

graciously pleased to comply therewith, and to appoint Thoˢ Gage, Esq., Lieut. General of His Majesty's forces, to be Captⁿ General and Governor in Chief of the said Province, and Vice-Admiral of the same, during His Majesty's pleasure."

The following may be extracted from the *Morning Chronicle* of Wednesday, April 6, 1774, as it alludes to the events of this period:—

"It is certain that Governor Hutchinson was not recalled by Government without first soliciting that favour, (for so he terms it,) very earnestly several times before Christmas. The services of Mʳ Hutchinson are said to be held in so capital a light, that a Patent of English Peerage is talked of for him."

On the 8th of April he was alluded to again:—

"Governor Hutchinson, as soon as he arrives here, report says, will be knighted, and also promoted to a considerable post in administration."

In the letter following, Colonel George Watson, of Plymouth, in Massachusetts, bids a farewell to the Governor, to his second son Elisha, and to Peggy, who had now completed their arrangements for the voyage. Elisha was the husband of Mary, or Polly, one of Col. Watson's daughters; but as the trip to England was looked upon as only temporary, she remained at Plymouth, under her father's roof. It turned out, however, that the troubles of the times kept her for three years separated from her husband, and at last it was only with difficulty that she got a passage, and rejoined him in London.* This Polly was the mother of the Rev. John Hutchinson, Canon of Lichfield, and editor of the third volume of the 'History of Massachusetts Bay,' published in London in 1828. Her sister was married to Mr. Copley, the painter, and was the mother of Lord Lyndhurst, and another sister to Sir Grenville Temple, Baronet. Col. Watson writes thus to his son-in-law:—

* There is a series of letters that passed between them, which have been put together and bound in a volume by themselves, blue leather back. They are almost entirely of a domestic nature, though some of them are worth copying.

"Plymouth, May 23, 1774.

"Dear S^r^,

"I received your favor of y^e^ 16 Instant, by which I understand that you intend for England w^th^ the Governor, to whom please to give my respects. I sincerely wish him and you an agreeable voyage, and hope that the Governor will find everything to his satisfaction.

"My love to Polly. You and she may be assured that I shall be willing to do everything in my power to make her as easy and happy, in your absence, as possible.—I am w^th^ great regard yours very affectionately,

"GEO. WATSON.

"I am in some hopes of seeing you before you sail. Sally sends her love."

At the last moment Elisha sent a few lines to his wife:—

"Wednesday, 1^st^ June, 1774.
"*Minerva*, The Narrows, 11 o Clock.

"My Dear Polly,

"I have just come down from viewing the house. We came to sail ½ past ten, and find everything equal to our expectations. You see I take the first opportunity of writing, and hope you will follow my example. All well as yet. I don't intend to be sick the whole passage, nor any part of it. Transports just passing us; one answers 26 days out. All upon deck but your husband, and he is below taking a repast, he fears he shan't have again these 20 days; and yet the Captain says, with this wind we shall be home in 18 days.—Y^rs^ sincerely,

"E. H.

"The Gent^n^ are going"

And Thomas Hutchinson, who remained behind, sent the following letter after his brother Elisha:—

"Milton, June, 1774.

"Dear Brother,

"I write this, uncertain who it will go by. I am not without hopes of hearing you had a quick and easy passage to England, as the wind ashore was favourable til [*sic*] the day

week you sailed, when a strong North-easter set in, but hope it might not reach you. It is hardly time yet to form a judgment how the new Acts of Parliament will operate; but I hear nothing of giving way, nor is there any proposal from any quarter of making compensation to the East India Company. Everybody seems apprehensive of the great calamity that is to come upon the town of Boston; but nobody appears to propose measures to extricate it. When anything new occurs, I will acquaint you with it. You went away without leaving me an Acc^{t} of the tenants, and what was due from them; it may not be amiss to send it to me by first opportunity, or acquaint me how to come at it. Judge Oliver has got your horse, and I believe will use him well; and I intend to take care your chaise does not suffer, either by use or rust. M^{r} [or Mrs.] Collins has applied to me for money. Pray write me very particularly what you meet with.—I am your Affectionate Brother,

"Tho. Hutchinson, Jun^{r}.

"P.S. I dare say you won't begrudge double postage for the inclosed."

Dr. Peter Oliver has the following entry in his Diary:—

"June 1st 1774.—The Gov^{r}, Elisha, and Peggy, sailed for England, just as the Mandamus Counsellors were ordered to take their oaths by G. Gage, who succeeded the Gov^{r} H.—Nothing but mobs and riots all this summer. Wednesday the 14 of Sep^{r} I was mobbed."

CHAPTER V.

A Nova Scotia American, speaking of the departure of the Governor from Milton, wrote to me in these words: "On the 1st June, 1774, when going to England, he walked from his house along the road, bidding adieu to his neighbours, and shaking hands with them. When near Dorchester Neck he got into his carriage, which had followed him, and drove to Dorchester Point, where a boat was waiting to take him on board the *Minerva*."

Both the Governor and Elisha commenced keeping regular Diaries when they entered on their voyage, and Elisha's is the more copious in seafaring particulars. The first fourteen pages of his Diary are occupied by a regular Log in due tabular form, containing the days, hours, knots run every two hours night and day, course the ship was steering, the prevailing winds, and a column for observations. For the general reader it is enough to extract only some stray portions, which may be of sufficient interest; but of the Governor's Diary nothing shall be left out, and it begins as follows:—

Journal of my Voyage from Boston to England.

June 1st.—I sailed from Boston in the ship *Minerva*, Capt. Callahan, Comander: embarked from the Castle about 9 in the morning: passed the Light-house about one: and took departure from Cape Cod about 8.

9th.—To this day the winds have been small and variable.

13th.—From the 9th in the evening to the 12th in the evening, the wind and sea have been high, so that it is computed the ship ran 180 leagues; and those three days my sea-sickness kept me almost the whole time in bed. This morning spake with a brig from Ireland, bound to New York.

19th.—From the 13th light winds, but unfavorable.

Journal of Visit my Voyage from Boston to England 1774.

June
1st. I sailed from Boston in the Ship Minerva Capt. Callahan Commander embarked from the Castle about 9 in the morning, Passed the Light house about one & took departure from Cape Cod about 8
9th. In this day the winds have been small & variable
13th. From the 9th the evening to the 12th in the evening the wind & sea have been high so that it compelled the Ship to ly 180 Leagues and three three days my sea sickness kept me almost the whole time in bed. This morning spake with a Brig from Ireland bound to New York
19th. From the 13 light winds but not unfavorable
20 & 21. calm ——— In the afternoon of the 21. Mark my negro servant died
22d & 23d. a fine westerly wind
26th. Sounded & had ground at 67 fathom
27th. in the morning made Scilly and before 9 were abreast of it and a Boat came off with Green fish &c

20th & 21st.—Calm. In the afternoon of the 21st, Mark, my Negro servant, died.

22nd & 23rd.—A fine westerly wind.

26th.—Sounded, and had ground at 67 fath^{s}.

27th.—In the morning made Scilly, and before 9 were abreast of it; and a boat came off with greens, fish, &c.

28th.—In the morning a few leagues above the Start, spoke a Brig from Newcastle, bound to New York.

29th.—About the time of day we passed the Light-house in Boston, a boat came aboard off Dover, where we landed, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and lodged that night.

30th.—In three post chaises we set out for London between 6 & 7 o'clock: met my son Billy about 12 miles from Westminster Bridge, and arrived at our lodgings in Parliament street between 8 & 9 in the evening; and soon after sent a card to Lord Dartmouth's house in St. James's Square, to acquaint his Lordship with my arrival.

For the sake of comparison, Elisha's narrative of the voyage may be inserted here. In his Log at the beginning the hours mentioned are not clear; but perhaps he there adopts the nautical day, which begins and ends at noon.

From his Log.

"May 31. At 4 o'clock cast off from the Long Wharf: came down to the Castle, and came to anchor. At 9 His Excell^{y} Gov^{r} Hutchinson came on board. At 10 weighed anchor, and came to sea: fresh breezes and fair weather. At maridian the Light-house bore W by N, distance 3 or 4 miles."

From his Diary.

"Wednesday, June 1st, 1774. At 8 o'clock AM. set out from Milton with my sister Peggy, and went to the Castle, where we met the Governor, who proceeded with us on board the ship *Minerva*, burthen 180 tons, James Callahan, Master, and about 11 o'clock came to sail. M^{r} James Horrop and Miss Polly Murray, who were returning to their friends in England, being likewise passengers. There were on board besides, a man and wife with a son and

daughter, by the name of Gardner, Pattrick Ryley,* Mark, a Negro man, servants to the Governor, and [blank] seamen.

"The first week we had fair weather and light winds. The 9th came up a fresh gale, which lasted three days, in which time the ship ran near 180 leagues on our course. The remainder of our passage we had in general wet and foggy weather, with light breezes, except about 3 days near the close of our passage, when we ran about 140 leagues.

"The Governor and Peggy were very sick: and although I was not confined to my cabbin, yet, during the whole passage I was not free from disagreeable qualmish feelings.

"The morning of the 11th, being near the Banks of Nfdland, we met with a large Island of Ice, which appeared to be near three times the bigness of the ship.

"June 13. Spoke with a brig from Ireland, bound to New York, which had been out 25 days.

"21. Mark, who the Governor had taken with him for the sake of recovering his health, died in great distress about six o'clock in the evening, and the next morning was buried in the sea.

"23. Spoke with the ship *M. of Rockingham* from Granada to London: had been out 30 days.

"26. Sounded, and found ground at 67 fathoms.

"27. The man at [the] helm discovered Scilly, and at 9 o'clock A.M., being abreast of it, a fishing boat and half a dozen men came and brought us bream, cabbage, lettice, &c. They belonged to St. Agnes, and told us there are about 20 or 30 houses on that island.

"28. Being a few leagues above the Start, we spoke with a brig from Newcastle bound to New York, and desired the Captain to put the ship in the News-papers.

"We intended to have been landed at Portsmouth this evening, but did not reach the Isle of Wight until midnight.

"29. Landed at Dover between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, not without some difficulty, there being high wind and large seas.

"Visited the Castle and Fort; the first having the 29th Regiment, the other a part of the Fourteenth; both of which Regiments, having been quartered in Boston, the officers were known to us.

* This man Patrick Ryley continued in the service of the Governor as long as the latter lived: and it was he who caught him in his arms when the Governor swooned and fell as he was going to get into his carriage, and soon after died.

"30. Between 6 and 7 o'clock, set out from Dover: breakfasted at Canterbury: visited the Cathedral: dined at Rochester: and about 6 o'clock met my brother Billy near Dartford, who conducted us to Parliament Street, Westminster, where he had provided lodgings for us, and where we arrived between 8 & 9 o'clock in the evening.

"The Governor immediately acquainted Lord Dartmouth of his arrival, and received an answer, desiring to see him at his Lordship's house the next day at noon."

Before we go further it will be well to give a couple of letters here, written by Elisha to his wife—one of them on board ship, and the other as soon as they got to London. They are addressed, "To Mrs Mary Hutchinson, in Plymouth."

"*Minerva*, Monday morning, 8 o'clock, 27 June, 1774.

"My Dear Polly,

"As it is possible we may meet a vessel in the Channel bound to some part of New England, I will write a short accot of our passage, that you may have the earliest notice of our arrival, which I know will give you pleasure. The first week we had light breezes and pleasant weather. Friday the 10th the wind increased, and blew a fresh gale till Sunday, which gave us some idea of the grandeur of the ocean, in which time we gained above 500 miles on our way. The rest of the passage has been smooth and easy, the weather for the most part foggy, wet, and uncommonly cold for the season, so that we have been glad to keep to all our winter cloaths. Saturday 11th the Captain called me on deck about sunrise to see an island of ice, about 3 times as big as the ship, which was slowly approaching us, and I think the weather was as cold as we often have it in January. The Governor and Peggy very sick the first week. I was so lightly affected, that they will not allow me to say I was sick, although I must acknowledge I have not been wholly free from sea qualms, nor altogether so well as on shore. I rather think the sea was made for fishes and not for men. Mark held well for a week or ten days, and then took cold, and grew worse till the 21st when he died. The *Minerva* has very good accommodation, and the Captain having well provided for us, has, during the whole passage, exerted himself to make everything on board agreeable to us. We have a cow on board, and the multitude of live stock has often occasioned our comparing Calahan's *Minerva* to Noah's Ark. Two or three days ago a Dollar was nailed to the Binnacle, (your pa' will tell

you what the Binnacle is,) for the man who should first discover land. Tall Jack, as we call him, was the lucky fellow who, about five o'clock this morning, discovered the rocks of Scilly, and we are now just entering the British Channel. Your Affectionate Husband,

"E. HUTCHINSON."

"London, July, 1774.

"My Dear Polly,

"I left you just as we were entering the Channel. We had a short passage up, and landed at Dover, 72 miles from London, the same day of the week,* and about the same hour of the day,† that 4 weeks before, we had come on board.

"The 29th and part of the 14th Regiments being at Dover, we met with some of our old acquaintance. We intended to have gone to Canterbury that night, but having the curiosity to visit the ancient Castle of Dover, we so fatigued ourselves that we were not able to proceed till the next morning, about 6 o'clock. We met Billy about 15 miles from London, who conducted us to Lodgings which he had provided for us in Parliament Street, Westminster, where we arrived about 6 o'clock in the evening. What cause, my dear Polly, for thankfulness! Particular favours require particular acknowledgments. I know you will join with me. Can we be too much devoted to Him, who, if I may use the expression, seems wholly devoted to us? There is a most beautiful description of a ship at sea in the 107 Psalm.‡

"After being confined 4 weeks to a ship, any land would have been agreeable, but the face of the country as we rode through the county of Kent was really delightful; and I could not help observing to Miss Murray, that I wanted only two more eyes to partake with me, and I should be as happy as eyesight could make me. Miss Murray is sensible, and very agreeable, and I don't know what Peggy would have done without her.

"The next pleasure my dear, to seeing you, is that of hearing from you, and I hope I shall not be long without a letter, which I am impatiently waiting for. I am sure there is nothing in this great city, that would give me equal pleasure. Leaving you so ill, makes me very anxious.§ When you write do be very

* The day they sailed from Boston Harbour, June 1, was a Wednesday.

† About 3 P.M., near which hour they passed Boston Lighthouse.

‡ Beginning verse 2"—"They that go down to the sea in ships," &c.—to v. 30.

§ Elisha's wife was expecting the birth of her second child. It was born September 20—a girl.

particular. I hope you find everything agreeable to you, and that you endeavour to make your mind easy, which is the way to keep yourself in health. To know that you are pleased and gratified in your wishes would give me great pleasure, and you cannot be in trouble or pain without my feeling of it, for I am sure that I never knew the time that I did not wish to relieve you even if it was by taking [it] wholly to myself.

"It almost frightens me to think of the great distance that there is between us, but it is not that, nor any length of time, can lessen the love that I have for you: no, my Polly: time does but increase my affection for you, and I think I love you better if possible in London than I did in Boston.

"I intend this shall go by the Packet: but as there are two or three other vessels near sailing, I will endeavour to find which is like to sail first, and send a line by that.

"I will write to your pa' by one or other of the vessels, and will let you hear from me as often as I can. I wish you would neglect no opportunity of writing, but do not sit too long at a time. The Governor has been received as graciously as his best friends could wish him to be. My love to Sally, &c.

"ELISHA HUTCHINSON."

The King would naturally be anxious to have a personal conference with one who had just left the seat and scene of an important political struggle; and the Minister for the Colonies lost no time in requesting the attendance of the Governor. The Diary proceeds as follows:—

July 1st.—Received a card from Lord Dartmouth desiring to see me at his house before one o'clock. I went soon after 12, and after near an hour's conversation, his Lordship proposed introducing me immediately to the King. I was not dressed as expecting to go to Court, but his Lordship observing that the King would not be at St. James's again until Wednesday,* I thought it best to go; but waited so long for his Lordship to dress, that the Levée was over; but his Lordship going in to the King, I was admitted, contrary, as L^d^ Pomfret observed to me, to custom, to kiss His Majesty's hand in his closet: after which, as near as I can recollect, the following conversation passed.

K.—How do you do M^r^ H. after y^r^ voyage?

* This was on a Friday.

H.—Much reduced Sir by sea-sickness; and unfit upon that account, as well as my New England dress, to appear before your Majesty.

Lord D. observed—M^r^ H. apologised to me for his dress, but I thought it very well, as he is just come ashoar [*sic*]; to which the K. assented.

K.—How did you leave your Government, and how did the people receive the news of the late measures in Parliament?

H.—When I left Boston we had no news of any Act of Parliament, except the one for shutting up the port, which was extremely alarming to the people.*

(*Lord D.* said, Mr. H. came from Boston the day that Act was to take place, the first of June. I hear the people of Virginia have refused to comply with the request to shut up their ports, from the people of Boston, and M^r^ H. seems to be of opinion that no colony will comply with that request.)

K.—Do you believe, M^r^ H., that the account from Virginia is true?

H.—I have no other reason to doubt it, except that the authority for it seems to be only a newspaper; and it is very common for articles to be inserted in newspapers without any foundation. I have no doubt that when the people of Rhode Island received the like request, they gave this answer—that if Boston would stop all the vessels they then had in port, which they were hurrying away before the Act commenced, the people of R. Island would then consider of the proposal.

The King smiled.

Lord D.—M^r^ H., may it please y^r^ Majesty, has shewn me a newspaper with an address from a great number of Merchants, another from the Episcopal Clergy, another from the Lawyers, all expressing their sense of his conduct in the most favourable

* On the 1st of July, 1774, the very day on which this conference took place, the King wrote thus to Lord North:—"I have seen M^r^ Hutchinson, late Governor of Massachusetts, and am now well convinced they will soon submit. He owns the Boston Port Bill has been the only wise and effectual method."—Lord Mahon's Hist., vi. App. 3rd edit. In this conference there does not appear to be any such admission; and it will be seen further on that he never ceased in his endeavours to get the Port Bill repealed or mitigated.

terms.* Lord Dartmouth thereupon took the paper out of his pocket and shewed it.

K.—I do not see how it could be otherwise. I am sure his conduct has been universally approved of here by people of all parties.

H.—I am very happy in your Majesty's favorable opinion of my administration.

K.—I am intirely satisfied with it. I am well acquainted with the difficulties you have encountered, and with the abuse & injury offered you. Nothing could be more cruel than the treatment you met with in betraying your private letters.†

The *K.*, turning to Lord D.—My Lord, I remember nothing in them to which the least exception could be taken.

Lord D.—That appears, Sir, from the report of the Committee of Council, and from your Majesty's orders thereon.

H.—The correspondence, Sir, was not of my seeking. It was a meer [*sic*] matter of friendly amusement, chiefly a narrative of occurences, in relating of which I avoided personalities as much as I could, and endeavoured to treat persons, when they could not be avoided, with tenderness, as much as if my letters were intended to be exposed; whereas I had no reason to suppose they ever would be exposed.

K.—Could you ever find M^r^ H. how those letters came to New England?

H.—Doctor F., may it please your Majesty, has made a publick declaration that he sent them, and the Speaker has acknowledged to me that he rec^d^ them: I do not remember that he said directly from Doctor F., but it was understood between us that they came from him. I had heard before that they came either direct from him, or that he had sent them

* Two of them, with the names of the subscribers, were printed in the *Boston Evening Post* for May 30, 1774.

† The necessity for caution both in writing and in speaking had been fully learnt by experience; and soon after this conference was over, namely, July 11, in writing to a friend in America, whose name is not recorded, the Governor says:—"What passed between the K. and me in the long conference I had with him upon this and other subjects the day after I came to town, would be entertaining to you, but I dare not trust it to writing [beyond his private diary], lest by some accident or other it should find its way into print. It is surprising that he [the King] should have so perfect a knowledge of the state of his dominions."—Old marble paper Letter Book.

through another channel, and that they were to be communicated to six persons only, and then to be returned without suffering any copies to be taken. I sent for the Speaker and let him know what I had heard, which came from one of the six to a friend, and so to me. The Speaker said they were sent to him, and that he was at first restrained from shewing them to any more than six persons.

K.—Did he tell you who were the persons?

H.—Yes, sir. There was M^r^ Bowdoin, M^r^ Pitts, Doctor Winthrop, D^r^ Chauncy, D^r^ Cooper, and himself. They are not all the same which had been mentioned before. The two Mr. Adamses had been named to me in the room of M^r^ Pitts and D^r^ Winthrop.

K.—M^r^ B. I have heard of.

Lord D.—I think he is father-in-law to M^r^ T. [Temple]. *

* Dr. Franklin's letter, announcing to the world that he transmitted the letters to America, first appeared in the *Craftsman, or Say's Weekly Journal*, for Saturday, January 1, 1774. It is on the first page of that paper, and has been above quoted.

A strange circumstance, somewhat analogous to the mysterious possession of the Governor's letters more than a century ago, was in some degree repeated so recently as in 1878. Although the modern case was not identical with the ancient one, it was sufficiently near it to recall the ancient one back to memory, after it had nearly become forgotten. As the Governor's descendants had always intended publishing the most interesting portions of the diary, letters, and other papers which had come down to them, they had scrupulously kept these literary materials close, and had guarded them with a jealous eye. Judge their astonishment, therefore, when the following piece of information was brought under their notice from America:—

"Mr. Frothingham read a very interesting and important paper, a copy from Governor Hutchinson's own manuscript, being a conversation on the cricis in America, between himself, King George III., and Lord Dartmouth, which took place immediately on Hutchinson's arrival in England in 1774, after he had been superseded by General Gage. He sailed from Boston on the first of June of that year. The original manuscript of this conversation is referred to in the editorial preface (placed in some of the copies) of the third volume of Hutchinson's 'History of Massachusetts,' published in London in 1828—forty-eight years after the death of the author. Mr. Frothingham said that the copy of the conversation from which he read, was made by him from another transcript in the possession of Mr. Bancroft, and that he had been enjoined against allowing it to be printed." The foregoing appears in the 'Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,' for March, 1871, at page 59. The subject was also noticed in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* for March 25, 1871.

The family had scarcely recovered from their surprise, when Mr. Peter Orlando Hutchinson, of Sidmouth, Devon, received the following letter from

K.—Who is M^r^ Pitts?

H.—He is one of the Council—married M^r^ B.'s sister.

K.—I have heard of D^r^ Ch. and D^r^ Cooper, but who is Doctor Winthorp?

Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, of Boston, Mass., having long corresponded with him before on family matters:—

"My Dear Sir, "Boston, November 27, 1877.

"I have been requested to ask you, as guardian of the 'Hutchinson Papers,' to look over and compare the accompanying proof-sheets, containing the conversation of Gov. Hutchinson with the King, with the original manuscript, should you possess it. A copy of this extract from the Governor's diary seems to have been taken by consent of one then in charge of the papers, while Mr. Everett was American Minister. Beyond this fact I know little of its history. There are one or two sentences in the proof that may need correction, and I have taken the liberty to send it to you for such correction, and to ask you to return it at your earliest convenience. The sentences referred to are, 1st, that question of the King, asking if *Episcopalians are not Presbyterians?* and 2nd, that in which the word *adapted* appears, should it not be *adopted?*

"If there should be any objection on your part, I beg you will not blame me for taking the liberty I have, for I really know nothing of the history of this copy. I suppose, however, that there is no objection to this publication, or it would not now appear.

"With many thanks for your kindness in the past, and trusting I am not trespassing too far in asking this further favour, I am, Most Truly Yours,

"Fitch Edw. Oliver.

"P.S.—Mr. and Miss Robbins are well [descended from Rev. Nath. Robbins and Elizabeth Hutchinson], and desire remembrance. I have not heard from Mrs. Oliver [widow of last of the Olivers in England] for a long time."

Mr. P. O. Hutchinson wrote to Dr. Oliver as follows:—

"My Dear Sir, "Sidmouth, January 3, 1878.

"I owe you many apologies for having allowed so much time to elapse before replying to your last letter; and even now, I am sorry to say, I am not able to answer it fully, or return you the printed matter by this opportunity; and, indeed, I have not yet compared it with the MS. I sent it to my cousins, who I thought would be interested in looking it over. In the meantime, and not to keep you any longer waiting, I write a few lines to explain these points, lest you should wonder at my silence. I shall hope to write to you again before long, and in this interval I may fill up the time by inquiring who Mr. Rives was, who professes to have made a copy of a conversation between the King and Governor H., and how it was that Mr. Everett's name was signed to the copy, under date 1 Feb. 1843? I think Mr. Everett was United States Minister in England at or about that time. Was Mr. Rives assisted in his work by any member of my family, or by any gentleman of the name of Christophers? These are mere matters of curiosity; and if I were to ask whether I might retain the printed copy, could it be granted?—I remain, &c.,

"Dr. F. E. Oliver. P. O. Hutchinson."

Mr. Charles Deane, Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical

H.—He is not a Doctor of Divinity, Sir, but of Law; a Professor of Mathematicks and Natural Philosophy at the College, and last year was chose of the Council.

Society, under date March 5, 1878, wrote to Mr. P. O. Hutchinson, and amongst other things observed:—

"I wish now to say a single word about the printed paper sent over to you, containing the account of the interview between George III. and Governor Hutchinson. I had known that Mr. Bancroft had a MS. copy of that paper many years. He allowed Mr. Richard Frothingham to see and take a transcript from *that*, and to read it before the Historical Society, but forbade his printing it. Last summer Mr. Bancroft allowed the paper to be communicated to the Society in his name, and to be printed. It was at Dr. Oliver's suggestion that a proof was sent to you to compare with the original. I suppose he thought, if it was to be printed, it had better be printed *correctly*.

"The copy was originally procured, I suppose, for Mr. Bancroft, through Mr. Everett, when he was American Minister in London, thirty-five years ago, and was copied by his Secretary of Legation, Mr. Francis R. Rives. There could have been nothing surreptitious in the obtaining of the copy, I should think," &c.

Under March 14, 1878, Dr. Oliver adds:—

"With regard to the conversation with the King, you will please to understand that I had no part or lot in the matter. I was not at the meeting of the Society when the subject came up, or I should have opposed it until something definite could be ascertained as to the authority for giving it to the public. Nor is the Society to blame. They could know nothing as to its history, and very naturally took it for granted that everything was in good faith."

Without some explanation as to how this copy had been obtained, Mr. Hutchinson felt that he could not lend his hand to correcting the press. To have compared it with the original, and to stamp it with his authority, would have implied approval. After keeping it much longer than he had intended, and referring the case to his relations, he sent it back, accompanied by the following letter:—

"Old Chancel, Sidmouth, Devon, England, Dec. 28, 1878.

"Dear Sir,

"The interval that has occurred since my last, is much longer than I intended. I have just written to Mr. Deane, giving him my scruples, and fully explaining why I excuse myself from correcting the press of the printed version of the conversation between George III. and Governor Hutchinson. It should seem that in 1842 or 1843, Mr. Rives had possession of the first volume of the Governor's Diary, and made extracts, more or less perfect, of the part referring to this conversation. During the long space of 35 years no intimation had ever been given to any of the Governor's descendants that this had been done, nor did they know it until I received the printed copy, with a request that I should correct the press. Very cool! As Sam Slick says—'I haw-hawed right out,' for I perceived at a glance the use that was being made of you. Mr. Deane has been good enough to write to me; but he is not himself in possession of the power to explain to me how Mr. Rives got the book, or under what promises. I feel, therefore, that I cannot lend my hand to the transaction. I prefer returning the printed copy to you, as I received it from you. I hope this course, after these explanations, will not offend you or Mr. Deane, or any of Governor Hutchinson's 'country-

K.— I have heard of one M^r^ Adams, but who is the other?

H.—He is a Lawyer, Sir.

K.—Brother to the other?

H.—No, Sir, a relation. He has been of the House, but is not now. He was elected by the two Houses to be of the Council, but negatived. The speaker further acquainted me that, after the first letter, he received another, allowing him to shew the Letters to the Committee of Correspondence; and afterwards a third, which allowed him to shew them to such persons as he could confide in, but always enjoined to send them back without taking copies. I asked him how he could be guilty of such a breach of trust as to suffer them to be made publick? He excused it by saying that he was against their being brought before the House, but was overruled; and when they had been read there, the people abroad compelled their publication, or would not be satisfied without it. Much more passed with which I will not trouble your Majesty; but after the use had been made of the Letters, which is so well known, they were all returned.

K., turning to L^d^ D.—This is strange:—where is Doctor F., my lord?

Lord D.—I believe, Sir, he is in Town. He was going to America, but I fancy he is not gone.

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men,' as he used to call you all. I should like you to see what I have written to Mr. Deane.

"I enclose a tracing of Cyrian and Phebe [from an old copy of 'Hubbard's Hist.' in MS. to assist in perfecting a new edition in America], because in the new printed book it is Cyprian and Plebe. Perhaps it would have been as well if there had been a footnote mentioning the alteration.

"Have you got the old family seal of the Oliver coat of Arms? You ought to have it if you have not. I have made a copper electrotype from an old wax impression, and I send you a specimen outside.

"I always enquire with interest after Mr. and Miss Robbins. I hope they are well. Pray remember me to them. Remember—Mr. Robbins's ancestor married Elizabeth Hutchinson; and that is something in the world's history. —I remain, Dear Sir, Yours Faithfully,

"Dr. F. E. Oliver, Boston, Mass. P. O. Hutchinson."

The fact that this transaction was kept quiet for thirty-five years throws it open to suspicion. Though Dr. Oliver was the medium of negotiation, he was a stranger to the subject he was handling. Equally free from all connection with it was Mr. Deane; but it is due from Mr. Rives, Mr. Everett, and Mr. Bancroft to give some satisfactory explanation, if they would set themselves right with public opinion.

K.—I heard he was going to Switzerland, or to some part of the Continent.

L^d D.—I think, Sir, there has been such a report.

K.—In such abuse, M^r H., as you met with, I suppose there must have been personal malvolence as well as party rage?

H.—It has been my good fortune, Sir, to escape any charge against me in my private character. The attacks have been upon my publick conduct, and for such things as my duty to your Majesty required me to do, and which you have been pleased to approve of. I don't know that any of my enemies have complained of a personal injury.

K.—I see they threatened to pitch and feather you.

H.—Tarr & feather, may it please your Majesty; but I don't remember that ever I was threatened with it.

Lord D.—Oh! yes, when Malcolm was tarred and feathered [Almanac for 1770, May, MS. Note], the committee for tarring and feathering blamed the people for doing it, that being a punishment res^d for a higher person, and we suppose you was intended.

H.—I remember something of that sort, which was only to make diversion, there being no such committee, or none known by that name.

K.—What guard had you, M^r H.?

H.—I depended, Sir, on the protection of Heaven. I had no other guard. I was not conscious of having done anything of which they could justly complain, or make a pretence for offering violence to my person. I was not sure, but I hoped they only meant to intimidate. By discovering that I was afraid, I should encourage them to go on. By taking measures for my security I should expose myself to calumny, and being censured as designing to render them odious for what they never intended to do. I was, therefore, obliged to appear to disregard all the menaces in the newspapers, and also private intimations from my friends who frequently advised me to take care of myself.

K.—I think you generally live in the country, M^r H.; what distance are you from town?

H.—I have lived in the country, Sir, in the summer for 20 years; but, except the winter after my house was pulled down,

I have never lived in the country in winter until the last. My house is 7 or 8 miles from the Town, a pleasant situation, and most gentlemen from abroad say it has the finest prospect from it they ever saw, except where great improvements have been made by art, to help the natural view. The longest way the road is generally equal to the turnpike roads here; the other way rather rough.

K.—Pray, what does Hancock do now? How will the late affair affect him?*

H.—I don't know to what particular affair your Majesty refers.

* The following letter is found in the Letter Book of Lieut.-Governor Oliver. It was written from Boston in America, to ex-Governor Thomas Pownall in London.

"Sir, "Boston, 19 Sep^{r}, 1768.

"I received the last evening, by Cap. Bruce, your favours of the 27th & 28th July, accompanying your letter to John Hancock, Esq., and a power to receive of him the amount of sundry Government Notes, you had left in the hands of his late uncle. I have felt your friendship, and shall always think myself happy to have it in my power to do you any real service, but am sorry for the present occasion you have to command it. I delivered your letter this morning to M^{r} Hancock, who readily told me that he would forthwith pay the money; and that he should have formerly paid it to General Gage, and taken his draft, but that the General insisted on his sending the money to New York; his doing which would have been attended both with risque and charge. He just suggested to me that his uncle had given him one, if not two, receipts for the Notes, which, upon payment, he expected to have delivered up cancelled. I don't know that he will insist on this as a condition of payment. If the matter should be disputed, I imagine it could be easily proved, that he himself received the money for the Notes out of the Treasury. But I would not alarm you with difficulties till they really occur. I will certainly do everything in my power to bring the business to the most desirable issue. The Budget was this morning opened, advising of troops coming among us, which not only occasions a meeting of Council, but a general alarm among the people, and very possibly to particular persons too.

"I could not excuse my neglecting this opportunity of informing you thus much, and the fore-mentioned circumstance will be my excuse for saying no more. Cap^{n} Jacobson will sail in a few days, when I hope to send you some more satisfactory accounts.

"M^{rs} Oliver and my children join with me in our best respects. I took the liberty some time since of paying you my compliments on your marriage, and of sending the same afterwards by my daugh^{r} Spooner, who, I hear, is now in London. I now congratulate you on your late election, which I hope will give you an opportunity, and I doubt not you will readily embrace it, of serving an unhappy deluded people, who have been led into the most extravagant measures by a few sons of Violence, who falsely assume the name of Sons of Liberty. If the honour of an insulted Government should require some examples of justice, the men could be easily pointed out, and

K.—Oh, a late affair in the city, his bills being refused. (Turning to Lord D.) Who is that in the city, my Lord?

Lord D. not recollecting—

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ought to be offered as victims, if it might be a means of saving the community.

"I am, with the greatest respect, &c."

From the same to his son-in-law, Mr. John Spooner, then in London, Sept. 20, 1768:—

"I have, by Capt[n] Bruce, rec[d] a power from Gov[r] Pownall, to receive £5000 lawf. money for him of M[r] J. H., who rec[d] his money here out of the Treasury."

From the same to Governor Pownall, Sept. 27, 1768:—

"M[r] Hancock had appointed me this day to give a final answer what he would do; and tells me that by Capt[n] Scott & Capt[n] Lyde, he will order your money to be paid in England, and give me satisfaction that it is done before they sail. He peremptorily declares he will not pay the money unless he has his uncle's receipt for the Province Notes given up."

From the same to Governor Pownall, Nov. 8, 1768:—

"Sir,

"My last was of y[e] 7[th] of Oct[r] by Scott [it is in the Letter Book, but not very material], advising you that M[r] Hancock had assured me he would, by Capt[n] Lyde, order payment of what he owes you. Capt[n] Lyde, I imagine, will sail within a week; and M[r] Hancock has since told me that he would give me 24 hours' notice of it, that the debt might be put into such a course of payment as should be to my satisfaction. I shall give all due attention to the business, and then write you more at large. The principal occasion of my writing you now, is to acknowledge the receipt of the duplicate of your letter and power this day by the *Sultana*.

"M[r] Hancock has brought himself into trouble by suffering a cargo of Madeira wines to be landed from the sloop *Liberty*, without paying the King's duties. The sloop has already been tried and condemned for it, and he has now within a day or two past, been served with a Libel for treble the value of the wines, in a penalty of £9000 sterling, on which he is held to bail in the sum of £3000 like money. The action is referred for trial to the 28[th] Inst. I cannot think this unhappy affair need give you any fresh alarm, altho' he should be cast in the suit. His affluent circumstances, however, will not divert me from any prudent measure I can take for your advantage."

From the same to the same, Nov. 24, 1768:—

"I missed M[r] Hancock yesterday, but have seen him since I wrote the foregoing, and received from him the enclosed. I hope your business now is in a fair way of settlement. His honour is so deeply pledged, that it appears to me impossible he sh[d] fail you; if he should, he can never afterwards complain either of you or me, if he should be pressed to the last extremity; and you may for that purpose command my best services."

As there are but few more allusions in the Letter Book to this subject, it may be concluded that everything was fully and amicably settled, and the more so, as in 1768 Mr. Hancock was in "affluent circumstances;" and we confidently conclude that his honour remained untarnished.

H.—I have heard, Sir, that M^r^ Haley, a merchant in the city, is M^r^ Hancock's principal correspondent.

K.—Ay, that's the name.

H.—I heard, may it please your Majesty, before I came from N. England, that some small sums were returned, but none of consequence.

K.—Oh no, I mean within this month, large sums.

Lord D.—I have heard such rumours, but don't know the certainty.

H.—M^r^ Hancock, Sir, had a very large fortune left him by his uncle, and I believe his political engagements have taken off his attention from his private affairs. He was sensible not long ago of the damage it was to him, and told me he was determined to quit all publick business, but soon altered his mind.

K.—Then there's M^r^ Cushing: I remember his name a long time: is not he a great man of the party?

H.—He has been many years Speaker, but a Speaker, Sir, is not always the person of the greatest influence. A M^r^ Adams is rather considered as the opposer of Government, and a sort of Wilkes in New England.*

K.—What gave him his importance?

H.—A great pretended zeal for liberty, and a most inflexible natural temper. He was the first that publickly asserted the Independency of the colonies upon the Kingdom, or the supreme Authority of it.

K.—I have heard, M^r^ H., that your ministers preach that, for the sake of promoting liberty or the publick good, any immorality or less evil may be tolerated?

H.—I don't know, Sir, that such doctrine has ever been preached from the pulpit; but I have no doubt that it has been publickly asserted by some of the heads of the party who call themselves sober men, that the good of the publick is above all other considerations, and that truth may be dispensed with, and immorality is excusable, when this great good can be obtained by such means.

* Some persons have ascribed the outbreak of the rebellion in America to the republican and licentious declamations of John Wilkes in England, which were soon wafted across the Atlantic.

K.—That's a strange doctrine, indeed. Pray, M^r^ H., what is your opinion of the effect from the new regulation of the Council? Will it be agreeable to the people, and will the new appointed Councillors take the trust upon them?

H.—I have not, may it please y^r^ Majesty, been able to inform myself who they are. I came to Town late last evening, and have seen nobody. I think much will depend upon the choice that has been made.

K.—Enquiry was made and pains taken that the most suitable persons should be appointed.

H.—The body of the people are Dissenters from the Church of England; what are called Congregationalists. If the Council shall have been generally selected from the Episcopalians, it will make the change more disagreeable.

K.—Why are they not Presbyterians?

H.—There are a very few Churches which call themselves Presbyterians, and form themselves voluntarily into a Presbytery without any aid from the civil government, which the Presbyterian Church of Scotland enjoys.

Lord D.—The Dissenters in England at this day are scarce any of them Presbyterians, but like those in New England, Congregationalists, or rather Independents.

K.—Pray, what were your Ancestors, M^r^ H.?

H.—In general, Sir, Dissenters.*

K.—Where do you attend?

H.—With both, Sir. Sometimes at your Majesty's chapel, but more generally at a Congregational church, which has a very worthy minister, a friend to Government, who constantly prays for your Majesty, and all in authority under you.

K.—What is his name?

H.—Doctor Pemberton.

K.—I have heard of Doctor Pemberton that he is a very good man. Who is minister at the chapel?

* The Governor must mean Dissenters after they went to America in 1634; for at the foot of two of the pages of the parish register of Alford in Lincolnshire, the signature of William Hutchinson, as churchwarden, occurs twice—once under the year 1620, and again in 1621. Facsimiles of these signatures are given on page 20 of a pamphlet entitled 'Narrative of a Tour made into the County of Lincoln in October, 1857,' &c., by P. O. Hutchinson. Privately printed.

H.—The Rector is Dr. Caner, a very worthy man also, who frequently inculcates upon his hearers due subjection to Government, and condemns the riotous violent opposition to it; and besides the prayers in the Liturgy, generally in a short prayer before sermon, expressly prays for your Majesty, and for the chief Ruler in the Province.

K.—Why do not the Episcopal ministers in general do the same?

H.—In general, Sir, they use no other prayer before sermon than a short collect out of the Liturgy.

K.—No—(turning to Lord D.) It is not so here, my Lord?

Lord D.—I believe it is, Sir. In your Majesty's Chapel they always use such a prayer. It is a form adapted.

K.—I think you must be mistaken.

Lord D.—No, Sir. This prayer used to be printed formerly, but of late it has not been printed with the service. In general the ministers use a collect, as M^{r} Hutchinson says; sometimes the collect in the Communion service—"Prevent us, O Lord," &c.,* but I think oftener the collect for the second Sunday in Advent. †

H.—My education, Sir, was with the Dissenters. I conceive there is no material difference between reading a prayer out of a book, and saying it *memoriter*, without book.

Lord D.—I think, Sir, it is not very material. The prayers of the Dissenters are in substance very much the same with those in the service of the church.

K.—I see no material difference, if the prayers be equally good, but will not that depend upon the minister? But, pray, M^{r} H., why do your ministers generally join with the people in their opposition to Government?

H.—They are, Sir, dependent upon the people. They are elected by the people, and when they are dissatisfied with them, they seldom leave till they get rid of them.

* In the modern Prayer Books six Collects are printed at the end of the Communion Service, to be used as occasion may require. It is the fourth Collect on this list that begins with the words—"Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with Thy most gracious favour," &c.

† Beginning—"Blessed Lord, who hast caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning," &c.

K.—That must be very dangerous. If the people oblige them to concur with them in their erroneous principles on Government, they may do it in religion also, and this must have a most fatal tendency.

H.—There is one check, Sir, upon the people. Unless a minister be dismissed by a council of Churches, the Province law makes provision for the recovery of the salary; but we have no instance where a minister, for any length of time, has brought suits for the recovery of his salary, after the people refuse to hear him. They generally weary him, and sooner or later they get clear of him.

Lord D.—That's a considerable tye, however.

K.—Pray, M^r^ H., does population greatly increase in your Province?

H.—Very rapidly, Sir. I used to think that Doctor F., who has taken much pains in his calculations, carried it too far when he supposed the inhabitants of America, from their natural increase, doubled their number in 25 years; but I rather think now that he did not; and I believe it will appear from the last return I made to the Secretary of State, that the Massachusets has increased in that proportion.* And the increase is supposed, including the importation of foreigners, to be, upon the whole, greater in most of the Southern Colonies than in the Massachusets. We import no settlers from Europe, so as to make any sensible increase.

K.—Why do not foreigners come to y^r^ Province as well as to the Southern Governments?

H.—I take it, Sir, that our long cold winters discourage them. Before they can bring the land to such a state as to be able in summer to provide for their support in winter, what little substance they can bring with them is expended, and many of them have greatly suffered. The Southern Colonies are more temperate.

K.—What is the reason you raise no wheat in your Province?

* See 'The Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to Her Colonies,' &c., 1760, p. 23. No author's name, but known to be by Dr. Franklin.

H.—In most places, especially near the sea, it blasts.

K.—To what cause is that owing?

H.—It has been observed that when the grain is so forward as to be out of the milk the beginning of July, it seldom blasts; and that about the 8th or 10th of that month the weather becomes exceeding hot, and what are called the honey dews of the night are fixed upon the grains by the scalding sun in a hot morning, and if the grain be then in the milk it shrivels up, and the straw becomes rusty and black. This is a pretty general opinion of the cause.

K.—To what produce is your climate best adapted?

H.—To grazing, Sir; your Majesty has not a finer Colony for grass in all your dominions: and nothing is more profitable in America than pasture, because labour is very dear.

K.—Then you import all your bread corn from the other Colonies?

H.—No, Sir, scarce any, except for the use of the maritime towns. In the country towns the people raise grain enough for their own expending, and sometimes for exportation. They live upon coarse bread made of rye and corn mixed, and by long use they learn to prefer this to flour or wheat bread.

K.—What corn?

H.—Indian corn, or, as it is called in Authors, Maize.*

K.—Ay, I know it. Does that make good bread?

H.—Not by itself, Sir; the bread will soon be dry and husky; but the Rye keeps it moist, and some of our country people prefer a bushel of Rye to a bushel of Wheat, if the price should be the same.

K.—That's very strange.

Lord D.—In many parts of Scotland, Sir, Rye is much esteemed as making good and wholesome bread.

* From a memorandum, written by the Governor, on the fly-leaf, at the beginning of vol. iv. of his Diary, the word maize was not so well known then as it was afterwards. The memorandum runs thus :—"Maize is the name of Indian Corn among the Europeans. Peter Martyr used it before the northern continent of America was discovered by Raleigh. See 'Martyr's First Decad,' p. 208, quoted in 'Morton's New England Memorial.' Query,—Whether it is in the language of the southern continent, or whether it was in use in Europe before the discovery of America?

"The Indian word for corn in the language of the N. England Indians is 'Eate Chumnis.'—See 'Wood's Prospect in 1635.'"

The King enquired very particularly into many other parts of the produce of the country, and the natural history of it, to which I gave the best answers I was capable of.

K.—New York, I think, comes the next to Boston in their opposition to Government?

H.—Does your Majesty think nearer than Pensilvania? [*sic.*]

K.—Why, I can't say that they do of late. *K.**—Rhode Island, M^r^ H., is a strange form of Government.

H.—They approach, Sir, the nearest to a Democracy of any of your Colonies. Once a year all power returns to the people, and all their Officers are new elected. By this means the Governor has no judgment of his own, and must comply with every popular prejudice.

K.—Who is their Governor now?

H.—His name, Sir, is Wanton, a Gentleman who I have reason to think wishes to see Government maintained as much as any they could find in the Colonies.

K.—How is it with Connecticut? are they much better?

H.—The constitutions, Sir, are much the same; but Connecticut are a more cautious people; strive to make as little noise as may be, and have in general retained a good share of that virtue which is peculiarly necessary in such a form of Government.

More was said upon the state of these and some of the other Colonies. There being something of a pause about this time, I turned to Lord Dartmouth and asked—Does your Lordship remember when you had the first account of the Lieutenant Governor's death,† and whether it was before the Letters which I wrote by Governer Tryon?

Lord D.—Oh, yes, I had a letter from you several weeks before that, giving an account of it.

H.—There was a vessel sailed for Lisbon the day after he died, and I gave a letter to the master in charge, to put it on board the first Vessel for London, but was doubtful of the conveyance.

* The K. for King is thus twice repeated in the MS.

† Andrew Oliver, the Lieutenant-Governor, was born March 29, 1706, and died March 23, 1774.

K.—We never could find out which way that letter came. Is the present L. Governor a relation to the late M^r^ Oliver? *

H.—No, Sir, not of the same family. I have no connection with him, nor did I ever let him know that I had mentioned him as one of the persons I thought might be proper for a L^t^ Governor.

K.—The Chief Justice, I think, is brother to the late L^t^ Governor?

H.—Yes, Sir.

K.—We had thought of him, but as he was not one of those you had named, the present Gentleman, upon enquiry, appeared under all circumstances the most proper.

H.—I had some particular inducement not to mention the Chief Justice. He is related to me, and his appointment would have increased the envy against both of us.

K.—How is he related to you?

H.—One of his sons, Sir, married one of my daughters.† I was, besides, uncertain whether the salary would be continued; and if it should be, his salary as Chief Justice exceeded it, except in case of my absence, and then the expense of living, and the additional trouble from his post, I considered as more than an equivalent. I considered further, that the controversy in which he had been engaged as Chief Justice would render the administration peculiarly difficult just at that time; and I supposed it would immediately devolve upon him by my absence, having then no expectation of being superseded.

I never took more pains to divest myself of all personal views than in mentioning proper persons for this place. I should have been more anxious, if I had not thought it not improbable that some person might be appointed, and sent from England.

K.—What number of Indians had you in your Government?

H.—They are almost extinct. Perhaps there are 50 or 60 families at most upon the Eastern Frontier, where there is a small fort maintained; tho' I conceive the inhabitants would

* The King's remarks show, in a very striking light, that he made himself thoroughly acquainted with all the passing events of the time, and allowed few circumstances, even apparently of a trivial nature, to escape his vigilant eye. The new Lieut.-Governor was called Oliver.

† Dr. Peter Oliver married Sarah Hutchinson.

not be in the least danger. It looks, Sir, as if in a few years the Indians would be extinct in all parts of the Continent.*

K.—To what is that owing?

H.—I have thought, Sir, in part to their being dispirited at their low despicable condition among the Europeans, who have taken possession of their country, and treat them as an inferior race of beings; but more to the immoderate use of spirituous liquors. There are near 100 families, perhaps more, of Indians who are domiciliated, and live, some in other towns, but most of them at a place called Mashpee, where they have a church, and a Missionary to preach to them, and also an Indian Minister who has been ordained, and preaches sometimes in their own language.

K.—What, an Episcopal Minister?

H.—No, Sir, of the Congregational persuasion or form of worship.

The King was particular in many other enquiries relative to my Administration, to the state of the Province, and the other Colonies.

I have minuted what remained the clearest upon my mind, and as near the order in which they passed as I am able. He asked also what part of my family I brought with me, and what I left behind, and at length advised me to keep house a few days for the recovery of my health. I† then withdrew. I was near two hours in the K. closet. Lord D. feared I was

* A pathetic, as well as an interesting, note might be written on the Indians, and the inevitable fatality that seems to hang over their destiny wherever the whites appear. It might be supposed that the furnishing them with better shelter, better and more regular food, and with better clothing, together with an improved style in their habits of life, would tend to invigorate their physical frames, and elevate their mental faculties. All experience, however, shows the contrary; wherever the whites appear, the savage tribes at once begin to diminish, and soon to die out. Not even the humane, or the protector of the aborigines, can retain them in life. Such is their animal nature, that their low mental power seems only to furnish intelligence enough just to direct them how to gratify it. Their awakened minds, therefore, only rise high enough to adopt the vices of the whites, but not high enough to enable them to appreciate their virtues. The subject, however, is a rather mysterious one. Writers and philosophers who have descanted upon it have generally ended their disquisitions by simply saying—We lose sight of them—they vanish. The inferior races of the earth cannot assimilate with the superior, nor can they compete with them.

† This may be "I," or it may be "&," slightly varying the sense.

tired so long standing. I observed that so gracious a reception made me insensible of it.

As soon as the Governor could find leisure, after this long conference, he thought it well to transmit to General Gage, in the following letter, such sentiments as he judged might be useful to him in his administration, or as keeping him informed on the vital questions of the day, which were beginning to assume so serious a character.

"London, 4th July, 1774.

"Dear Sir,—

"I may not omit the first opportunity of acquainting you with my safe arrival, after an easy passage of exactly 28 days from leaving Boston Harbour to landing at Dover. I came to Westminster the next evening, and the morning after waited upon Lord Dartmouth, who, after an hour's conversation, carried me to St. James's, and though the Levée was over, introduced me to the King in his Closet, who kept me near two hours in conversation upon the affairs of America in general, and of the Massachusetts Bay in particular. His knowledge of so many facts astonished me. I hope one time or other to relate to you minutely what passed upon this occasion, but at present shall confine myself to that part only which may be of use to you in your administration, and may tend to the benefit of the Province, and to the speedy relief of the town of Boston.*

"In the course of conversation the King asked me how the late Acts of Parliament were received at Boston? I answered, that when I left Boston, I had heard only of one, that for shutting up the Port, which was to take place the day I came away: that I had heard, since my arrival, that another Act had passed, which I had not seen, nor had I been able to obtain a particular account of it. That the first Act was exceedingly severe, I did not presume to say, or think it was more so than was necessary, but it must bring the greatest distress upon the town, and many of the tradesmen who depended upon the ships had left the town, and others were leaving it when I came away, and that it would

* "On the 14th of the same month [March, 1774], Lord North brought in a measure commonly known by the name of the Boston Port Bill. The preamble declared that in the present condition of the town and harbour of Boston, the commerce of his Majesty's subjects could not be safely carried on, nor the customs be duly collected; and the clauses proposed to enact, that from and after the 1st of June in this year, it should not be lawful for any person to lade or unlade, to ship or unship any goods from any quay or wharf within the aforesaid harbour," &c.—Lord Mahon's Hist., ch. li., 3.

make me happy, if any way, consistent with His Majesty's honour, I might be instrumental, whilst I remained in England, in obtaining their relief. The King thereupon expressed his inclination and desire to grant it when they could put it in his power. Lord Dartmouth thereupon said—M^r^ Hutchinson has been addressed by a great part of the merchants in Boston in a very respectful manner, to make his application to your Majesty; and took a Newspaper, which contained the Address, out of his pocket, and shewed it to the King, which he read; and smiling, said that he did not wonder at it, and added—M^r^ Hutchinson has been so universally applauded for the firmness and moderation of his conduct by all persons here, that I have been surprised at his being so abused in his own country—or words to that effect: but what evidence is there of any submission to the authority of Government? and until I see that, how can I, M^r^ Hutchinson, consistent with the Act of Parliament, grant them relief? I know, may it please your Majesty, that without such evidence, I may not presume to ask it. I humbly beg leave to acquaint your Majesty, [that] with the circumstances attending this application to me, after it was known that I had taken passage for England, several of the gentlemen who signed, and who were the first movers to this Address, signified to me their dependence upon the representations that they hoped I should be allowed to make to your Majesty in their behalf. I immediately answered that it was in vain to expect that your Majesty would do anything directly against an Act of Parliament. The Act required something to be first done on their part. How, said the gentlemen, can we evidence our submission to the payment or collecting of duties, when no goods can be brought into our port? I was at a loss, Sir, what answer to give them. An explicit declaration, that in all cases whatsoever they acknowledged the right or authority of Parliament to tax them, did not seem to be required, nor could it be done in any other way than by the General Assembly, or by a collective or representative body; and this I humbly hoped would not be expected. Lord Dartmouth, who had been talking with me upon the subject, thereupon said—I told M^r^ H. that I conceived such orderly behaviour in the inhabitants in general as would enable the Governor to represent to your Majesty, that there was an apparent disposition to give no molestation to such persons as would carry on their trade in a way and manner conformable to law; and the Assembly, and the towns abstaining, from these offensive votes and resolves, encouraging the disorders which have prevailed in the Province, and abstaining from oppo-

sition to the supreme authority of the Empire, may be considered as evidence of such submission. The King immediately said—I know no necessity of any particular mode of evidence. Actions speak louder than words; and, apparently, acquiesced in Lord Dartmouth's sentiments.

"I am thus particular in relating what passed upon this subject, hoping it may induce you, if the Province can be brought to such a state, to represent to the King, by his Secretary of State, as evidence of such submission, together with any other favourable circumstances; and I beg leave to recommend to you M^r George Erving; and if you think proper, I have no objection to your communicating to him what I have wrote to you. You will find him sensible, active, and I have reason to believe, faithful. The several Addresses made to me are much approved of here; and if they shall have been followed by others from other counties, as was proposed, the obtaining redress will be the more facilitated. I have not mentioned this part of what passed from the King to any person but to you.

"Since I began this letter I have seen the two other Acts of Parliament, and my L^d Dartmouth has sent me the list of the new Council. They are quite unexpected to me, and I have good reason to be satisfied that the completion of the plan was delayed as long as it could be, that my sentiments might be known. I think it a most fortunate circumstance for me, that I have never had the least share in promoting or suggesting any part of them. Indeed, I have it from the best authority that they are not what was intended by the Ministry as the first plan, and may as properly be deemed Acts of the whole kingdom, as perhaps any Acts which have at any time been passed. If I had been consulted upon the list of Councellors, I would not [have] proposed every one of them; and I would have proposed some who are not in the list: but I am exceeding glad to see so many good men among them.

"Lord North has not been in Town, and M^r Pownall is indisposed at Greenwich, and I have only a card from him. M^r Knox has been kind enough to call upon me. If I should have anything material from any part of administration, which may be proper to be communicated for the public service, or which may be meer [*sic*] matter of news, I will write another letter.

"I am at present in Parl^t Street, opposite to Lord Loudon's [*sic*], who, seeing me at my window, came immediately over, and treats me with great goodness and condescension; but I hope in a month, or as soon as I can go through the necessary formalities,

to take a house in the country, and I cannot mention any particular place to direct to me. It will be enough, if any letters come under the cover of the Secretary of State, or M^r^ Pownall; and I shall be obliged to you if you will suffer any of my friends to leave a letter with you at any time, to come under the same cover.

"I found that my expressing my opinion of the probability of success in your administration, and my declaration that nothing could be more agreeable to my wishes, than the relief afforded me by your appointment were pleasing, as well to the King as to L^d^ Dartmouth, and the latter encourages me, that my being in England will have the greatest tendency more speedily to remove the distress the town of Boston must be under, and to promote that peace and order which is necessary to make your administration agreeable to you.

"Lord and Lady Gage soon did me the great honour to call upon me and my daughter, and have been so obliging as not only to ask me to dine with them in town, but also to make them a visit in the country, and I fully intend, in the course of the summer, to accept of so kind an invitation.

"If you think proper to consult M^r^ Erving, I pray you would put a wafer to the inclosed letter, and send it to him; if not, that you would destroy it.

"I am, with the most sincere regard and esteem, y^rs^ Faith^y^, &c.

"After I had finished my letter, Lord Dartmouth did me the honour to call upon me, and I read to him that part which relates to the conversation with the King, and he much approves of my sending it to you.

"Gen. Gage."

In another letter, dated July 7, when writing to Mr. Flucker, these words occur:—

"I do assure you that the greatest pleasure it gives me is from the prospect it affords, of enabling me to serve my poor unhappy country: and in the long conference I had with the K. I made it my chief object to represent matters so as to obtain relief for the T. of B. on the easiest terms."

The Governor, in London, to his eldest son Thomas, at Milton:

"London, 4^th^ July, 1774.

"My Dear Son,—

"Having wrote you largely to go by the Packet, I have only time now to tell you, that we arrived at Dover in just

28 days to an hour, from our leaving the harbour of Boston, and the 29th day were in London. Send this account to your sister, and let her know I have wrote to her by the Packet. Every body says we could not have had an easier passage; but Peggy and I were very sick, and are very much reduced. My reception here exceeded everything I could imagine. Remember me to Sally,* and to all friends.

"Mark died the 21 June.—Your Affectionate Father,

"T. Hutchinson."

The *London Chronicle* of July 2, 1774, contains the following announcement:—

"Yesterday Thos Hutchinson, Esq., late Governor of Massachusett's Bay, attended the Levée at St. James's, was graciously received, and had the honor of a conference with his Majesty."

On the 6th of July the Governor wrote a longer letter to his son, in which he speaks, in the following passages, of the political feeling, and of political parties in England, as he was just beginning to obtain a first insight into them†:—

"I can collect, from what I have seen and heard, that they have gone too far here to recede, let the opposition in America be what it will: on the other hand, there is all the disposition that can be wished, as well in the King, (who is more his own minister than is generally imagined,) as in his Ministers, to afford the most speedy relief, and to comply with every reasonable request, and to forbear from any acts for taxation, provided the authority of Parliament be not denied nor counteracted.

* Sally, his daughter, and wife to Dr. Peter Oliver.

† "Even before the Boston Port Bill had yet passed the Upper House, Lord North introduced another measure, the Massachusetts Government Bill. By that measure the Charter, as granted by King William, was in some important particulars set aside. The Council, instead of being elected by the people, was henceforth, as in most of the other colonies, to be appointed by the Crown. The Judges, Magistrates, and Sheriffs might be nominated by the Governor, and in some cases also, be removed by him, even without the consent or sanction of the Council. 'How else,' asked Lord North, 'is the Governor to execute any authority vested in him? At present, if he requires the aid of a Magistrate, he has not the power of appointing any one who will, nor of removing any one who will not, act: the Council alone have that power; and the dependence of the Council is now solely on the democratic part of the constitution. It appears that the civil Magistracy has been for a series of years uniformly inactive; and there must be something radically wrong in that constitution, in which no Magistrate, for such a series of years, has ever done his duty in such a manner as to enforce obedience to the laws.' Such considerations," adds Lord Mahon, "are by no means destitute of weight."—Hist., ch. li., p. 5.

"A person in administration informed me that he had a doubt of the expediency of the Act, (when it passed,) for changing the Council; and that he had mentioned my doubts, and also produced my letters upon the subject, both in Lord Hillsborough's time and since; but the result of the Council in the affair of the Tea was so exceptionable to the rest of the King's servants, that it was to no purpose to oppose the measure. I warned the Council of the consequence of that result; and after the Tea was destroyed, I knew it would enrage the powers here against the Council, more than all they had done before. I have not yet seen Lord North. He was expected in town yesterday.

"The King received me in his closet, and conversed near two hours with unusual freedom and confidence, and surprised me to find that he was so intimately acquainted with the affairs of America, and of his Dominions in general: but I have wrote largely to you by the New York ship upon this subject, and as far as is proper to commit to writing.*

"I mentioned to you the distinguishing notice taken of me by L^d^ Dartmouth; and a great number of persons of the first rank are continually calling upon me. Lord Hillsboro' came to town last night, and this morning found me out, and made the strongest professions of affection and esteem, and has charged me, whenever anything does not go to my wish, to let him know it in Ireland, intimating an interest in the King, which should be employed for my benefit. Lord Mansfield has desired to see me as soon as the sittings are over; and I had a card to-day from Lord Hardwicke at Richmond, – a nobleman who declines any place in Government, expressing his esteem, and desiring I would come to Richmond, and dine with him to-morrow. I have not seen Sir F. Bernard, but he sent to me last night, desiring me to meet him at the Encæniа† at Oxford to-morrow, assuring me of the honours of the University; but I shall not go. If anything occurs before the mail is made up, I will write you further.—I am your Affectionate Father,

"Tho. Hutchinson."

At the risk of offending the reader by giving one or two small

* As the Governor had only been a week in England when he wrote this letter, the communication here alluded to must have been written near about the same time—it may be a day or two, or two or three days before. No such communication exists amongst the papers in England.

† In the *London Mag.* for 1773, p. 348, there is a full account of the proceedings at the Encænia for that year, with the receptions, levées, granting degrees, musical performances, grand dinner, concert, ball.

repetitions, the subjoined letter had better be given entire, as it gives a few particulars of the first conversation that the Governor had with Lord North. The letter is written to some friend in America, but it does not say to whom.*

"London, 8 July, 1774.

"Dear Sir,—

"The passengers by this ship, not having yet left the town, I can now acquaint you that last night I had a long conference with Lord North at his house by appointment: that, in the course of it he said he was informed, (I rather think by the King), that I supposed an explicit declaration of submission was requisite, in order to opening the Port of Boston. I answered his Lordship that I was so far from supposing so, from anything in the Act, that I rather thought it was designedly avoided. Certainly, says he, we lay but little stress upon words and declarations. Let the town, or some in their behalf, make satisfaction for the Tea :† we shall consider that as one strong evidence of a return to duty.

"With respect to a change of the Constitution, I let his Lordship know with great freedom and plainness, that when a measure of that sort had been first proposed to me for my opinion, I had desired that, at least, notice might be given to the Province, that the King intended to bring the affair before the Parliament; and the Province being heard in their defence, an Act of Parliament after that would be less grievous; and perhaps the apprehensions of such an Act might produce such a change of conduct as to render it unnecessary. His Lordship immediately said, that the behaviour of the Council and House had been such for some time past as to render it necessary there should be a change, and that it ought to have been done the last Session, upon the Declaration of Independence, both by the Council and House: that the delay had been occasioned by the state of affairs here in England: that, in general, whatever measure had been proposed by the Ministers, had also been opposed: but that all parties united in the necessity of a change, in order to prevent the Colony from entirely throwing of [off] their dependence: and after he had enlarged upon the history of their proceedings, he added—I was therefore willing to

* Letter Book, folio size, covered with old marbled paper. It can be found by the date.

† "I am sure they may depend upon [it] that they are in no danger of further taxes, and nothing hinders the taking off the Tea duty, except the denial of the authority that imposed it, which denial, it is said, having the designed effect in this instance, will naturally extend to all other instances of parliamentary authority."—Letter, Oct. 14, 1774.

seize this opportunity, when all persons of all parties were of the same mind, and though in general, I well approve of your proposal of giving opportunity of a full defence, yet, this particular case might well be excepted from the general rule, the facts being so gross and so notorious: that he had long forbore, in hope that we should see the extravagance of our actions, and reform; but his hopes were at an end: that he did not know but we should make an attempt to obstruct the execution of the Act: that we should find we were only hurting ourselves by the attempt: that all the stir made by the manufacturers at the time of the Repeal of the Stamp Act, was by the contrivance of the then Ministry: that he knew the people of Manchester had been so used by the Colonies, that they chose to have no further dealing with them: that they had found out a way to get their goods through Spain to Spanish America, more to their advantage: but he intimated, be that as it may, and notwithstanding the Kingdom had long temporised with the Colonies, it was at last fixed and determined. I find several gentlemen of character, who had their doubts at the time of passing the Act, some of whose sentiments I knew from my correspondence with them, but they say now there is no going back. This is the state of things. If my information is of any use to you and the Province, my end is answered.—I am sincerely, Dear Sir, &c."*

We may now resume the thread of the Diary, which we dropped immediately after the interview with the King, for the purpose of introducing the above letters.

Continuation of the Diary.

July 2nd.—Made a visit to M^r^ Montagu, a Master in Chancery, and brother to Admiral Montagu, at Hampstead.

3rd.—At St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, where a Curate officiated.

4th.—Visited M^r^ Thompson, in St. James's Street, where was Gen. Cholmondley. M^r^ Thompson informed me he had sent his powers to my son, to take the care of his estate in New England.†

* This letter contains as full a declaration of the opinions and determination of the Prime Minister, as perhaps any other in the collection.

† This is the Mr. Thompson, probably, to whom copies of several letters are to be found in the Letter Books.

5th.—Mr Wedderburne,* the Sollicitor-General called upon me. The conversation hapning to turn upon the civil and military command being united in General Gage, I mentioned the doubt I had of my authority as Governor, to take upon me the part of a Justice of Peace, and call upon the troops to fire, in case of any riotous, violent resistance of the People. He said the King's Law Servants seemed generally to be of that opinion, and mentioned Lord Chancellor in particular, but, says he, I own *I am in doubt* or *not without doubt.*

Mr John Pownall called also, and among other things let me know that he had not favoured the bill for altering the Constitution. He thought that if the Governor would exert himself in using his negative, he might have a good Council; he knew I was not for breaking in upon, or taking away the Charter, and he produced my letters to show what was my mind; but the Cabinet was so incensed by the late Proceedings, that they determined to go thro' with their Plan. Lord Mansfield pushed the matter, and upbraided them with their late irresolution. Mr. Pownall said his plan was, to pass the Port bill, and to send over Adams, Molineux, and other principal Incendiaries; try them, and if found guilty, put them to death.† This, he said, seemed to be at one time the determination of the Cabinet; and the Lords of the Privy Council actually had their pens in their hands, in order to sign the Warrant to apprehend them. He repeated it:—I say literally, they had their pens in their hands, prepared to sign the Warrant, when Lord Mansfield diverted it by urging the other measures.

6th.—Dined with my son‡ and daughter at Lord Gage's in

* The Governor spells Wedderburn with a final "e." The reviewer of Lecky's 'Hist. of Eng.,' in the *Athenæum* for May 13, 1882, admonishes Lecky for the same thing. Doubling the "l" in solicitor is a Gallicism, or remotely, a Latinism. Hapning and hapned are curious spellings for a man who had had a college education, but they are general in his writings. And it may be remembered, that men of the best grammatical training of the period of the *Spectator* commonly used such expressions as *it is wrote*, for *it is written*, and *you was*, for *you were*, with some others.

† In a letter to Dr. Pemberton, dated July 25, in marble paper Letter Book, this circumstance is mentioned and commented on, and in other places. See also forward, August 14, where a correcter version is given.

‡ Elisha's Diary says—"Dined at Lord Gage's in company with Lady Gideon, Mr Morris, Commissioner of the Customs, Mr Williams, Inspector

Arlington Street, both Lord and Lady Gage having been so civil as to visit us soon after our arrival.—M^r^ Morris, M^r^ Thompson, M^r^ Williams, Inspector, and M^r^ Jon^a^ Williams, Jun., dined also, and Lady Gideon.

7th.—By appointment at Lord Dartmouth's, in order to be introduced to the Queen; but the Levée was over.* As we went in, I heard one of the Lords say to Ld. Dartmouth—The King——and M^r^ Hutchinson; but could not hear the whole. Another said to him, I know the Queen was disappointed in not seeing Governor Hutchinson. Lord Suffolk treated me with great politeness, and was very particular in his enquiries. —Ld. D. introduced me also to Lord Chancellor. Ld. Hillsborough, who had called at my lodgings the day before, and offered me every service, and desired me to let him know in Ireland if things did not go to my mind, was also at Court, and spoke to me. Dined at Lord Dartmouth's; went with him in his Coach to Blackheath. M^r^ Keene and his Lady, Lord D.'s sister, M^r^ Pownall, M^r^ Knox, and M^r^ Legge, Ld. D.'s nephew, the Company. Spent this evening until late at Ld. North's, in Downing Street.

8th.—M^r^ Jenkinson,† one of the Treasurers of Ireland, having sent for me some days before, and excused his not calling, being unwell, I made him a visit, and he entred upon a very free conversation. He said—"M^r^ T. [Temple] had the assurance, about a week before he was out, to apply for an allowance

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of the Customs at Boston, Jona. Williams Jun^r^, M^r^ Thompson, the Gov^r^, Billy, Peggy."

In a letter to his wife of July 12, he says—"Lord and Lady Gage have been extremely polite and civil. Wednesday we dined with them. You would imagine, both from his appearance and manners, that he is twenty years younger than his brother, which is attributed to the difference of climates, General Gage having spent the last twenty years in America. But nobody is old here. The Gov. mentioning some person at table, who he supposed to be of his Lordship's age, he quick replied, Five-and-twenty I suppose, Sir. Whatever is the cause, it is certain the people here bear age much better than they do in America."

* The following occurs in a letter of July 7, 1774:—

"I have not yet gone through half the ceremonies upon my arrival. Last night I had a message to let me know I was expected to be at Court again to-day, to be introduced to the Queen. Peggy is not ready to go with me. It prevents me from adding something more."

† Mr. Jenkinson, subsequently Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool.—Adolphus, ii. 168.

for the Salary between his removal from his place of Commissioner at Boston, and his appointment to his new Office in London. "Whether he got anything or no," says he, "I can't tell. It hapned just after this, that somehow or other they got hold of some Letters which he had wrote to Boston. I never knew," says he, "what they were, but I know they had such Letters, and they were some time deliberating whether they should have a publick hearing; but finally they thought it best to remove him without any noise. He told me a final stop was put to the Ohio Grant; that soon after Lord Hillsborough resigned, one of the Ministry, who he named, and I have forgot, who had greatly promoted it, altered his sentiments; and that if he had done it sooner, Lord H. need not have resigned,—that F.* had offered to resign all his share and interest in the Grant, but he believed to no purpose; it could not go on."

After saying much of the delay of Administration to take vigorous measures with the Colonies, he added, "and they would not have been taken at last, if it had not been for Doctor F.'s extraordinary letter, which he published relative to your Letters.† This alarmed Administration, and convinced them it was high time to exert themselves when so dangerous a conspiracy was carrying on against Government." It's probable M^r T.'s letters might be such as evidenced his being concerned with mine and the L. G. Letters, but I have no certainty, and know not how they came by them.

July 9th.—Lord Hardwick had sent repeated billets, desiring me to dine with him at Richmond; both days I was engaged; in the latter he desired to see me at his house in Town this day, where I waited upon his Lordship and spent an hour. He entered largely into the late proceedings in Parliament, and the share he had in them. He had been a favourer of the Rocking^m Administration, and still retains the principle of the inexpediency of taxing the Colonies; said the late proceedings in Boston had alarmed him, and made him very active in

* This letter is very indistinct in the Diary. It may be an "F," or it may be a "T."

† This must have been his letter in which he states that it was he who sent the letters to America.

promoting the late measures in Parliament. He often repeated, that he had no apprehensions of rebellion, or forcible opposition to the King's Troops;* thought their combination & congress dangerous; wished when the duty was taken off from Painters' colours, &c., it had been from Tea also, because it affected everybody. That upon Molasses he said affected particular Colonies.

He hoped as it was in the power of the Town of Boston to free themselves from distress when they would, that it would not continue long; but that they would pay for the Tea, and declare their submission. I made no doubt they would pay for the Tea, and I hoped they would not oppose the Authority of Parliam^{t}.† He thought that so many explicit declarations against the authority made an explicit acknowledgment of it necessary. I thought the Act did not seem to require it, and mentioned Lord North's and Ld. D.'s sentiments; and added that actions spake louder than words; and he seemed to agree to it. He carried me over his house, and shewed his collection of pictures, &c.

It had been proposed to me by M^{r} Paul Wentworth to

* Even the Governor, who may have been expected to have well known his countrymen, did not apprehend that they would venture to resist the military power. He says as much in several parts of his Diary.

† "I am not only free from any share in these three Acts of P., but I am also willing to own that they are so severe that if I had been upon the spot, I would have done what I could, at least to have moderated them: and as to the first of them, I have all the encouragem^{t} possible to hope and believe, that my being here will be the means by which the T[own] of B[oston] will be relieved from the distress the Act brings upon it, more speedily and effectually than otherwise it would have been. Lord D. has more than once assured me that he is of the same opinion, and that he should have been glad to have seen me here if he had no other reason for it than that alone.

"I wish for the good opinion of my countrymen, if I could acquire it without disturbing the peace of my own mind. Those persons here who they have always supposed their best friends, expressed themselves as favourable of my conduct, as those who are called their greatest enemies; and L^{d} Rockingham treats me wth as great politeness, and makes as high professions of esteem as L^{d} North."—Extract of a letter from Gov. H., in his own handwriting, to Mr. Murray, bearing date July 23, 1774. Marble paper Letter Book.

Again, from the same book, from a letter to Mr. Flucker, in his own hand, he writes on July 25:—

"I have, as I told you I would, improved the almost daily opportunities afforded me, from the invitations of persons of the first rank, to make way for the speedy relief of the T. of B.; and I hope to receive such accounts from thence, as shall give success to my endeavours."

wait upon Ld. Rockingham, who he said would be much pleased, and Mr Mcdonough had bro't a message from Ld. Rockingham, that he would be glad to see me, and should be in town at a time mentioned; but Mr Wentworth informing me he was to be in town to-day, I called upon his Ld.ship, who, after some general conversation upon American affairs, and censuring Mr Grenville's, and the late administrations, particularly the D. of Grafton's, and Cha. Townshend's, he observed that he understood there had been a good harmony between me and Gov. Wentworth. I answered, Very good, my Lord, except a short coldness from some suspicions, that I had interested myself in favour of Mr Livius, in which he was soon undeceived. He said he was so glad it was so; and went over Mr Wentws story here, and the inducements he had to take a part in it. I professed not to know much about it, not having seen the papers. He gave me the report which he said he caused to be printed, and appeared very warm, not only in the cause of the Governor, but of Mr Atkinson; and blamed Lord D. for appointing Mr Livius Ch. Justice in his stead.

Mr Livius had called upon me some days before, and said that Mr W. paid 500£ p ann. to Mr Burke.

In the afternoon went over Westminster Bridge to Battersea, and returned over Battersea Bridge thro' Chelsea.

July 10th.—At the Lock Hospital. Doctor Madon preached a serious orthodox sermon; in his oratory short of my expectation; the service performed with a greater appearance of devotion than I had ever seen before; scarce a person who was not distinct and serious in the Responses; the singing admirable, and a very full house.

July 11th.—Lord Edgecumb visited me; remarkably plain in his dress, and the air and appearance of his employment—a sea officer; very polite, and invited me to Mount Edgecumb.*

12th.—Lord Townshend, who I supposed to be in the country, came suddenly to my lodgings, saying—"I am Lord Townshend. I came unexpectedly to town, and am going out of town again to-morrow. I should be glad to see you at Raynham, but

* The Governor made a tour through the south-western counties in 1779, and visited Mount Edgecumb, July 16.

hope to improve our acquaintance when I come to town for the winter."

I called upon M^r^ Ellis, M^r^ Cornwall, Lord Barrington, and Duke of Grafton; all from home.

13th.—At M^r^ Cornwall's w^th^ Col. Dalrymple. Found him extremely inquisitive, sensible, well acquainted with the Massachusetts Constitution; said that he was in favour of the regulation of the Constitution, but he doubted of the Port Act, seing the innocent as well as the guilty are involved in the punishment; and he thought the persons who had been guilty of Treason ought to have been sent over and tried. Called upon M^r^ Jackson, but not at home.

In the first volume of the marble paper-covered Letter Book, there is a letter of the Governor's to some friend in America, in which he expresses his strong dissent to the proposal of stopping up the Port or Ports. The word is uncertain. If it is Port, it would apply to Boston; but if it is Ports, it would apply to the southern Atlantic towns as well. The letter is the following:—

"London, 14^th^ July, 1774.

"Sir,—

"When your bill appears, it shall be duly honoured. I should be very sorry if my opinion should bring the least inconvenience upon you; but I cannot refuse giving it when you ask it. I think the proposal of stopping up the Ports [it appears to be in the plural] is so extravagant, that if the town of Boston had been all of one mind, the seaport towns in the other Colonies would never have acceded to it; but when they find, by their Address to me, and afterwards to General Gage, that by far the greater part of the men of character in Boston are for measures incompatible with such a proposal, I conceive there is very little danger of a compliance in any Colony. Indeed, if any colony or town should attempt such a measure, it could not succeed. I would not give credit to men of whose honour or abilities I had any degree of doubt, lest they should make the trouble of America a pretence of delay; but with good men I think you run no risque. My advices to the 9^th^ of June are that the opposition to Government lost ground, and that there was no encouragement from their correspondence in the other Colonies. I have never had but one plan for the government of America. The supremacy of Parliament must never be given up. This part of the plan has lost my

popularity, and brought upon me all the trouble and danger which I have laboured under for eight or nine years together. On the other hand I wish the legislatures of the Colonies the full enjoyments, and especially in matters of taxation, of every power consistent with this supremacy. Upon any plan which the Kingdom and the Colonies are no longer one Empire. [The preceding sentence is imperfect.] As there never was an administration more disposed to adopt both parts of this plan, I cannot but hope an adherence to it will bring about a reconciliation. I am, &c."

The above letter contains some very plain statements. It is not in the Governor's hand, but apparently more like Elisha's.

It is necessary to extend this note with another letter written by the Governor from London to some friend in Boston, whose name is not recorded, but who evidently held an influential position. It occurs in the same Letter Book, and has been entered there by Elisha, judging by the handwriting. Governor H. mentions the satisfaction he feels at the steps taken to satisfy the East India Company for the loss of the tea; alludes to his dislike to the Port Bill, which followed the destruction of the tea; expresses his sympathies for the distressed Americans shut up in Boston; speaks of his constant endeavours among persons in high places in England, to intercede for the purpose of relaxing or mitigating those distresses; maintains, however, that it will be impossible for him to succeed in obtaining milder terms unless the supremacy of Parliament is acknowledged; and if it be doubtful whether the evidence is sufficient, he recommends a humble petition to the King in Council. Alas! the frame of mind which then pervaded the Americans precluded all likelihood of any such submission. The following is the letter:—

"London, 20 July, 1774.

"Dear Sir,—

"I am much obliged to you for your account of the state of affairs, by Robson. I have, under cover to General Gage, repeatedly wrote to you upon the state of our affairs here, but with some caution. I can now write with greater freedom, because I have seen many other persons whose sentiments have been of use to me, and I am fully satisfied that such an acquience [oversight for acquiescence] as I have pointed out, without any explicit declaration, will obtain the relief we wish for, though I am as well satisfied, that if it had not been for the opportunities I have had with the King and with his Ministers, the idea of the necessity

or propriety of such a submission would have remained with a great part of those concerned in promoting the Act, and I believe with the General also, who would have received nothing from Administration to explain the first instructions given him. I cannot but therefore hope that the measures which you shall have taken for satisfying the East India Company for the loss of their Tea, and the evidence which you shall have given of a disposition to promote order, and a due submission to government, will enable me to obtain for you the desired relief before I can have an answer to this letter. If it shall be doubtful, especially if it be doubtful with the Governor [Gage], whether the evidence is sufficient, I must recommend an humble Petition to the King in Council, from as many of the principal inhabitants and proprietors of estates in the town of Boston as can be obtained; and I think it would be best to confine it to the inhabitants and proprietors, setting forth your distress; disapproving of all the late violent measures in opposition to government; declaring your desire always to remain part of the Empire and Dominion of Great Britain; humbly hoping for the enjoyment of every of the Liberties and Privileges of English subjects, which can consist with your local situation; and signifying your resolution to do everything in your power to maintain government and order, or which would be better, if it can be obtained, using the words of your address to Gen[l] Gage; signifying your resolution to do everything requisite on your part that *the terms of the Act may be complied with.* This is the best advice I can give you, and I hope will have its effect, being founded upon a hint from L[d] D., who is friendly to the Province and to me personally beyond conception; and if there had been any man without guile, I should have determined that he was such an one, and I hope to send you the Olive Branch, if I should not be able to bring it. I cannot judge what has been the effect of the two last Acts, nor what particular parts you refer to as bearing upon your rights more than the rest. I am told some alteration was made from the Bills which you have received. Indeed, when I found, on my arrival, very contrary to my expectations, that such Acts had [passed?] I determined it could be to no purpose at present to say anything about them. I could not avoid hearing the history of them. M[r] Pownall (the Sec[y]) told me he did everything he could to prevent the Bill for altering the Council, and that he produced my letters to L[d] H. and to him to shew that I had been against it. One of the Lords of the Treasury and a Member of Parliament, told me he had been of the same opinion; but then, both of them were for a measure which would have been

deemed as grievous. They were for seizing six or eight persons, and sending them over for trial; and for a time this seemed to be the determination, until L^d^ M., whose opinion in such cases carries all before it, declared for the necessity of the first measure, and was much inclined that the last should accompany it, and steered the business in such a channel, as that the last has not been given up, though it was not absolutely entered upon as had been proposed. I have had a long conversation at different times, both with L^d^ Mansfield and with the L^d^ Ch—r, both of whom have treated me with singular marks of favour. They both say that the Government will never recede from its present resolution to maintain the supremacy of Parliament, but then they both declare against encreasing taxes upon the Colonies, or laying any tax for the sake of revenue. The former told me there was not a man of any party but what agreed to the necessity of Parliament interposing to support its authority, though the [they?] did not agree upon the mode; and I heard, said he, Lord — himself declare, that the Speech said to be made by him in the House of Commons, upon the repeal of the Stamp Act, was not true: that he never intended any more than to assert the inexpediency of Parliament taxing America, in which, says L^d^ M., I could join with him, and that he had declared himself so fully, both in Parliament, and in another way, which must come to the knowledge of the Americans, as that he should have no more statutes erected among them. I have been extremely civilly treated by the New England Factors, who have expressed their desire that I would use my endeavours for the restoration of the trade of the town, and declare they place a great dependance on my representations. I receive the aid I hope for from your side the water; they will not be disappointed. I have laid a plan of travelling through several parts of the kingdom; and unless I am called by the advices from New England, shall be but little in town during the summer; but as I expect to see persons of influence in the country, may be more serviceable to you than if I remained in town.—I am, &c."

Elisha's Diary says:—14. The Governor introduced to the Queen by Lord Suffolk; Peggy by Lady Mary Boulby.

14th.—I was introduced to the Queen by Lord Suffolk, Lord D. being absent; and my daughter by Lady Boulby, Lady D. desiring it of her, not being able to go to Court herself. The K. enquired after my health, as did the Queen.—Lord Chancellor, Lord Mansfield, the Attorney General, Sollicitor General,

Lord Sanwich, M^r^ Keane, Governor Eden, General Harvey, Sir James Porter, all welcomed me to England, &c. Lord Suffolk was extremely kind. In the afternoon went to Hampstead to M^r^ Montagu's, who was from home.

15th.—At Lincolns Inn and Symonds Inn; saw M^r^ Montagu at the latter. Went with him to Lincoln's Inn Hall, hoping to speak with the Sollicitor General; but he, being engaged in a cause, consulted M^r^ Jackson upon two Letters I had received from M^r^ Temple, repeatedly desiring a meeting with me. M^r^ Jackson pitied T.: said he believed I did not wish to see any man distressed: that he had no intimacy: thought he had been hardly used by the Commissioners. I did not contradict him. Upon the whole, he doubted the prudence of my meeting him. M^r^ Montagu was clear I ought not to see him upon any account: and after parting w^th^ M^r^ Jackson, expressed himself more strong, and gave a further reason that I should give offence to the Ministry, by entring [*sic*] into any sort of treaty with him.

M^r^ Madox, a Counsellor, said to be most indefatigable in business, makes 8000£ a year by his practice.

In conversation with Gov. Pownall, who called upon me, he supposed an explicit submission from Massachusetts Province made requisite by the Act.

Dined w^th^ M^r^ John Pownall at Vanburgh fields.* Gov. Eden, M^r^ Hay, Chief Justice of Canada, Sir Tho. Mills, and M^r^ Cumberland, in the Plantation Office, and my daughter.

July 16.—Dined with Lord Suffolk at Bushy Park.† Lord Chancellor, M^r^ Knox, M^r^ Bagot, of the company. Never met with greater civility than from Lord Suffolk. Before dinner he asked if I knew how D^r^ F. came by the Letters? I said I knew nothing but from the letter he published. "We know," says his Lordship, "that acc^t^ is not true." Have you certain evidence, My Lord? "Yes, we have certain evidence that it is not true; and we know where he had the Letters." Came home w^th^ Lord Chancellor in his chariot.

* "The Gov^r^ and Peggy dined at M^r^ Pownall's at Vanburgh Fields."—Elisha H.'s Diary.

† "16.—Dined at Lord Suffolk's at Bushy Park."—*Ibid.*

17th.—At the Dissenting Meeting in Princes Street.*

Dined with Lord Mansfield at his seat at Kenwood, in company with the Lord Chief Baron, M^r Hartley, Langley, Strange, Adams, his L^dship's Architect or Planner of his fine seat, Sir Thomas Mills, and the famous Bruce, just arrived from Abyssinia; whose travels engrossed all the conversation. L^d Mansfield, among other things, wondered I persevered so long, seeing I was without any assurance of support from administration, there being no dependence upon measures.

July 18.—Dined with M^r Corbyn Morris, Commissioner of the Customs, at Wimbledon, together with Mons^r Garnier, Secr^y to the French Ambassador, and now Chargé des [*sic*] Affaires, and the Chevalier de Moutier, Counsellor to the Embassy, both sensible, polite, and surprisingly acquainted with the dispute between the Kingdom and the Colonies, and well acquainted with the Massachusetts Colony in particular.

There were also M^r Main, a Banker in Lombard Street, and M^r John Williams, and my two sons.

Elisha, in his Diary, writes:—

"18. Dined with the Gov^r and Billy, at M^r Corbyn Morris's, Comm^r of Customs at Wimbledon,—the company, Mons. Garnier, the French Chargé des [*sic*] Affaires, and the Chevalier de Moutier, Councellor [*sic*] to the Embassy; both very sensible and agreeable. M^r Main, a Banker in Lombard Street, and M^r Williams. In the Evening at Marybone Gardens."

The above is almost worded like the Governor's account.

* Dr. Kippis was the Minister. Born 1723; educated under Doddridge; settled at Boston, Linc.; then Dorking; then Princes Street, Westminster, in 1753. In 1763 he was philological tutor in Coward's Academy; D.D. Edin.; a laborious and clever writer; died 1795.

"Kenwood, Sunday morning, 10^th July, 1774.

"Lord Mansfield presents his compliments to Governor Hutchinson, and hopes it will be convenient to him to dine with Lord Mansfield at Kenwood on Sunday next, 17^th ins^t. He is sorry that he cannot with certainty name an earlier day to Governor Hutchinson, as Lord Mansfield is not sure when he can finish his sittings in London.

"Sir Thomas Mills will try to see Governor Hutchinson in the course of the week, that he might direct him the way to Kenwood, in case the Governor should not know it."—Original Letters, vol. i., blue leather back.

The following is an extract from an original letter by Elisha to his wife, bearing date July 12:—

"You will perhaps, like to hear how we are settled. We have taken lodgings in Parliament Street, Westminster, just within the town, near three miles from the Exchange, a small walk before dinner. We have a handsome drawing-room, a dining room, four chambers, and a kitchen, well furnished, besides rooms for servants. The Governor has bought a coach, and taken a Coachman, Footman, and Cook. He is looking out for a house in the country, a few miles from London, and intends in a few days, to make a visit to Sir F. Bernard at Ailsbury, [*sic*] about 30 miles. Most of the Nobility and gentry are out of town: some of them have called on the Gov^r^ and others have invited him to come and spend more or less of his time at their country seats. Miss Murray is still with us: her father has been to see her, and I suppose she will go home to Norwich in a few days."

"20. The Gov^r^ dined at M^r^ Wedderburn's the Sollicitor General. In a post-chaise with Mess^rs^ Copely and Clarke to Greenwich: dined with M^r^ Wheately at M^r^ Enderby's; after dinner walked in the Park: took a view of the country from One-Tree Hill; visited the Hospital, and went on board the Queen's Yatch." [*sic*]—Elisha's Diary. And from the entry of July 11, it seems that Mr. Copley, the painter, had then just arrived from America. He continues—

"21. About eight o'clock AM. set out for Aylesbury in a post-chaise with the Gov^r^ and Peggy, and arrived at S^r^ Francis Bernard's about two o'clock, where we dined in company with Lord and Lady Say and Seal.

"22. Walked with S^r^ Francis and the Gov^r^ about two miles, and had a full view of S^r^ William Lee's elegant seat, gardens, walks, &c., which exceeds anything of the kind I have yet seen.

"23. Instead of proceeding to Oxford as we intended, Peggy being unwell, we returned to London."

19th.—At Richmond with Gov. Pownall and Lady Fawkener [his wife]: only two ladies, Lady Shore and Miss Vansittart, sister to the East India Supervisor, lost at sea, and my daughter. Gov. Pownall shewed me a speech in the London *Evening Post*, w^ch^ he said, those fellows found a way to come at, and that they were often very false, but this was nigh the thing. In this speech he declares that when he was Gov. of the Mass^s^ he never made any scruple of acting without the Council, in civil as well as military matters of government, implying blame

upon me for declining to act in the affair of the Tea without the advice of Council. I knew from the speech that he must have given a copy to the Printer, being so long used to his stile [*sic*] as well as sentiments. I asked him if he could recollect any instance wherein he had acted, or could act, without the Council in any civil matter? He answered—In every instance.—Mention one.—In all.—But recollect one.—He repeated—All: and there it ended; his own house being an unfit place to carry the dispute any further. [Alluded to in Letter, July 25.]

20th.—Dined with M^r^ Wedderburne the Sollicitor General, in Linc^s^ Inn Fields, in comp^y^ with the Att^o^ General, with M^r^ Ambler, King's Counsel, M^r^ Jackson, and M^r^ M^c^Namarra, a Counsellor at Law.

21st.—Set out with my daughter and son E. in a post-chaise to Ailesbury, and dined with Sir F. Bernard, in comp^y^ with Lord Say and Lady Say, who are both persons of moderate abilities, and Lord Say of a moderate fortune, about 700£ p an. I asked his Lordship how many removes he was from his predecessor in K. Charles the first and second time. I found he knew little or nothing about his pedigree.

July 22nd.—Walked with Sir F. B. between two and three miles to Sir William Lee's ground, and most elegant seat, and took a full view of his house, walks, kitchen garden, &c.

Sir Francis I found more altered by a paralitick shock than I expected, tho' the accounts had been unfavourable. His intellectual powers however, not sensibly impaired. We had [a] long conversation upon old affairs in New England, as well as more recent, since he left it. He mentioned, among other things, that he apologised to L^d^ Mansfield for appointing me Chief Justice, not having been bred to the law; adding that he had no cause to repent it. Lord Chief Justice Wilmot being by, broke out with an oath, "By —— he did not make a worse Chief Justice for that!"

Upon Aylesbury Par. records find this—"John the son of John Forrist baptised the 26 of April 1652." Forrist, Forrester, and Foster, are all one name. My G. father I suppose was

born at Aylesbury, & in 1652, and his own name and his father's John.

July 23rd.—My daughter being not well, I changed my intention of going to Oxford, and returned to London thro' Beckhamstead and Watford, our route out being through Uxbridge and Missenden.

24th.—At the Tabernacle in Tottenham Court, and the Meeting in Prince's Street: the former exceedingly crowded. A stranger out of the country preached — Kinsman — not brilliant. At the latter a young candidate—Sawyer—took pains not to be orthodox. There was this singularity in the former assembly:—When the Minister in his prayer used any more striking petition, or any like ejaculatory expression in his sermon, there was a sort of solemn hum [?] in an Amen, sounded low, by what I thought a select, tho' large number, and I suspect placed in a Gallery, which had something of the property of the Sounding Gallery at St. Paul's. This may be literally said to be artificial devotion. It was done with propriety as well as great solemnity.

July 25th.—Went into the city: visited M^r^ Grant and M^r^ Heard, where left cards. Saw M^r^ Palmer in Devonshire Square. In the evening rode with my children to Kensington, and walked in the Gardens.

26th.—Dined with my two sons at Lord Chancellor's. The entertainment most elegant. M^r^ Jackson, M^r^ Scott, and M^r^ Stanley, Secretary of the Customs. Lord Chancellor sent and desired to put off the dinner till the next day, being Levée Day, when company would be in town; but I could not tho' I wished it, being preingaged [*sic*]. Talking of longævity, Lord Chancellor said that his father's (Lord Bathurst's) grandfather was born in the reign of Henry the Eighth, which must be about two hundred and thirty years ago; and a house which he built in Queen Elizabeth's reign is now standing. Lord Bathurst is living in enjoyment of health of body and mind, above ninety. This is more extraordinary than the instance of Gov. Dudley of N. Eng., who was a Capt. of horse under H. the 4 of France in the 16^th^ century, and two of his granddaughters are now living.

27th.—Dined with Peggy at M^r^ Keene's.* Lord Hertford, Lord North, Lord Lewisham, and M^r^ W^m^ Legge, L^d^ Dartmouth's sons; M^r^ North and Lady Dartmouth, the latter, as well as M^rs^ Keene, shewing great civility to my daughter. I had spent an evening with Lord North about a fortnight before.

28th.—Dined at the Attorney General's,† in company with the Sollicitor General, M^r^ Jackson, and M^r^ Eden, brother to Governor Eden of Maryland.

29th.—At M^r^ Welbore Ellis's at Twickenham,‡ in the house which was M^r^ Pope's, and afterwards S^r^ W^m^ Stanhope's, who gave it for life to M^r^ Ellis. The company were Lord Hertford, Lord Beauchamp, S^r^ Geo. Pococke, Col. Dalrymple, M^r^ Egar, M^rs^ Ellis, and I think M^r^ Egar.

M^r^ Pope's Grotto and gardens, as well as the fine situation of the house, are well known. S^r^ W^m^ added two wings with bow windows in each story [*sic*], and the new apartments are most elegant. One room is furnished with original antique Bustos, cineral urns, and vases which are more entire and perfect than perhaps so great a number anywhere in the world. An Egyption statue or idol of oriental (dark speckled) marble, and a Lamb upon an altar, dead, are highly extolled.§

I have never yet dined where the conversation turned upon more useful subjects. The principal was the case of the Kingdom and the Colonies. Lord Hertford and Lord D. both expressed their sense of the hard case of the Colonies under taxation, and when I mentioned that whenever they ought to bear part of the burden, a requisition might be made, the two Lords seemed to wish it; but M^r^ Ellis represented the objec-

* "27. The Gov^r^ and Peggy at Whitshed Keene Esq^r^., brother-in-law to L^d^ D., and Member for Montgomery. In the Eve at Marybone Gardens."—Elisha's Diary.

† "28th. The Governor dined at M^r^ Thurloe's, the Attorney General."—*Ibid.*

‡ "29th. The Governor dined at M^r^ Ellis's at Twickenham, in the [house] that belonged to M^r^ Pope."—*Ibid.*

§ Strawberry Hill has been sold at last, and the Walpole-Waldegrave connection, which has existed from the day of its building, is finally dissolved. The purchaser is Baron H. de Stern, who intends to reside in the historic house and to preserve the estate intact. Opinions may differ about the architecture and the taste of Strawberry Hill, but so long as associations keep fresh their charm, Horace Walpole's house will remain one of the most interesting in England.—July, 1883.

tions in so strong a light as to stagger them. They all agreed that the whole indivisible supream [*sic*] authority never could be parted with. "M^r H." says Lord B., "y^e controversy with your Assembly has set that point in so clear, so convincing a light, that it never will be denied again. We used to have it in all debates thrown in our way, but not one word was said against it in either House of Parliament during the whole business of the Colonies last session."

30th.—Entertained such New England men as had visited me. M^r Copely,* Clark, Whately, D^r Tyler, Green, and the two Whitworths: the other M^r Tyler I invited, but he excused himself, being just about to embark for Boston.

31st.—At the Meeting in the Old Jewry,† where M^r White preached: and at M^r Romaine's, St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharffe, where a gent preached, as well as read prayers, who we heard read prayers at the Lock. Nobody stood up at singing: all did at the Lock.

Lord Gage and Sir Sampson Gideon called upon me. L^d Gage repeated his invitation to visit him in the country.

Aug. 1.—Went into the city to visit M^r Woolridge, who lives in the Crescent near the Tower; afterwards went to the Tower.‡ After visiting the principal places, could find nobody who had any knowledge of the room where the Earl of Essex cut his throat, until I visited the Deputy Lieutenant M^r Rainsford, an old gentleman near eighty, and very decrepid. He received me very politely, and shewed me the room, which appears to be in the same state it then was, and which, with the yard and passages round, I viewed with curiosity, in order to compare with the accounts given of the fact. The appartments are mean, and short of those where state prisiners have of late been lodged. Though they are short of what I expected, and are at other times occupied by the Officers in the Tower,

* "30. Mess^rs Clarke, Copely, Green, Whately, Tyler, and the two M^r Whitworths, dined with the Governor."—Elisha's Diary.

† "31. At the Old Jewry Meeting House: M^r White preached. In the afternoon at St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharfe."—*Ibid.*

‡ "August 1. With the Governor and Peggy in the city to visit M^r Woolridge in the Crescent; and afterwards went to see the curiosities in the Tower. In the evening at Foote's Theatre in the Hay Market to see *The Cozeners*, with *The Devil to pay*."—*Ibid.*

have no appearance of prisons; and when any person is committed for a capital offence, iron bars are fixed in the windows: for other prisoners no alteration is made. The late Lord Mayor, M^r^ Oliver, Wilkes, &c., being suffered to walk where they pleased about the Tower, and all sorts of persons to visit them, so that they are subject to little inconvenience, except the expense of the fees, w^ch^ in party affairs, may be made a general burden.

Aug. 2nd. Letters from Boston by Admiral Montagu, who arrived at Portsmouth the 31^st^. Account of the Dissolution of the Assembly, and other unpleasing things. Sent my letters to Lord D.

M^r^ Pownall communicated to me General Gage's letter. Dined with M^r^ Jackson, Attorney, and Sollicitor General, and M^r^ Ambler in company. M^r^ Jackson had seen T.: seemed not to like my mentioning his name: advised me to see T. I told him I would first consult Lord D., or some of the Ministry."

Thomas Hutchinson, Junr., to his brother Elisha. Original letter.

"Milton, July 28, 1774.

"Dear Brother,—

"I wrote to the Gov^r^ under cover to you by a Bristol vessel, which sailed a few days agoe [*sic*]. I just hear a vessel is ready to sail from Plimouth. I am not willing she should go without a line. I was in town yesterday: a Town Meeting was held the day before, and I hear a Committee of Safety were chosen, M^r^ B———n [ ] at the head. We seem to be copying Cromwell's times, but have not yet heard a Protector talked off [*sic*]. 'Tis melancholy to see the state of the town of B., though the Newspapers tell us large collections are making throughout the provinces, and no doubt they can afford to give something for all our trade. Our latest acc^ts^ from England are of the 14 May: a Man of Warr [*sic*] is hourly expected with the new Acts of Parliament. I wish I could write you I saw any appearance of an alteration for the better in affairs here. I have given up the store, and shall endeavour to settle all our acc^ts^ as soon as possible, and if I can, will remit M^r^ Palmer £500 by this ship, having bought the Bill, but not received it from town. I am, in haste, your Affectionate Brother,

"Tho. Hutchinson, Jun^r^.

"P.S. I desire you to buy me a chain for a Lady's watch. I think Peggy told me hers cost about 2 Guineas, and I tho't it handsome. Let there be two appendages on each side the chain, and I will repay you when I know the cost.

"Elisha Hutchinson, Esq. New England Coffee House, London."

From Peggy, in London, to Elisha's wife at Plymouth, Mass. Original letter.

"London, Parliament Street, August 2, 1774.

"My Dear Polly,—

"Is it possible I should be in London a month and not have wrote to you? Had anybody told me such a thing would happen, before I came away, I should not have believed them: but I am going to make up for all, and intend to get a very long letter ready for Callahan [captain of the ship the Governor came over in]. I received your letters about three hours ago: need I say they gave me the greatest pleasure? You wish for an account of what has passed since we saw each other; it seems a little age since the chariot drove from the door and conveyed me from so many dear friends, to suffer more than I should have thought possible for me to have borne. I had not left you many hours before I was the most miserable creature on earth: it is impossible for me to describe or give you any idea of what I endured the first fortnight: the second was bad enough, and I am not yet what I used to be. Your beloved has I suppose given you an account of our passage, though I recollect nothing material except the death of poor Mark, which happened when we were about half way over. London my dear is a world in itself: you ask me how I like it? very well for a little while: it will do to see once in ones life, and to talk of ever after: but I would not wish to fix my abode here. In the country methinks, had I my friends with me, I could not but be happy: for seventy miles round it is a perfect garden, and exceeds all that the most romantic fancy could paint. I cannot say much in favour of the climate: the weather has been as cold as our Novembers, and excessively damp, except two or three days, and I have not been free from a cold since I came.

"I must not forget to tell you I have been presented to their Majesties, and met with a most gracious reception, but must leave the particulars for the next ship, being very much hurried at present. There was not the least occasion for an apology for not writing by Robson [captain of a particular ship]. I knew you

had time to write but to one [Elisha], and therefore could not expect it. The Watchmen are just telling me 'tis past ten o'clock, which is but the beginning of our evenings; but as I have another letter to write to go to-morrow, I must bid you good night. Remember me to all friends, papa [in-law, Col. Watson] and sister Sally [Dr. P. Oliver's wife] in particular, and accept the best wishes of your very affectionate Sister,

"M. HUTCHINSON.

"P.S. Papa sends his love to you: mine to Nurse if she is with you: tell her I wanted her to hold my head."

[Poor girl! Probably she means on board ship.]

From Governor H. in London to his son Thomas H. in America. Original letter in his own handwriting, in the blue leather-back Letter Books, vol. i.:—

"London, 3rd August, 1774.

"My Dear Son,—

"Since my other letters by this ship, Admiral Montagu is arrived, and brings not very agreeable news—but I am not discouraged. There are so many persons of weight who now openly appear in support of government, and so many more who secretly think with them, that I cannot but hope they will in a short time prevail; especially when they find how they are duped by Pensylvania and New York, who have ordered double the quantity of goods ever known, in order to supply, not only all Connecticut, but our Province, who have not ordered, or cannot obtain credit for half the quantity they used to import. This I have from those Merchants who ship both to Pensylvania, and York, as well as Boston. Lord North gives himself no concern, or at least, he appears unconcerned; and says that order and government must take place in the Colonies, whether it be sooner or later depends upon themselves: in the mean time they can hurt nobody but themselves.

"I desired you to send several things by some vessel in the fall; but I was so engaged that I had not time to take a copy of the letter. Don't forget the Cranberries, at least six or eight bushels; but let somebody be employed to get the largest and fairest, and when they are come to their colour, and not too ripe. When you have leisure, I should be glad of a list of the volumes that are wanting in the principal sets of books in the Bookcase, as it may be possible to compleat some of them. Send me the dimensions of the parlour floor at Boston. There was a very large cheese came from Stonnington, which I thought your uncle

had sent: if it remains I could wish to have it to make a present of. I can't obtain the Boston newspapers, therefore desire you to inclose them by every vessel, either one of Monday's or Thursday's, as you find them best. If you make up a packet, and let it come under the Governor's [Gage's] cover to Lord Dartmouth or M^r^ Pownall, for I have permission from both, it will save postage, and I wish my friends in general would give you their letters to come the same way.

"I designed to have filled up this sheet, and to have wrote some other letters, but was obliged to go to Court, and from thence to dine with the East India Directors, which has so taken up the time, that I must close with telling you that I am your Affectionate Father,

"THO. HUTCHINSON.

"The August Mail is closing, and I can write no letter by it."

In vol. i. of the old marble paper-cover Letter Books, under date July 19, there is a long letter by the Governor to Chief Justice Oliver in America, the first half of which has apparently been entered by Elisha's hand, and the last by the Governor himself. It opens by alluding to the death of the Lieut.-Governor: gives the reasons for not nominating a relative as his successor: and runs through several other points, not, however, sufficiently new to justify a long extract: and then there occur some remarks on topics nearer home, that may be transcribed here verbatim. They are the following:—

"I dined yesterday w^th^ L^d^ Mansfield at Kenwood, a most elegant place, and the entertainm^t^ as elegant: but my whole attention was placed upon M^r^ Bruce the Abissinian traveller, who is just come to Eng^d^ and was invited to din[ner]. I hope to give you a full acc^t^ of his travels one time or other; but I mention L^d^ M. to introduce what he said to me. After the highest encomiums upon every part of my conduct, and particularly the controversy upon Independency, he expressed his surprise at my perseverance, when I had no assurance of support from the Min^y^, their councils being fluctuating and undetermined: but, says he, they are at last determined, and they are now gone too far to recede; and at all events the supremacy of P[arliament] will be maintained. This, he added, is the sense of the whole nation. Lord Cha^r^ himself, says he shall have no more statues erected: nay, says L^d^ M., he declared to me, he never did say what was attributed to him—that Parlia^t^ had no right to tax America: and never

intended any more than that a scheme of taxation of Amer. was utterly inexpedient: in which, says L[d] M., I could heartily have joined with him.

"The day before Lord Ch[ancellor], who was of the com[pany], when I dined at Bushy Park, urged me to leave my own carriage, and take a seat to town in his, and expressed just the same sentiments, tho' with a mixture of great tenderness; and I firmly believe neither of them expect that a plan of raising a revenue from Am. will ever be revived.

"I can spare time but for one letter for Middleb.[orough], and therefore must desire you to tell Sally that Peggy has been introduced to the Q., and went thro' the ceremony w[th] much applause: the D. of Montagu's sister, at Lady Dartm. desire, she being near, being in herself [?] introducing her, and both the K. and Q. were very gracious to her. She has an ugly cough, w[ch] I hope is owing to the change of climate, and a seasoning only for neither she nor I have been warm since we have been in London, and it is now as cold as with us in October or Nov. I intend to carry her to Ailesbury, next day after to-morrow. I could find more to say to you, but must not begin another sheet, and have only room to subscribe, affectionately yours—"

3rd.—Lord D. called at my lodgings: brought the letters I had sent the day before: expressed his concern at the contents: spake with great emotion, that he was not one who thirsted for blood; but he could not help saying that he wished to see H——k and A——ms brought to the punishment they deserved: and he feared peace would not be restored until some examples were made, which would deter others. Col[o] Howard, who came with Col[o] Dalrymple, lamented his misfortune in having engaged in an affair which had given [h]im so much trouble in America: treated me with much greater politeness than when he was there: but in the midst of his speaking Lord D. coming in, he broke off and went away.

M[r] Welbore Ellis came in afterwards, and spent some time in conversing on the affairs of America, as did soon after M[r] Whately, upon the affair between him and T., and he mentioned one circumstance which has never been made public. After asking me if I was sure the persons to whom the letters were sent, were enjoined to return them, he then said one thing I have often thought of. "Two or three months after

T. had first seen the Letters, he met me [Mr. W.] in the street, and asked if I had any objection to his looking over the Letters? I told him No; and expected he would call, but he never did call." Then you suppose he intended, when they should be returned, to restore them to their places again? "I make no inference," says he, "only I have thought of it a great many times since."

Went to Court. Two Knights of the Bath invested with the Order in the King's Closet, Gen[l] Howard and Col[o] Blaquiere. King inquired of me concerning the climate in America, &c. Lord Suffolk treated me with singular courtesy. I told him of T—'s desire to see me. He said he saw no objection, but mentioned again in confidence, that they knew he took the Letters from the present M[r] Whately.

Went from Court to dine with the East India Directors, at the London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street, upon an invitation from the Chairman and Dep. Chairman, at a most magnificent entertainment; about thirty two or three present. Gov. Tryon was invited, but not in town. Perhaps no tavern in the world is more magnificent than the London Tavern. The ground floor indeed, from the narrowness of the street, is not light enough, but the dining-room on the next floor is most elegant as well as spacious, and dines at one table near 40 persons: the second story above that, and the fourth from the ground, has the grandest room, which, as I paced it, is 70 odd feet in length, 30 in breadth, and to the top of the arch of the roof, I judge to be 30 feet high; and most elegantly furnished with pillars, carving, &c.

The King, notwithstanding General Gage's letter, &c., had been sent him, said to M[r] Jackson at Court;—"Well: matters go on well in America: they are coming right." Jackson answered—"I hope Sir they will come right, but it may require some time." Jackson said to Lord Dudley:—"I don't see how we can go back;* but I hope we shall take the first

* This sentiment occurs in a letter of August 1 or 2 to Gen. Gage in the marble paper Letter Book:—

"I hear no other language at Court or in the city, among the favourers of the late Acts of Parl[t] and among those who disapproved of them but this:—We have gone so far that it will never do to go back." The same occurs in

opportunity to close with them, as soon as it can be done with honour."

L^d^ Dartmouth, when he called upon me this morning, in the course of his conversation used this expression:—"Nothing gives me so much relief as the consideration that you are sitting at this time in that chair."

4th.—M^r^ Pownall called twice to-day: among other matters, he communicated intelligence w^ch^ L^d^ D. had mentioned the day before, of a letter from one Samuel Dyer, sent home prisoner in the *Captain* by Gen. Gage, for enticing soldiers to desert, &c. Lord D. shewed me a letter he had rec^d^ from this Dyer, which I thought carried marks of madness; but now it seems Adm. Montagu* has wrote to the Lords of the Admir. that he has such a person on board, and they have desired the Secr^y^ of State to take care of him. M^r^ P. seemed in great distress from a prospect of trouble which it was likely he should meet with; for the last accounts are that Dyer informi^g^ says he has other witnesses on board of treasonable practices by Adams, Molineux, Young, and what is more strange, Judge Wear of New Hampshire. I thought there was no more difficulty now to get rid of this affair than when they had so many witnesses examined, proving Treason against all but one of the same persons in the affair of the Tea, upon which there had been no further proceeding: however, he determined there was no avoiding to send for Dyer.

Mons^r^ Garnier the French Chargé spent an hour in very polite and pleasant conversation.

About 10 days after I came to London I rec^d^ a letter from M^r^ T., dated at Chartham, near Canterbury, desiring to meet me at Dartford upon an affair of great consequence w^ch^ he wished to communicate.† I declined it, and afterwards I

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other places: as of Aug. 4 to Gen. Brattle—"All sorts of people here seem to be determined not to recede."

* The word Montagu is here uniformly written without a final "e."

† Mr. C. F. Adams, on the authority of his grandfather, President John Adams, says—"Scarcely a doubt can remain that Sir John Temple was the man who procured the Hutchinson Letters, and had them delivered to Franklin."—'Life of J. Adams,' ii. 319. NOTE.—Mr. Temple succeeded to a Baronetcy somewhat late in life.

rec^{d} a second letter, offering to meet me in London, which I also declined; but let him know that I had no objection to receiving thro' his friend, or any mutual friend, w^{ch} I supposed M^{r} Jackson to be, w^{t} he had to communicate. I consulted M^{r} Montagu and M^{r} Jackson upon this last letter, and they approved of my answer, except that I said nothing of my intention to name M^{r} Jackson. About 8 days since, M^{r} T. with his family came to London, and took lodgings in Leicester Fields. Soon after M^{r} Jackson asked me to dine, and as I was going away, desired me to step into a parlour, when he told me he had seen M^{r} T.—seemed not to like my mentioning his name to him, but however, recommended my meeting T., and said he had no objection to meeting with us; that the Sollicitor General tho't I had better see him, and then said that, by what he could learn, M^{r} T. proposed to exculpate himself from some false charges against him, and to acknowledge wherein he had been blame-worthy, having said and done things in his passion for which he was very sorry. I told M^{r} Jackson I would meet him upon no terms without acquainting some of the Ministry with my intention, and I added that I believed it could be no advantage to M^{r} T., for I could tell him in confidence that some discoveries had been made by the Ministry, which were the cause of M^{r} T.'s being removed, and which it was first proposed he should be heard upon, tho' afterwards it was thought best to pass them over in silence, and thus the matter rested at that time. The next day (the 3rd) I was at Court, and having forgot to say anything to Lord D., when I had seen him in the morning, I mentioned the affair to Lord Suffolk after the Levée was over, who approved of my caution, but advised me to see T., as some good might come of it. Early this morning I sent a card to M^{r} Jackson, acquainting him with what I had done, and letting him know, if he would appoint time and place, I would give notice to T., if he was in town. I having heard by accident, that yesterday afternoon he was intending to go out of town. My servant returned without an answer. In the evening I rec^{d} a card from Lord Suffolk, wishing to know what I had done, and if I had made any discovery, that I would meet him

at his office to-morrow between eleven and twelve, to which I returned an answer.

5th.—M^r^ Pownall informed me this morning that Att^o^ and Sollic. Gen., upon examining the papers sent concern^g^ Sam^l^ Dyer bro't over with Adm^l^ Montagu, were of opinion that the Admiral should be directed to release him, or set him at liberty. The Admiral very imprudently administered an oath to him, and one Mowat, another sailor, wherein they charge H—ck, &c., together with M^r^ Wear, with matters incredible, and yet not treasonable, and therefore not within the Stat. of H. 8.; and Dyer's own offence was exciting the soldiers to desert.

I called at Lord Suffolk's office in Cleveland Row, and gave him a particular acc^t^ of T.'s affair. Lord Suffolk said he had seen the Sollicitor General, who informed him that he understood M^r^ T. was very contrite;* that he acknowledged he had wronged me; that he had wronged the Sollicitor; and as for M^r^ Whately, he wished every scratch given him had been a stab in his own body. L^d^ Suffolk added—"I suppose he had this acc^t^ from M^r^ Jackson."

Called also upon M^r^ Jenkinson; the news from America, and the Stat. of H. 8. took up our time. He says the only question here was, whether it was not repealed by the Statute of Phil. and Mary. Foster is full that it was not. I said we never laid any stress upon a repeal; but as the Colonies were not *in esse*, and as they had jurisdictions within themselves, they seemed not to come within the reason. The last part holds as strong in the case of Ireland, and yet it takes place there. The men who were tried in Westminster Hall for the murder of Gov. Parks in Antigua, and the opinion of the Judges and of the Attorney and Sollicitor General upon a reference,† makes strong against the plea of the Colonies for exemption. Two were convicted, one of whom died in

* Temple had been under the impression that Governor Hutchinson had been his secret enemy in America, and had got him dismissed from the public service; but he had since discovered his error, and hence his alleged contrition.

† This word is very indistinctly written. It simply means, however, a reference of the case from the Colonies to England, for the trial of persons arrested for treasonable practices.

Newgate, the other was several times respited, and then pardoned.

6th.—Called upon M^r^ Jackson, having rec^d^ no return to my proposal. He looked at first a little strange, but we soon came to an *éclaircissement.* He had seen M^r^ Temple, who, he said, promised to give him notice when he would meet him at my house; but after a pause he seemed to recollect that Temple had said—"Yes," says M^r^ Jackson, "I am sure he said—Is it material whether it be before I go to Bristol, or after I return?" And then Jackson added—"I can tell you what he would say to you:—that he had done some things to encourage the opposition to you while he was in America, which he was sensible were wrong, tho' he thought you had not treated him so kindly as you ought; and that he had wrote some papers here, but not half what were ascribed to him, nor those w^ch^ were most virulent; that he desired to see M^r^ Wedderburn, who was very willing to see him; and that he wished to do service for government, and to bring all his connexions to the same temper; and added, that he did not mean to make such acknowledgment as should bring any disgrace or infamy on him."

M^r^ Jackson seemed not to like my using his name as a friend to M^r^ Temple, which I apologised for, by intending no more than for Temple to trust him with his secret to be communicated to me; and this, after he himself had expressed much concern and pity for Temple in his distressed circumstances.

In the afternoon with Mr. Clark; and Billy and Peggy made a visit to M^r^ Montagu at Hampstead.

M^r^ Morris called in, and in a round-about way suggested the intention to appoint a new set of Comiss^rs^ of the Customs for America, and to have the place altered to York, which I believe he wishes. M^r^ Pownall wishes a dissolution of it, and of the Provincial Judges of Admiralty.

August 7th.—At the Chapel in Long Acre in the morning, expecting to hear M^r^ Harrison, a preacher much followed, but was disappointed, and one M^r^ Acklin [?] preached; far from despicable. In the afternoon heard M^r^ Harrison at St. Martin's, upon the different end of good and bad men; a serious dis-

course, enforced with oratory not much, if anything inferior, to Whitford. The house large, upon the same plan with the Chapel at Boston; much crowded; the alleys all full; very few there or at Long Acre, especially the latter, of the fashionable part of the world, but generally common shopkeepers and tradesmen.

8th.—Just before dinner M^r^ Temple called upon me, alone and unexpectedly. After signifying that I might be surprised at his proposal—but he really was desirous of living for the time to come in friendship, he had been carried away by his passions to be very inimical to me; he imagined I had been so to him; his friends had wrote him so from America, and he thought, whilst he was there, some things were unkind: that he had reason to think I had wrote to M^r^ Whately, that I wished he might be provided for in England. I asked him what he referred to as unkind in America? He said, when Folger had made a seizure in Nantucket; and the Commiss^rs^ would have taken it from him: that Folger told him I took their part against him and Temple. But he wished everything might be buried: that he believed matters had been aggravated to me: that he had wrote things in the newspapers against me, but not the most virulent: that he never wrote one of the Bostonians—they were wrote by another, viz. Dr. Lee: that he had been ill used by the Commissioners: and that though he had been wrong in his disputes with other persons, yet he had been exceeding* ill used by Sir Francis Bernard, and had good cause for all he had done and said in his controversy with him. But he had determined never to quarrel with any man again, and would bear anything except personal hurt. His views were in America, and he expected I should have returned, and he wished to have taken any place in my Government that would have supported him, his own fortune not being sufficient.

I told him I had given him no cause for his enmity. His letters from America were from prejudiced persons engaged in Party: the instance he gave of Folger was so far from being true, that I was a well-wisher to Folger, and in return rec^d^

* Exceeding for exceedingly, and some other liberties taken with adverbs, were usual "when George the Third was King."

civilities, and lodged at his house in Nantucket at the time when the seizure was depending: that I doubted whether I had wrote what he suspected to M^r^ Whately, but I had wrote and said to other persons, that I was so far from wishing him any personal evil, that I hoped he would be provided [for] in England: that if any one of the Comissioners [*sic*] had had a warm contest with all the rest, as he had, I should have wished that one to have remained in England for the sake of peace: that I saw but few of the papers that he referred to, and gave myself little trouble about them. One I remembered, in which a great number of places were said to have [been] given by me to my family, which in every instance was false. He said he did not write that paper: he would not deny that he had furnished Doctor Lee with some of the materials. I added, that I had not concerned myself in Sir F. B.'s dispute with him, nor with Baron's (I think Sime [?] Baron's dispute was with Pownall,) nor did I know of Cockle's seizures, which were the ground of his dispute, until the whole affair was compromised: that I had, in all the affair of the Letters, acted with the utmost caution, and had wrote in answer to a letter from the present M^r^ Whately, that I did not charge M^r^ Temple, and had not done it. Upon my mentioning the Letters, he said that affair of Whately had hurt him more than anything else. As he hoped to see the face of God, he never meant to kill him; and he believed M^r^ Whately would own that he aimed to fire his pistol something wide of him;* and as for the Letters, M^r^ Wedderburne had asked him if he knew where Franklin got them? and that he had answered him, that the account he had published was true. "I don't say I know where D^r^ F. had them, but suppose he had shewn me the Letters—suppose he had told me where he had them, and had done it in confidence—there is nothing I would not submit to rather than be guilty of a breach of trust, and discover a person who might be (here he hesitated) hurt or ruined by it." †

* These last few words have been quoted in a note near the end of ch. iii.

† This last passage is put within commas, because it is in the first person, as spoken by Temple. Temple implies here that Franklin had shown him the Letters, and had told him in confidence where he got them. The editor

In the beginning of the discourse he had said that what he should say to me would be in confidence—that I would not mention it to do him hurt. I told him I should not; but as he had spoken of confidence in me, I was obliged to tell him that, after hearing he was in town, and expected to see me with M^r^ Jackson, I thought it proper to let some one of His Majesty's Ministers be acquainted with it: and not meeting L^d^ Dartmouth at Court, I had spoke to L^d^ Suffolk, who thought I took a very prudent precaution, but saw no difficulty in my meeting him; and possibly some good might come of it. I thought it probable L^d^ Suffolk would ask me what passed, and therefore I wished to hear nothing which M^r^ Temple desired to be concealed from him. He said he depended on my not representing what he said in such a manner as to do him hurt with Lord Suffolk; and then mentioned his having been suspected of writing in the papers some pieces reflecting on Lord Suffolk, and employing M^r^ Garnier, the French Chargé, to exculpate him to L^d^ S., which, he said, was imprudent. I told him I remembered nothing of any such pieces.

In the afternoon I went to look at the house where he lodges, in order to hire it, and a few more words passed. He repeated his desire to go to New England: he thought I was the only person to conciliate matters; but by his last advices from Boston, he despaired of my being able to return: mentioned particularly his letter from M^r^ Bowdoin, of 31st of May. I told him M^r^ Bowdoin was an engaged man,* and as such, his judgment was not to be depended on.

9th.—Much engaged in writing letters to New England. Rec^d^ a card from M^r^ Montagu, to acquaint me of the Admiral's being in town.

10th.—Admiral Montagu called upon me, and gave me the best account he could of affairs in New England. Afterwards we dined together at his brother's, the Master [in Chancery], at Frognall Grove, Hampstead.

11th.—Having desired a quarter of an hour with Lord North

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has placed stops to the best of his judgment, for in the MS. there is very little punctuation anywhere.

* Engaged openly as a partizan against the English Government.

before his going into the country, he appointed eleven o'clock to-day. After what related to my personal concerns was over, he entred [*sic*] upon the state of America in general. He said he did not expect less from the late Acts than what has happened: he did not, however, conceive them less necessary than he did before: he was not apprehensive of any great matters from the proposed Congress: he had heard that the New Yorkers and Pensilvanians had sent for larger quantities of goods than ever, and it was probable that this large stock would occasion an agreement for non-importation, and may be not to pay for their goods. "How came the merchants," says he, "to trust them for such large quantities? Were they not enough in debt before?"

He asked me whether I thought a quorum of the Council will qualify themselves? I told him none of my correspondents had expressed any doubt about it. But will the Assembly do business with the new Council? I don't know, my Lord, that the inconveniency to the Province will be great, if there should be no legislative Act for some time. Except the Judges of the Superior Court, there is no Crown Office. They were unhappily forced into a compliance with the demand of the H. of Rep.* not to take any salaries, but they qualified their answer so as to hold them no longer than whilst they had it in their power to receive them from the Province.

"Now," says my Lord, "that they can no longer have their salaries from the Court, they may, very consistently with their answer to the demand of the House, receive them from the Crown."

I mentioned likewise the case of the Secretary, who was another Officer who did not occur to me when his Lordship first spoke, and he answered that provision must be made for him, and he informed me that orders were gone to the Comissioners to draw upon the Treasury for such sums as were wanting to pay the Warrants due, and that it was his opinion provision should be made for payment of the salaries of the Crown Officers out of the Exchequer, if the Tea Duty should not be sufficient.

* House of Representatives.

There is a letter touching on the absorbing questions of the day, that it will be well to give here. It is from the Governor to some friend in America whose name is not recorded. Judging by the candour of the language, it may be inferred that it was some personal friend, but one who was too deeply involved in the ranks of opposition, whom he was trying to convince of his disloyalty. It runs thus—

"Dear Sir,— "London, 8 Aug. 1774.

"I received and read your letter with pleasure, as coming from you, but the intelligence which it contained gave me pain. I will tell you as well as I can what effect the news has upon administration here. They wished, no doubt, that by moderate measures, you would put in their power to afford you relief, but they have prepared for any event; and it seems to me that they are but little concerned from fear of consequences to the kingdom, what lengths you go in quarrelling among yourselves; and I verily believe every step taken by the House of Representatives, and by the town of Boston, in opposition to the Governor [Gage] and his system, has confirmed the King and his Ministers in their determination to shew no sort of favour whilst the authority of Parliament is denied. Indeed, I have not met with one person in the kingdom—and I have seen flaming patriots, as well as fawning courtiers—who thinks the avowed principles, either of the House or Council, admissible. Lord Chatham himself has most certainly allowed that there is no particular case, nor no particular part of the Dominions, which can be exempt from the authority of Parliament without a solecism; and he denies his ever saying what he was charged with to the contrary. It is your insisting upon this solecism which has brought all this misery upon you; and you are now deserted by every person you depended upon to support you. You will find people, and I suppose do find such, who will continue to advise you to go on and stand firm in opposition to a tyrannical and unjustly assumed power: but neither they nor you can be consistent without your separating entirely from the Kingdom. When I say the Ministry are little concerned, I might explain it by adding, that they apprehend no occasion for bringing the affair into Parliament again, as they want no aid. If they view you in the light of subjects, they will treat you accordingly. If they consider you as having thrown off all subjection to the authority of the British Dominions, and to have put yourselves into a state of hostility, they will take different measures. In which light they will view you, and how far you may go before you are stopped, I am not enough in any secrets, notwithstanding

what the Newspapers say, to form a probable conjecture. I know there are bounds which you will not be suffered to pass. But how distressing must it be to any person who has any feeling for his country, to see you contending for a phantom, or for a mere shadow, which it is impossible you should ever grasp. It would be a kindness to posterity if you would either renounce all kind of connection with Great Britain, as a part of its dominions, or otherwise, cease to urge any doctrines which are incompatible with such connection: for I believe you are more fully convinced by this time, than you were when I left you, that there is no slavery you can entail upon your children equal to that which follows from a disputed supreme authority in Government. And now, lest I should be thought to *abridge you of any liberties* which it is possible for you to enjoy, I will explain what I mean when I say you are contending for a phantom, or something which you fancy you have an idea of, and yet it may be has no existence in the nature of things. You say you are British subjects: you suppose you are constitutionally exempt from one of the obligations which British subjects are under; but if you are exempt from the one, you are exempt from all —and so, are not British subjects. To contend, therefore, for this one, as British subjects, is contending for a phantom, which has no existence but in the fancy. I wish and hope you may, and I believe you will, enjoy the same benefits and freedom from taxation for the purpose of a revenue, as if it was, or rather, could be, stipulated so as to have any effect; but that it is possible to make a stipulation to have any certain effect, I must utterly deny. Every assurance which can consist with the nature of government, I think you already have. I have made it my business to prevent any mortifying concessions being made a condition of reconciliation, and have succeeded: my chief opposition being from the late espousers of the cause of the Colonies—or rather, it was they who supposed the Act makes them necessary. But you say—Here are three cruel Acts passed, which must be repealed before we can be reconciled. The first is a severe Act, it is true [The Port Bill]. The others may have been unnecessary exercises of authority; but if your objection lyes against the authority itself, in either case such an objection must be a fatal bar to reconciliation, because the denial of the authority in these cases is, in effect, the denial in all. Your case, I think, is not stronger than that of the East India Company: and though a clamour was made in that case at first, they now think themselves happy that they are under the controul and protection of the authority of Parliament. Whilst you continue to deny the authority which made the laws, with what face can anybody apply

for relief from them, either in whole or in part? If Parliament had no authority to make them, they are of no more force now than they will be after they are repealed. If you apply for an alteration in part only, it implies an acknowledgment of the authority as to what remains, and consequently as to the whole. Wherever I turn my thoughts, in order to your relief, I [find] myself involved in absurdities so long as the denial of this authority is admitted. Cease to deny it, and the path is plain and easy.

["You have now a Congress in agitation. Is it intended to heal or increase the breach? If the former, what step can they take? Will they declare against all authority in Parliat in any and every case whatever? I dread the consequence, not only to the Colonies in general, but to the members of the Congress. I know the opinion of the first, and of all the lawyers in England of any note, what offence such proceeding would be. Hints are thrown out, that persons guilty of such offence shall certainly be brought to punishment. Do they intend to declare against the authority of Parliament in particular cases only? This will cause a general laugh, and render the members of the Congress contemptible in the eyes of every man in the kingdom. The Answers of the Council to my speech in 1773, are said here to do them more dishonour, than what the House are liable to from their Answers. The Council admit the authority in other cases, and deny it in taxation, without giving a shadow of reason for a distinction. The House, though they build upon erroneous historical facts, and upon false principles in the English constitution, and have a mixture of jargon, yet, from a false hypothesis there is a plausible conclusion. I cannot but hope that the result of such a Congress, under the best form which could be devised, absolutely illegal, and as some of the members are said to be constituted in the present instance contemptible, will be treated accordingly, and have very little weight. Until we hear further from you no step can be taken: not a word can be said which will have any tendency to serve you. The prospect is so gloomy that I am sometimes tempted to endeavour to forget that I am an American, and to turn my views to a provision for what remains of life in England; but the passion for my native country returns, and I will determine nothing until your case is absolutely desperate. According to a very old maxim, it never ought to be deemed desperate, so as to cause you to give over your endeavours. It was bad at the time of the last advice, if it is to be depended upon that it cannot be worse. I therefore wait with less pain for the next news, because, if there be any alteration, it must be for the better. You who are to remain members of the Commonwealth

never ought to despair so as to cause you to cease endeavouring its welfare.]

"You have now a Congress in agitation. If no other mischief follows it, yet it is certain that your relief will be retarded by it. I have met with one Gent. in office, who is much attended to, and who says that good will come of it. They will do something which may lead to a conciliation, or they will do someth^g^ w^ch^ will more firmly fix the Kingd^m^ in measures necessary to maintain Parliam^t^ authority over them. This is his opinion. I know of but one thing w^ch^ they can do—or rather, but one way in w^ch^ they can proceed to advantage—and that is, to avoid that inconceiv^ble^ distinction between a constitutional right in Parl^t^ to taxation, and a like right to legislation in general, and to urge a claim in the Col^s^ to exemption from taxes from long established usage founded upon an equivalent, from the advantages arrising to the kingd^m^ by a restr^t^ [? restraint] laid upon the trade of the Colonies, and there having been no instance for a long course of years of taxes laid upon the Col^s^ for the purpose of a revenue, nor for any other purpose than that of regulating trade, an exemption from duties and taxation of every other kind had always been considered as part of the constitution of the Colonies, except when imposed by their respective legislatures, where the inhabitants are really represented, as the inhabitants within the realm are represented in Parliam^t^, that an interruption of this long established usage by an Act of Parliam^t^ for imposing duties on paper, &c., had caused an interruption in that peaceable, happy, and long-subsisting due subordination of the Col^s^, and had ruffled and disturbed the minds of the inhabitants as universally, and to as great a degree as if it could have been, and actually had been stipulated between the Parl^t^ and the Col^s^, that they should ever be free from parliament^y^ taxation; and therefore they humbly pray, that in order to restore peace and tranquility to the Colonies, they may be restored to the enjoyment of the privileges w^ch^ they so long possessed, and that as great a degree of legislative power in general may always be continued to the Col^s^ as is and shall be compatible with a due subordination to the superior authority of the British Dominions.

"I have suddenly put my thoughts into writing, which, in an Address, will be expressed in other words, more correct and more dilated. It's possible the King will give no formal answer to this Address. Nothing may be done immediately in Parliament. A good reason may, notw^th^standing, be given in a short time for taking off the duty upon Tea, in forwarding which the E. I. Comp. will aid and assist. Until other duties are laid in the room

of it, and applied to the same purpose, there will be no cause for renewing the controversy. It is not impossible that, rather than it should be renewed, it may be tho't advisable that the officers of the Crown in the Colonies, who used to be paid out of the monies raised by this duty, should be paid out of the Exchequer. If such caution shall be used by the memb^{s} of this Congress, peace may soon be restored to America: if meas^{s} [measures] are pursued w^{ch}, upon the principles of the Eng. laws, must be pronounced treasonable in English subjects, I dread the conseq. both to the persons who constitute the Congress, and to the Colonies in general. I know it is expected that the more determined the Col^{s} appear, the more likely it will be to bring the Gov^{t} here to their terms. I do not believe it. The pres^{t} Ministry seem determined not to yield. The body of the people seem to be of the same mind; and if there should be a change of Ministry, of w^{ch} there is not the least prospect, what can tempt them to new measures?

"Looking back upon what I have wrote, I think it may not be amiss, as an explanation to the expression—That you have every assurance w^{ch} in the nature of gov^{t} you can have—to give you L^{d} North's words, no longer ago than yesterday:—What would they have done? If Parliam^{t} has a constitut^{l} authority over the Colonies, a declaration that they have not, will have no force whenever another declaration is made to the contrary. It is allowed that the trifling duty on Tea is not worth contending about, on acc^{t} of the burden it brings. The taking off this duty will be no security against a heavy burden laid upon the Colonies by taxes, if future Parl[iaments] shall think prop[er]."

The unfinished style and loose phraseology of the above letter serve to show that it had been hastily thrown together. The first half seems to have been entered by the hand of Elisha; but the latter half, beginning with the words, "According to a very old maxim," has been penned by the Governor himself. We here see how earnestly he was taking advantage of his visit to England, by interceding with the Government to obtain the best and easiest terms he could for a reconciliation with the Colonies. "I have made it my business," he says, "to prevent any mortifying concessions being made a condition of reconciliation, *and have succeeded.*" The part between brackets has been crossed out by diagonal lines. He mentions it as a fixed point, that the authority of Parliament must be admitted: shows the anomaly of the American line of argument, and that it would be more consistent to separate from England; for how could the authority of Parliament be denied,

when it is in that body that all power is centred, both for the regulation of England, and of all her dependencies? The Address alluded to, as having been intended to be drawn up and presented to the King, may or may not have been proceeded with: at present we hear nothing more of it.

12th.—I went into the city: visited Alderman Haley, M^r^ Champion, M^r^ Whately, and M^r^ Pain; and called at the N. England Coffee-House. M^r^ Whately mentioned a circumstance of his duel which he has not mentioned in print, viz.—That when Temple fired, he observed that he did not take aim at him; and agrees with, or renders probable what Temple said—that he purposely fired wide of him.

M^r^ Pain informed me he had not shipped the field-pieces. He delayed because of a report that they were designed to oppose the King's troops: and L^d^ North, he says, advised to it. Afterwards, from some losses in America, he took up a resolution to give no credit in America, N° nor S° [?]; and as Cushing had made him no remittance, he would not ship them. I told him they were sent for upon my recommendation, and he thereupon agreed to send them to M^r^ Pepperrell, to be delivered upon payment being secured. He told me an odd story of a letter w^ch^ Lord North sent him, in order to his sending it to M^r^ Pepperrell; and he had one at the same time from L^d^ Edgecumbe: and afterwards he had a message from L^d^ North, desiring him to take his letter out of the bag and return it, which he did accordingly.

In the evening visited M^r^ Mauduit in Clement's Lane.

13th.—Called upon M^r^ Paul Wentworth. Four or five of the Boston gentlemen dined with me. M^r^ Clark shewed me a letter of two or three lines he had rec^d^ from Boston, dated 28^th^ June, desiring him immediately to deliver one inclosed to Lord North, with two newspapers. Suspected it to come from [something in shorthand].

14th.—At the Chapel at Highgate: a Doctor Strechay preached very ingeniously upon "I have sworn and will perform it," &c. Lord Mansfield being at church, asked my daughter and me to go home and dine with him.

He talked very largely and fully upon the state of America,

particularly on the proposed Congress. Something, he said, must be done immediately, to-morrow—without delay—in the most formal way: he would not determine what: whether the King's Proclamation ordering Council—but something ought to be done. He repeated what he said before, and more fully, about Lord Chatham's asserting that Parl^{t} ought to maintain its authority in all cases whatsoever: that he had, it's true, formerly thrown out something about the expediency of taxing the Colonies, but their authority to do it ought not to be suffered to be called in question. He particularly explained the principle on which the Grants of Jurisdiction to Baltimore and Penn. were made hereditary—viz., the Feudal tenures: gave an explanation of the principles by which he had governed himself in the slavery case:—did me great honour in approving my administration, &c.: told me Gov. Franklin had wrote a letter to Strahan, the Bookseller or Printer, in which he condemns his father's whole conduct in the affair of the letters: justifies every part of them, except one expression of "abridging of what are called English liberties," which my L^{d} said was as justifiable as any other part, and that the letter was evidently designed to be made publick. I thought it probable his father put him upon it, to secure the son. His Lordship said—Nothing more probable.

He allowed the Lords of Council had their pens prepared to sign a warrant for apprehending persons in Boston, but did not allow they desisted because another measure was thought more expedient, but because the Attorney and Sollicitor General were in doubt whether the evidence was sufficient to convict them:* but he said things never would be right until some of them were brought over. I wished to see examples made here first for the like offences. He said, if they were convicted, a way might be found to keep the affair pending seven years, by motions in arrest of judgment upon error in proceedings, &c. Among other ways of proceeding, he mentioned referring to the Attorney and Sollicitor General, to determine what offence such a Congress was? I thought the opinion of the twelve Judges would strike the greatest awe. That had been done, he said, in

* See back July 5, where the story is somewhat differently told.

Queen Anne's time. He did not approve of the Judges giving their opinion now; though it might be a disadvantage when any cause came upon trial.

There were some treasonable agitators in and about London, who were infecting the atmosphere that the poisonous east winds were carrying to America. Addressing himself to some unnamed friend across the water, he writes :—" One of them [the Ministers] said to me—M^r H. I have seen an oration of M^r —'s, as gross a treason as was ever committed. These persons will never leave until some of the chief are bro't over here and made to suffer." I replied—My L^d, it will be very hard to bring people from N. England when your own people do so [?] w^th impunity. Make an example of them, and you may perhaps deter Americans. He replied—" I think we ought to do it."

Even Lord Chatham, the boasted favourer of American liberty, though he would forbear taxation, began to see that they were going too far. Bigelow, in his Life of Franklin, quotes one of his speeches, where his Lordship says—" But I must own, I find fault with them in many things. I think they carry matters too far. They have been wrong in many respects. I think the idea of drawing money from them by taxes was ill-judged." Aside—there is very little connection between the first portion of this quotation, and the last sentence.

And their late sympathiser, Governor Pownall, was beginning to look with disfavour on their excesses. Aug. 9, 1774, Mr. Hutchinson writes—" Some that formerly espoused your cause, are now as forward as any in condemning you, particularly Gov. Pownall, who tells me he has wrote his mind very fully to his correspondents."

The advisability of punishing Englishmen first is again alluded to under date Aug. 12 :—" I remember what you said of their being determined here, to bring such as they judge principal offenders from America for trial, and I have heard such things said, as causes me to think as you did. I wish they had first punished such of their own people as have been equally guilty."

So little did the English Government or the English people consider that anything of a momentous or serious nature could arise from the disturbances in America, that these disturbances were looked upon with indifference, if not with contempt. It was not until after the battles at Lexington, and at Bunker Hill, some ten months from the period of which we are now speaking, that the importance of the growing dispute assumed anything like the

attention it merited. Writing to Gen. Gage, Aug. 12, 1774, Gov. H. observes :—"I am told that there appears more indiffe about the disturbances in America than there ever did before. 'Let them suffer by their confusions,' it is said, 'if they are so obstinate as not to be content with the easiest govt in the world. Nobody suffers here except a few merchts who possibly may make more bad debts than otherwise they would have done.' Ld N. said to me—If the merchts will go on to trust them, they must blame themselves."

Again, in the same month, writing out to his eldest son Thomas, he says :—" The news from Boston sits heavy on my spirits. The extravagance of their measures renders their relief next to desperate, as everybody in Adminn appears by it to be more confirmed in the support of the constitutl authority of Parlt, and nobody seems to give themselves the least concern about the consequences of the projected Congress, supposing it can do no hurt to the kingdom. This state of things incapacitates me for settling my plan for my return at any particular time."

15th.—Dined at Ld Dartmouth's at Blackheath, with my two sons and daughter: Lord Chief Baron Smith and his Lady were of the company, besides Ld Lewisham, &c.

Among other things his Lordship told me that a gentleman of very good character assured him that before the Letters were sent to America, T. informed him that he had seen them among Mr Whately's papers, and in a day or two should have them: that he accordingly showed him a packet directed to Dr F., and told him those were the Letters referred to when he saw him before. I asked—Did I understand yr Ldship that the gentleman told you, or that your Lordship had it from a third person? No. He told me so, and he or T. must have said what was false. This leaves the affair still in a strange state.

My Lord let me know that the King had desired to know what mark of favour I would wish for, &c., and acquainted me that if being created a Baronet would be agreeable, it should be done immediately. I made the insufficiency of my fortune an objection. He said he would not wish me to take anything less.

That is—less than a Baronetcy.

Elisha, in a letter to his wife of Aug. 16, says :—" Yesterday we

dined at Lord Dartmouth's, a very agreeable family, and more like New England than any I have yet seen. His Lordship has something very engaging in his manners, as well as his countenance. You would not imagine him to be older than your husband, and yet he has eight sons, the eldest, L[d] Lewisham, is just of age.

* * * * * * *

"I was at Gravesend with M[r] Whately when he sailed; and I often wished, and sometimes threatened, to go with him, and to-day we have all been on board Callahan's ship; and if I consulted my inclination only, I should certainly take my old bed again: but the last acco[ts] from New England are so discouraging, that I don't know what you would do with me if I was there at this time. I hope in the course of the winter affairs will have a better aspect. At present I can see but little prospect of the Governor's returning to N. England."

16th.—I wrote to L[d] Dartmouth, praying his L[d]ship to enquire whether M[r] T.'s declaration might not consist with his having only rec[d] the Letters from F., and sent them back again without having taken them himself from W——'s files? as I wished, if the suspicion was not well founded, he might not suffer unjustly; and if it was, I must consider him as a most dangerous man, and avoid the most distant acquaintance with him.

P.M. Went on board Callahan, and drank tea.

17th.—M[r] Williams, the Inspector, called, and showed me a letter recommending Malcom as a proper person for Surveyor and Searcher for the port of Falmouth; and added that Malcom desired I would concur with Williams. I declined it, and intimated to Williams my opinion of his being an improper person for such a trust.

M[r] Pownall called also. I mentioned to him the affair of the field-pieces. He said the Act for purchasing them was laid by, and would be disallowed: and that the Act for vendue masters was actually disallowed. I told him I hoped both was done before my arrival; otherwise they would be charged to me. The Vendue Bill, he said, was long before. He mentioned also the confirmation* of the Line with New York lying [in abeyance?] for want of the fees.

* This word might also be read—continuation.

He entered largely into the state of America, but has no regular plan for the government of it, or for the restoration of order.

18th.—Between six and seven set out with my own horses for Furle, Lord Gage's seat in Sussex. Breakfasted at Croydon: called upon Mr Apthorpe, the Minister:* he and his wife were from home: dined at East Grinstead: stopped and drank coffee at Cherry or Chary Common: and between sundown and dark, arrived through Lewes at Furle, where we found Sir Sampson Gideon and Lady, Mr Wilmot and Miss Wilmot, son and daughter to the late Ld Ch. Just. Sir Eardley, and father also of Lady Gideon; with Mr Wright, a Clergyman. Lord Gage has a noble seat; the house was built by a Sir John Gage (in the reign of Henry the 8th), the first ancestor of whom they have any memorial, of him there is a very fine picture.

19th.—Went about four miles with all the company to the river Ley, near Lewes,† between 20 and 30 feet wide, thro' a meadow running into the sea at 8 or 10 miles distance. Spent great part of the day in fishing and trifling: caught 3 or 4 pickerell, and a perch among the whole. Dined in a small tent upon cold tongue, chicken, lamb, mutton, and beef, and returned to Lord Gage's about the same time we arrived the evening before.

20th.—Lady Gage gave me to read a letter to her from General Gage, dated the 26th June, from Salem, in which he says he is ready to wish he had never known her; laments his hard fate in being torn away from his friends, after the difficulty of crossing the Atlantick in the short time of 9 months, and

* "The established religion here, as in all the other provinces of New England, is that of the Congregationalists, a religion different only in some trifling articles to that of the Presbyterians: there were great numbers of other persuasions, particularly of the Church of England, and at this place there is a church erected within sight of Harvard College, the seminary of these Congregationalists: this gave them much offence, as they considered it a fatal stroke levelled at their religion. Upon this account, before hostilities commenced, they persecuted the Minister, who was the Rev. Dr. Apthorpe, now Rector of Croydon, obliged him to resign his cure, and quit the colony." —Anburey, ii. 64. We may understand from this how it was that the Governor was eventually buried at Croydon.

† Spelt Lewis by mistake.

put upon a service in so disagreeable a place, which, though he had been used to difficult service, he seemed to consider as peculiarly disagreeable ; wishes M^rs^ Gage had staid in England, as he advised her ; for though it was natural she should desire to see her friends at New York, &c., yet, she could have no sort of satisfaction in New England, amidst riots, disorders, &c. : and the whole letter discovers greater anxiety and distress of mind than what appears from all the accounts we have rec^d^ concerning him.

After dinner went to New Haven and Seaford, upon the Channel, not far from Beachy.

21st.—At the small parish church of Furle, contiguous to L^d^ Gage's garden : the incumbent named Morton, who, before we went into church, came into Lord Gage's, and in discourse upon N. England remarked that they were all Calvinists. I answered him—Those were the professed principles of the Church of England. A M^r^ Wright, a cheerful young clergyman, a guest at L^d^ Gage's, read prayers, and Morton preached 15 minutes upon a good subject—"If ye love me keep my Commandments." He seems rather a sower* morose man, and upon some difference with his parishioners, has had no singing for some time past. The church is in a wretched condition : the roof would be bad for a barn. There is one monument in a corner, said to be S^r^ John Gage and his Lady, in H. 8 reign, of white stone like Portland, tolerably executed.

In the evening, in two coaches, the company went about a mile and a half to the little parish of Glynd, the buildings better than Furle, the Chapel built by the last Bishop of Durham, Trevor, very elegant : he lies buried under the Altar. The Bishop's house, (he resided much there), is elegant : seems to be of the last century, and early.

In the evening the company, consisting of 13 persons, including Lord and Lady Gage, and about 30 servants in their liveries, or the dresses of my L^d^ and Lady's Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were summoned into the Hall, where Lady Gage read the Evening Service of the Church with great propriety, the whole family joining in the Responses. She then read, as

* The word looks very like sower.

well, a sermon from D^r^ Tillotson, and dismissed the Assembly with the usual Collect and Blessing. This, I am informed, is the constant practice every Sunday.

22nd.—The whole company dined and spent the day at Brightelmstone, about 12 miles from Furle. Here I unexpectedly met Lady Fitzroy, mother to the Duke of Grafton, who I had seen just forty years ago at New York, upon a visit to Lord Augustus, her then husband. She is now the wife of M^r^ Jefferies, a Commissioner of the Customs, who was with her, as also three of her daughters by him, at Brightelmstone. I met General Frazer, also, who I had known in New England before 1760. This town being without a harbour, none being nearer than Shoreham, or Newhaven, and those for small vessels, and tide harbours, and the soil about it not of the best quality, seems to depend upon the present fashion of bathers, and drinking salt water in the summer season. At this time there is not much of what is called the first company. In our way to Brightelmstone we passed within two or three miles, and in sight of the burying place of the late Duke of Newcastle, Henry Pelham, &c.: went through a village called Rotter Dean, and were within a mile of Preston, where General Shirley owned an estate, which he sold M^r^ Western, and where young Western lived, who married Miss Bollan, and was soon after killed by his horses taking fright in his carriage. Upon enquiring, found she had not lived there since his death.

23rd.—Lady Fitzroy and her three daughters, with M^r^ Jefferies, Cap^n^ Ganson, [?] of the Horse Guards, M^r^ Stonyere, [?] late Secretary to the Duke of Grafton, M^r^ Conyers, and his wife and brother, sons of one of the Knights of the Shire for Essex, came from Brightelmstone, and dined at Lord Gage's.

We intended to have began our journey home, but a rainy morning caused us to alter our intention.

24th.—We left Lord Gage's at Furle about 10 o'clock, and went through part of Lewes to Tunbridge Wells, where we dined. Drank tea at the Lord Chief Baron Smith's, about half way between the Wells and Tunbridge, and from thence to Tunbridge. Nothing was more remarkable at Lewes than the ruins of an old Castle or Tower, built soon after the Con-

quest by Waren, Earl of Surrey, part of one of the towers being preserved, and appears to be thirty or forty feet high. At Baron Smith's unexpectedly met S^r^ Jeffery Amherst and his Lady, and another lady upon a visit, which I suppose was the reason of our not being asked to lodge there. The Chief Baron lives in an exceeding good old house, built in Queen Elizabeth's reign, by his ancestor, from whom he takes it by descent, and has scrupulously avoided making any alteration, and I do not remember to have seen so good a house so ancient, and which retains the same form in all its parts, as it had at first. There are a very few seats which have a more extensive prospect. Sir Jeffery urged us to dine with him next day, or to take a bed if too late to go to London after dinner; but as I wished to be in London, I excused myself.

25th.—We set out from Tunbridge after 8, through Seven Oakes, commonly called Sunnocks, a neat village, and Bromley, still more neat and elegant, where I took a view of the Bishop of Rochester's house and gardens, and arrived in London between two and three.* From Bromley to London is, I think, upon the whole, the best road, and pleasantest riding of any about London. I found my family had moved the 21st from our lodgings in Parliament Street to a house I had taken in Golden Square.

26th.—Went in the coach to Kentish Town, two or three miles distant. Answered a letter, which I found on my return, from M^r^ Temple at Bristol, seeking a renewal of friendship, &c.

The following is the answer in the Governor's own handwriting, in his old marble paper Letter Book. It is surprisingly friendly in tone, considering what had passed:—

"Golden Square, London, 25^th^ Aug., 1774.

"Dear Sir,—

"I have been at Lord Gage's, in Sussex, ever since the 16^th^. Upon my return this afternoon, I found your letter of the

* Elisha notices this journey in his Diary:—

"18. The Gov^r^ and Peggy set out for Furle, a seat of Lord Gage's, in Sussex.

"19. At Foote's. The Nabob, and Waterman.

"21. Moved from our lodgings in Parliament Street to a house in Golden Square, which the Governor hires at p^r^ annum.

"25. The Governor and Peggy returned from Furle."

18th, which, if I had been in town, would not have been so long without an answer. I intend to set out next week to Norwich: how much further north I cannot determine until I have seen or heard from Lord Dartmouth. If I should go to Scotland, I do not expect to be in town until the beginning of October: if I go only into Yorkshire, which is the shortest route I have in view, I hope to be back by the middle of September.

"I have not yet seen Lord Suffolk. He was in the country, I think in Staffordshire, when we saw one another, and I have not heard of his return. If I had seen him, I should have used the caution you desire in relating what passed between us. I have ever found the utmost candor both in Lord Suffolk and Lord Dartmouth, and I don't know more amiable characters.

"I had seen in the papers an account of the appointment of a L. Governor for New Hampshire, but as it was not from the *Gazette*, I supposed it to be without foundation until a few days before I went into the country, I heard Mr Pownall say, *about ten days ago*, that such appointment had been made, but whether there was or was not a Warrant made out, he did not say.

"Please to present my compliments, and Miss Hutchinson's, to Mrs Temple.

"I long for nothing so much as the peace of America, which I think may be obtained, if the leaders of the people there were convinced of what appears to me to be really the case—that men of all parties in England disapprove of their open denial of the authority of Parliament; and that the Ministry and the kingdom in general are so satisfied of the inexpediency of taxing the Colonies in order to a revenue, that there is not the least reason to fear it.—I am, Sr, yr most obed. humble Ser."

The last paragraph has been crossed out by diagonal lines. Judging from the mention of the Governor's letter to Lord D. on the 16th in his Diary, the Governor appears willing to give Mr. Temple a loophole, by which he may escape from the suspicion which clung to him; and it is possible that the mutual explanations which had taken place, may have superinduced a better feeling on both sides: but where Mr. Temple expresses a desire to go out to America again, and implies a willingness to hold office under the auspices of Mr. H., a suspicion may arise as to his motives for a reconciliation. Anyhow, in subsequent times *The Member of Parliament*, whoever he was, seems to have attracted the greatest share of suspicion.

27th.—Mr Hubbart, who had been an inferior officer in the

Customs of Tobago, and superseded, called upon me. He is come from Tobago, being arrived 4 or 5 days, to seek to be restored: was brought up by Col° Pollard, first at Boston, then kept at school in England, and is a son of Zachary Hubbart, who, I think, was a Hatter when I was young at Boston. The cessation from all sorts of public business cannot well be greater than it is at present; every person being out of town who is at the head of the Boards. News, nevertheless, is expected every day from America, which probably will at least call some to town, if not require further proceedings.

28th.—Heard a Scotch preacher named Perry or Berry at a Meeting-house in Wells Street, near Oxford Road; the Incumbent named Hall.

Colonel Dalrymple called in. He says, a person who ought to know, informs him there was a disposition, in order to quiet the Colonies, to suspend the operation of the Tea Act *for a time.* This is too puerile a thought to deserve notice, or to be supposed possible.

29th.—I called upon M^r^ Mauduit, but he was not at home. Wrote to L^d^ Dartmouth to acquaint him with my return from Furle, and intention to set out on Thursday for Norfolk, and desiring a quarter of an hour with his L^d^ship. One of the papers mentioning a Man-of-War being spoke with, coming express from Boston, off Portland. Wrote several letters to Boston.

30th.—In the forenoon we went to view the British Museum, great part of which I had seen more than thirty years ago in the possession of Sir Hans Sloane. There is a vast addition to the ancient manuscripts, and the collection of Tuscan Urns, Vases, &c., purchased of S^r^ W^m^ Heberden, are entirely new to me. The Library of the late King, and the provision made for furnishing a copy of all new books from the Company of Stationers, will make a grand collection. The original of the Great Charter from King John, much worn, but in most parts legible, is in a very small character, but more resembling the writing of the present day than I should have expected to find it.

In the afternoon I went with some reluctance, and principally

for the sake of accompanying my children, to Cox's Musæum; but I was agreeably disappointed, some part of the machinery being extremely ingenious; and though there is a mixture of much puerile entertainment, upon the whole, I thought the exhibition well worth seeing.

M^r^ Mauduit called upon me in the evening, and spent an hour or two in conversation.

We hear nothing of yesterday's Man-of-War.

We would willingly occupy as little space as possible in foot-notes, but we must crave room to insert a complimentary letter of the Governor to Lord Gage, after his return to London, to thank him for his hospitality at Furle. It was copied into his marble paper-cover Letter Book by his own hand.

"Golden Sq., Lond., 25 Aug., 1774.

"My Dear Lord,

"I cannot omit the earliest opportunity of thanking you for one of the pleasantest weeks I ever spent in my life. Miss H., I think, will never forget her obligations to Lady Gage, to whom she now desires me to present her respects. Both of us beg our compliments to every one of the agreeable company: to Sir Sampson I sincerely wish, as long as he lives, the continuance of those spirits, which make not only himself, but every one about him happy.

"I wish I could give you good news from America. There are accounts from the south^n^ Colonies a few [days] later than what was rec^d^ when I left the town. They seem to be all preparing for a Congress, w^ch^ I think will make them very ridiculous, but I flatter myself can have no serious consequences.

"I intend to set out on Thursday [this was Thursday] for Norfolk, & Yorkshire. If Lady Gage does me the honour of committing to my care any letters for America, or if y^r^ L^d^ship has the like commands, they shall be forwarded by the safest and speediest conveyance, and I shall always take great pleasure in approving myself Y^o^ L^d^ship's most humble and most obed. Ser^t^."

In spite of our desire to give the Diary a prominent place, and to take up as little room as possible in notes, there are nevertheless sentiments and opinions in many of the Letters so apposite to the critical period of the American dispute at which we have arrived, that to leave them out would be to deprive the subject of half its force. From a passage in the above letter, Mr. H., in common with the Ministry, and with the majority of the English people, looked upon the preparations for the approaching Congress

as only child's play; and if the Governor, who had been born and brought up amongst them, knew so little of the determination of his countrymen to resist every Act of the British Government, and of their power to maintain that resistance, no wonder that all England should have been so ignorant on those momentous points. She committed the error of despising her enemy, and she forgot that her disobedient child had grown to man's estate. The event proved it.

The next letter, dated Aug. 27, and addressed to Mr. J. Green, is long, but it speaks so plainly on these topics, that it is impossible to resist making one or two extracts of the most forcible parts. The second paragraph says:—

"I am fully persuaded there never has been a time when the nation in general has been so united against the Colonies. The opposition is considered not against the Ministry, but the Kingdom in general, and even L[d] Chatham, Burke, and Barré, who don't vote for Bills which concern the Colonies, condemn, notwithstanding the principles of the people there, and the actions consequent upon them. In travelling about the country, I find all sorts of persons of the same sentiments. This unanimity, I take it, causes the Ministry to be determined not to recede from any measure in which they have engaged, until the end proposed is effected. They could do nothing which would so much tend to destroy their own political existence. They, nevertheless, most heartily wish to see the Colonies in peace and quiet, and I easily believe are disposed to indulge them in every point which can consist with their remaining a part of the British Dominions. The character of those Ministers who most concern themselves in American affairs is no unfavourable circumstance. Those are the Lord Chancellor, Lord Suffolk, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Mansfield, and Lord North, who in private life are allowed to be equal to any who have preceded them, and in public have escaped as clear of unfavourable charges as Ministers of State have ever done," &c., &c.

Speaking of himself, he says that all the promises of honours to be offered by great persons to him, had been scrupulously kept: as thus—

"If you do not see those public marks of honour conferred, which my letters intimated, it is not because they have not been offered to me: indeed, no part of the assurances given have failed."

In the same Letter Book a letter of the Governor's to Mr. Isaac Winslow, without date, has been entered by Peggy, judging by

the school-girl handwriting, as in the letters signed by her name, in which, amongst other things, are the following :—

"The payment for the Tea, and a little further advance towards an orderly state than what had been made before I came away, would most infallibly have enabled me to obtain the desired relief for the town of Boston: but all our advices since have been discouraging, and I verily believe every step which has been taken tends not only to render such relief desperate, but to bring further burdens upon the Province. It is at least certain that at present this is the sense of all sorts of people here. This unanimity causes the Ministry to give themselves but little concern about what you are doing. When they know what it is, they say they shall know what, or whether anything will be necessary to be done on their part. In consequence, I am therefore now altogether inactive, and strolling about the country for meer amusement."

Again, further down :—

"People in high and low life agree in advising me to settle in England; but I cannot give up the hopes of laying my bones in New England; and hitherto I consider myself as only upon an excursion from home."

His anxiety about the sufferings of those who were affected by the operation of the Port Bill in Boston seemed always on his mind. Writing to Mr. Cotton [apparently Cotton], Aug. 29, he says :—

"In general it is evident that all the present measures in the Colonies must lead to raise great resentment; but there is not the least appearance of their having any tendency to procure a future, or even very distant relief to the town of Boston. Providence, I hope, will avert its total ruin; and I should have thought it the happiest event of my life if I might have been the instrument. The prospect of it was very favor^le^ when I first arrived."

Again, in the same of August 29, he writes :—

"I have never seen Doct. F. nor M^r^ B. [Bollan ?] since I have been in Eng. I have lately been two or three times in company with M^r^ Temple, when nothing passed but what was very civil. I have reason to believe he had been strongly prejudiced against me by very false reports and represent^s^ from N. Eng^d^, and that he is convinced I have done him no wrong, and have not been instrumental in procuring the loss of his places: for tho' I think a person may be justified in being the cause of depriving another of

his living [?] when the public good requires it, yet I have always been scrupulous, lest [?] in time of strong party, I made myself fancy the public good to be the private motive, when in reality it was private resentment."

31st.—Saw Lord Dartmouth at his house in St. James's Square. Discoursed largely upon the affairs of America: he supposed nothing was to be done until the result of the Congress was known. He said a gentleman had told him he had heard D^r^ Franklin say what he thought would be done at the Congress, and Lord D. added that he did not doubt it was his (Franklin's) own plan. He was more particular in relating what he had heard a gentleman say of Temple, tho' he had not been able to see him since I desired him to enquire: he was sure the gentleman said that Temple told him Whately had promised him a sight of my letters to his brother in a few days, and that he would shew them to him: that afterwards he saw him again, and he shewed him a packet directed to D^r^ Franklin, and told him those were the letters he had spoke of.

He mentioned Sir W^m^ Johnson's death, and that he had recommended one of his sons for a successor. I said the appointment of natural sons to places of honour had an ill effect upon people's minds in America. He said it was not regarded here: took notice of the commonness of that vice among the young people of New England. I spoke largely of the piety of the first settlers: hoped it was not wholly gone off there as here, where it was a reproach to a man to be a serious christian.

Folger from Boston, by way of Nantucket. I had no letters: my son [Elisha] had one from his wife at Plimouth, dated the 20 July. No remarkable occurrences: had not rec^d^ the list of the new Council.

I had a letter from Col^o^ Abercrombie, of General Gage's Regiment. Speaking of the state of affairs at Boston, he says he likes his Colonel as a gentleman, but would never employ him on a forlorn hope.

Whatever the right of the English Parliament to tax the Colonies—a right which had existed from their foundation—the wisdom or desirableness of enforcing that right was quite another question. Mr. Hutchinson maintained the right—and it is hard to

see how a faithful servant, true to his trust, and acting on constitutional principles, could do otherwise—but in spite of the misrepresentations of his opponents, who endeavoured to make him out to be the greatest enemy that America ever had, he wished that that right should not be exercised. There is the transcript of a letter in his own handwriting in his marble paper book (for want of a better description), of August 31, 1774, to Mr. G. Erving, in which he says:—

"I assure you that I have with great freedom delivered my real thoughts of the inexpediency of taxes upon the Colonies by Parl^{t}, and I do not know any one of the Ministry who will not now agree with me in it; and I may venture to say that I have no doubt the Tea duty will be taken off as soon as it can be done without giving up, as the Ministry conceive, all authority of Parl. over the Colonies, the necessary conseq. of w^{ch} is, giving up the King's authority also. I have asked—What assurance can the Colonies have, if the conditions of the Boston Port Act are complied with, that Parliam^{t} will repeal the Tea duty? and if it is repealed, that a future Parliam^{t} will not re-establish it? The answers will be obvious to you before I relate them. To the first question, it is said, that it cannot be supposed the authority of Gov^{t} can condescend to make such a conditional promise, because it would in effect be owning that the Colonies were not obliged to submit to the Act without such promise, and would be giving up the point contended for: and to the second, the answer is by another question—What assurance can possibly be given? The promises of the K. or the pres^{t} Ministers cannot bind the successors of one or the other. No more would an Act of Par^{t} declaring that the Colonies should not be taxed, bind even a future Session of the same Parl^{t}. I may add, as my own sentiment, that if Parliam^{t} has not now a constitutional right to tax you, a declaration that they will not lay future taxes upon you, will be no additional security, seeing they can as well depart from such a declaration, as they can assume a power not in them by the constitution: and what I think is a consideration of more weight than all the rest—If Parliam^{t} shall at this day judge it inexpedient to tax the Colonies, because it is against the general bent and inclination, you have a moral certainty that the same general bent will have greater weight in all future times than it has now, because the Colonies will continually increase faster than the kingdom, both in numbers and importance."

There is little to be added to these remarks either in argument or in explanation; and the concluding assertion is of great force.

The controversy between America and the Mother Country has occupied volumes of writing, and has enlisted the controversial pens, and the industry and the ingenuity of many literary workers, in order to explain its elaborate intricacies and its party claims. All this is only wasting time, and puzzling a very simple case. The subject has been made sufficiently clear by the extracts taken from writings penned at the time when these questions were occupying every man's attention. The English asserted the power of Parliament over the Colonies: the Americans denied it. There —that is the whole of the dispute. Strange, however, as it must appear to us in the present day, though a large portion of them were strongly endued with republican views, and, as Du Châtelet wrote to Choiseul, "the fanaticism of liberty" (Banc., iii. 270), they nevertheless rejected the constitutional rule of the collected body of the English nation, but expressed no objection to being under the authority of the King. What then—did they desire to be subject to the sole will of an Autocrat, like the Russians? or to place themselves under the uncontrolled sway of a Sachem, like the wild Indians? Rather inconsistent: and yet Lord North was led to say of them :—"The Americans had originally no objection to submit to the authority of the Crown, but objected to the interference of Parliament." And Mr. Frothingham, in the beginning of his History, writes—"Their allegiance to the Crown did not include an admission of the supremacy of Parliament." But at page 19, Mr. Frothingham goes a step further, where he says :—"The people were the subjects of a distant Monarch; but royalty was merely in theory with them." So then, from this, if on the one hand they rejected the supremacy of Parliament, and on the other declared that Royalty was merely a theory with them, we come to the conclusion that they had resolved to get rid of both; and both was everything. In short, the best and plainest arguments suited to the case were used by Dr. Warren and Mr. Samuel Adams. The first spoke of the Americans as "a people determined to be free:" and Adams exclaimed :—"Independent we are, and independent we will be." There is no mystification there. The time had come, though the English Government saw it not. The whole of the American controversy is comprised in the above remarks.

Sept. 1.—I set out with my daughter in a chariot for Norwich. Called upon M[r] Brousfield [?] at Islington, but did not light; went thro' Hackney and Epping Forest to Epping,

just upon the entrance of which is the seat of M^r^ Conyers; but being out of the road, we did not see it. Epping is an old village, smaller and poorer built than I expected. We stop'd to dine at Harlow, 23 miles from London—a poor place. Passed through a corner of Bishop Storford, which has the appearance of a respectable town, and intended to lodge at Littlebury, about 40 miles from London, but did not like the accommodation, and went three miles further to Chesterford, about 43 miles from London, but near 46 from Golden Square. Just at the entrance of Littlebury is a very large house of Sir John Griffin's [?], which makes a very fine appearance from the road.

My two sons [Elisha and Billy] intend to set out post to-morrow morning, and expect to overtake us before we get to Norwich.

All their kilns for brick and tile upon this road are built of bricks in the form of a cone, very capacious, for which this reason is given, that being contracted at the top, all parts have more equal heat, and the upper bricks and tiles are as well burnt as the lower. Wherever I go I find the price of lime not more than a quarter part at the lime-kiln what it is at Boston, being about 3/- to 3/4 for 12 bush., or one of our hhds. [hogsheads], which is sold at 14/- or 15/-. The hhd. costs about 2/-, and the freight to Boston can't exceed 3/-, which leaves 9/- or 10/. The stone in many places in N. Eng^d^ is as cheap, and the fuel is vastly cheaper, than in England, where hitherto they use wood, tho' M^r^ Jackson says coal may be made to answer the purpose.

2nd.—We set out about 7 in the morning from Chesterford; went about 3 miles to Sir Sampson Gideon's house at Abington, a small village, a corner of which only we passed through. Sir S. we knew was not at home, and we intended only a sight of the house and the children. From thence by Gogmagog Hills to Cambridge is about 7 miles. Upon one of the hills Lord Godolphin has a fine seat, with a very extensive prospect. I see but little change in Cambridge from what it was in 1741. King's College Chapel is repairing, and covered with workmen's stages and dirt, shews to great disadvantage. The Library is

said to be much enlarged: a valuable Persian manuscript, for the writing, embelishments, and binding, appearing to be above 300 years old. The Musæum fell much short of my expectation. Thirteen miles brought us from Cambridge to Newmarket, which I had never seen before, and is smaller than I supposed, consisting principally of one street, but about a quarter of a mile long, the buildings, tho' ordinary, not much inferior to Cambridge. The Race Ground on the left, before we enter the town, I liked to see, after reading so much of it in the newspapers. We dined at Newmarket, and went without stopping 20 miles to Thetford thro' a level and generally poor country common, fields where it is capable of cultivation to advantage, and great part heath, as it is called, tho' most of it is fed by sheep; and six or eight miles before we come to Thetford, for near a mile together, it was, as it were, covered with rabits [*sic*]. There are several villages on the sides of the road at a distance, but except a few houses at a place called Barton's Mills, and also at Ealding, 3 miles from Thetford, there are no houses to be seen, nor no pleasant view or prospect. The master of the inn where we lodged, says his landlord owns one farm of 1,500 acres, which he keeps wholly for rabbits [*sic*], and that one farmer has paid 900£ a year for carriage of rabbits to London, and that some warrens are worth 1,500£ a year to the owner. The land upon this plain or heath rents as low as 2/6 to 3/- an acre.

3rd.—In our way from Thetford to Norwich, we stopped to refresh our horses at Attleboro' [space] miles, and passing thro' Windham, a considerable village, arrived at Norwich about one o'clock.

One of the Aldermen, M^{r} Thompson, came in y^{e} afternoon to desire us to dine on Monday.* I took a view of the Cathedral and of the Castle. My sons, who left London y^{e} 2nd and came post thro' Cambridge, arrived in y^{e} evening at D^{r} Murray's, where we all lodge.†

4th.—In the morning at the Cathedral, where a D^{r} Goodale

* It was now Saturday.

† It will be remembered that the Governor escorted Miss Murray across the Atlantic.

gave a good exhortation to attend y^e^ publick worship. In y^e^ afternoon at the Dissenting Meeting, a very handsome house, an octagon; the Minister a young man, M^r^ Alderson, took pains to shew he was a philosophical Christian. Two of the Aldermen are of that Society. The Mayor, Sheriffs, and most of the Aldermen attended at the Cathedral, and do every Sunday. In the evening went to visit M^rs^ Betterman, [?] and returning, were caught in a shower of rain, and turning [?] into a house for shelter, it hapned to be the house of one Newman, the only person among forty thousand inhabitants known to be born in Boston. I have met with many such odd accidents in the course of 60 years.

5th.—Went in my carriage w^th^ D^r^ Murray to Caxton, about two miles, a pretty village, where are many villas of the principal inhabitants of Norwich, and good farms. Dined at M^r^ Thompson's with D^r^ Murray and my own family, several Aldermen, and the Minister Alderson.

All seemed to suppose that America only wished to be put upon the foot they were upon before the Stamp Act, and that upon such concession they would promise to return to their former state of subjection: but upon hearing that the authority of Parliament in all cases had been denied, they all declared against any repeal, until the right was admitted. In national politics they appeared to be divided; some for the present Ministry, others discontented, and say all Ministers are corrupt, &c.

Returning home, saw the new manufactory of Glass Frames, Chandeliers, &c., made of hardened lead, instead of wood, and as cheap.

6th.—Called upon the Mayor and left my name, he being from home. Cap^n^ Money and his brother dined with us.

7th.—We went in the forenoon to the top of the highest tower in the walls of the city, repaired in 1750, and intire, from whence we could take a view of the city and country round it. The Castle, the Cathedral, and the great number of churches in a city, where the buildings, tho' none superb, yet in general, are as decent as in any town, a very few excepted, afforded a very agreeable view.

Part of the ruins of Kett's Castle, the Rebel in Edw^{d} 6th Reign, may be seen at a mile or two distance. The city is on every part walled in: the gates shut at 11 every night. There are 32 churches within the walls: 4 or 5 of them are called Rectories, where the inhabitants, upon a vacancy, meet and elect the Minister who, except his Surplice fees, depends intirely upon their favour for his stipend. Some few give ½ guinea p quarter; others five shillings, four, and down to one shilling: so that some of the livings are not above 30£, and the highest in the city not an hundred a year, exclusive of fees: for where the presentation is not in the inhabitants, there is no certain living, but all depends on the free gift of the parishioners. When they like the Minister, they give no more on that account: and when they dislike him, they don't withhold. The Churchwarden urges them more strongly. They have service in the forenoon only, except in the Chapel belonging to the Cathedral. Trade and manufactures take up their whole thoughts, and very little is said about religion. A Quaker was Church Warden a year or two ago in one of the parishes. There are two Independent Meetings, one or two Baptists, and some Methodists.

We spent an hour or two seeing the whole process of the Stuff manufacture. By far the greatest part of the exports are to foreign kingdoms and states, from Yarmouth: a small proportion goes to London, and little or nothing direct to the Colonies: and M^{r} Day, whose manufactory we viewed, said it was altogether indifferent to them whether the Colonies imported goods from England or not.

M^{r} Bacon, Recorder of Norwich, and one of the Members, dined with us. I spent an hour or two in the evening at a Club of principal manufacturers, all tobacco smokers: the first company where I remember to have seen smoking, since I have been in England.

8th.—In the morning I walked round great part of the walls of the city, which seem to have been 12 to 15 feet high, and between three and four feet thick; built of a mixture of flints, round stones, and bricks, laid in mortar: but in some places the earth is raised, so as that they are not above four feet high,

and in great part of the city small tenements are built on ground leases, both within the walls and without, the walls making the back of the houses. From back Thorp Gate, to the Gate at the end of Maudlin Street, are no buildings: there the Towers seem to be about 10 rods dist^{t} from one another: none left intire, but the ruins of the Towers still remaining.

Before dinner we went to Thorp, a village 2 miles from Norwich, the river running by it: some good old, and some very good new houses. In the way, I left my carriage at the bottom of the hill, and went up to take a look at Kett's Castle; there being 15 or 20 feet of the walls standing: much the same for height, thickness, and materials, with the walls of Norwich: and was a Chapel belonging to the Earl of Surrey: and upon our return we stopped at the Hospital, just without the Gate, where are about 40 patients. The House is extremely well contrived; the rooms large, lofty, kept as clean as possible, and the situation airy and exceeding pleasant. The Assembly room is a few feet longer, not broader, than Concert Hall in Boston, nor more elegant: the other rooms in the house are more convenient. The Playhouse or Theatre, rather smaller than that in the Haymarket; well furnished with scenery, &c. Those we visited also. Spent the evening, being invited wth my sons to supper at M^{r} Day's, a principal manufacturer, with one of the Aldermen, two of the Clergy, and several of the principal inhabitants.

9th.—Went in my chariot with D^{r} Murray to Hethel, [?] about 7 miles, to visit M^{r} Bevor, a friend of M^{r} Burch, who has an estate of 1000£ a year or more, and a good mansion house. He was gone to Windham, to a sitting of Justices, and his lady from home; so we returned without alighting.

An hour or two in the evening at a Concert of musick, mostly performed by gentlemen, and confined to subscribers, and such as they invite.

10th.—Upon an invitation to Alderman Crow's gardens, about half a mile without St. Stephen's Gate, which are in a pretty taste, about 5 acres, besides kitchen garden. Upon our return, called at his house in town; the best in town, and elegantly furnished; was the house of the Earl of Surrey in

H. 8th reign, and part of the original building still remains, and the general form preserved.

Mr Bevor dined with us, and Alderman Thompson. Both mentioned their experiments in setting wheat with a dibble instead of sowing: takes but one bushel an acre for seed, the other way three bushels: which saving, two bushels, pays the charge of setting, which is 11/-: besides, Thompson says, his crop was $\frac{1}{8}$ more from setting than broad cast.

11th.—At the Octagon Chapel in the morning: the same preacher as last Sunday. He read a first prayer of 10 minutes, written, and probably his own composition: then sang: then read a portion of the Old, and another of the New Testament: then prayed about the same time as at first: then preached the subject—"O God, that hearest prayer," &c.: then made another prayer, wholly intercessory: then gave the Blessing.

Dined at Capn Money's, at Trouse, or Trois Rivieres, corrupted.

12th.—We left Dr Murray's at Norfolk, and set out for Wells,* through Aylesham, a respectable village, and a very large and good Gothic church; the tower the best built of any I have seen in Norfolk, except in Norwich, and in good repair. A mile or two from Aylesham is Blickling, where Lord Buckingham,† descended from Ld Chief Justice Hobart, has a venerable house, built in H. 8th reign. An exceeding good picture of the Ld Ch. Just., and another of Sr John Maynard, I viewed wth pleasure. A statue of Q. Eliz. on one side of the staircase, and of Ann Bullen on the other. We dined at Holt, and reached Wells by sundown, 33 miles. Wells is situated on a river about 2 miles from the sea, between which and the town, lies a great body of salt marsh, being overflowed every spring tide: never mowed: fed with sheep all the year. The grass appears unlike our salt grass: more like what some call bastard grass, when fed. I observed no sedge or thatch on the banks of the river or pond, and the marsh is not spongey near the shoar [*sic*], but as hard as our upland, and the country

* On the north coast of the county, N.W. from Norwich.

† Mistake probably for Buckinghamshire, ancestor of the present Earl of Buckinghamshire.

round is a sandy soil. But a few good buildings, and those not extraord. in general, of the pebbles laid in mortar. Half a dozen small brigant[s] [?] and sloops, from 50 to 70 tons, built to draw 8 feet water, lay there, which bring coals from Newcastle, and carry away their corn and malt, when allowed to export it; but they have little trade, and are generally husbandmen. I lodged, and my sons, at M[r] Boyle's, brother to M[rs] Murray, and my daughter at his mother's; and set out the next morning, the—

13th—for Holkam, and spent an hour or two in viewing Lady Leicester's magnificent house * and gardens, which are particularly described in print. My daughter returned to Wells. I went on with my two sons to Raynham,† upon an invitation from Lord Townshend, arrived before dinner, and lodged there.

14th.—Went before dinner to view the seat of the Earl of Orford, at Houghton, about 6 miles, and returned to dine about 5 o'clock, the usual time being half after four; supper at 11 at night, and breakfast 11 in the morning.

15th.—We left Lord Townshend's in the morning, in order to our return to London. His Lordship's house is rather calculated for the accommodation of a large family with proper dignity, than for pompous show. He, at the age of 51 had lately married Miss Montgomery, a young lady of Ireland, of perhaps 21. Her elder sister, with M[r] Gardner, her husband, an Irish gentleman of a very large fortune, have been for a month past upon a visit at Raynham. We were entertained with the greatest politeness, and I am pressed to bring my daughter there, if I go to Norwich to accompany her to London. The late Lady Townshend is spoke of through the county as one of the most amiable persons that has ever lived. An anecdote is very common. When his L[d]ship married the present Lady, the old Lady Dowager, his mother, the first time she saw him, burst into tears. The old Dowager recovered herself, but made a most mortifying speech:—"George, you may needs wonder at my crying upon an affair which all the

* In the Italian style, begun in 1734, and finished in 1760.
† Or Rainham, 3 m. S.W. from Fakenham.

rest of the world laugh at." She has no extraord. character. Her Lord and she lived many years separate. He kept his mistress, and she was not without a charge of gallantry. When he died, a lady of quality sent to enquire how she did upon so melancholy an occasion? She sent for answer, that she was very indifferent.

From Raynham to Swaffham is Binsly [?]. This is a neat market town: a good church, with a fine large and lofty tower of hewn stone, which is very singular in Norfolk, and they have no tradition where it was brought from, there being at present no quarry in the county, and like most of the other parts of the kingdom, the most intelligent inhabitants of the parish can give no account of the age of their church. This is in the truly Gothic style: the pillars indicate some centuries before the Reformation: but few parish churches where I have travelled, have had so much care taken of them.

Stop'd at M^r^ Jackson's gate in Wyenham [?]: not come from London.

From Swaffham to Brandon is 9 miles. Here we dined. It is less than Swaffham, but is not of the lower class of villages. I went half a mile out of my way to see the house and estate of my friend M^r^ Burch, who once resided here, and could not help thinking it would be to me, if my native place, a much more agreeable situation than his house, either in town or country in New England. From Brandon to Barton Mills 9 or 10 miles, and the whole way upon a sandy down: but by a late Act of Parliament a Turnpike is established, and it is the best piece of road I have seen in England. The improvements in agriculture which have distinguished Norfolk, have been made chiefly upon a thin sandy or gravelly soil, under which they say is generally clay or chalk. They first cart 70 or 80 load of clay or marle, according to the quality of the land: the sandy land it is said clay is most proper for. This having laid a winter or longer, in order to pulverising, is spread upon the land and ploughed in: 20, 30, or 40 load of stable dung is added upon a second ploughing. This prepares the land for a crop of turnips, sowed in July, and fed upon the land in the winter by oxen and sheep, for which it is said to be worth

three or four pounds, and sometimes more, an acre. The next year the ground is prepared for wheat: then a crop of barley: then oats or pease: then a new dressing with stable dung: and so a second round: or if clover be sowed with oats, they have a fine crop one year, but seldom or ever try the second year, as they prefer tillage to grass, and wheat succeeds well after clover. The landlords who let such lands at 8 to 10/ an acre, have raised to 16 and 20/. But I should wonder if such loose sand, as great part of these downs or heath consists of, should ever be profitable for a number of years: a crop or two may be forced; but a sufficient dressing to change the quality of the soil, would amount to more than the cost of the lands of superior quality in other parts of the kingdom: and this I suppose is the reason of such sandy tracts remaining uncultivated.

Lord and Lady Townshend came in late, and lodged in the same house in their way to London.

16th.—To Newmarket where, whilst our horses were refreshing, we took a view of the Race Ground, which takes up so much of the time and money of so many of the Nobility and gentry;* and then continued our route to Bournebridge, about half a mile from Abington, which we passed by in our journey from London, when we turned off to Sir Sampson Gideon's. From thence to Littlebury, where we dined at an Inn opposite to a house lately purchased by Sir John Griffin, of the heirs of one Stanley, who projected a floating light at the Buoy of the Nore, and who erected the model of it in the garden of this house. Our landlord told us this odd story—That when Stanley was carried away with his Lighthouse from the Nore and lost, the model of the Lighthouse was carried away by the same storm, and at the same time. We went on to Harlow to

* This mention of the race ground recalls to memory a rather original and rather amusing piece of advice given by a careful father to his son. Mr. Hutchinson was at Newhaven in Connecticut on business, and writing to one of his sons, who was enjoying the freedom of a holiday, Sept. 30, 1767, he says:—"I hope some time next week to be at home, and that you will not be long after me. Pleasure should always give way to business, and the picture of a horse race is every whit as agreeable as the original; so that it will not be worth while to lose much time for the sake of the races."

We may judge from this that the Governor was not much given to this kind of pastime, so madly followed by some persons to their ruin.

lodge, after a journey of 46 or 47 miles—rather more than we wished, for the sake of our horses.

17th.—We passed through Epping, Woodford, Hackney, and Islington, and arrived at Golden Square about two o'clock. I took notice of a house at Woodford, said to be built by M^r^ Bacon, Member for Aylesbury and since sold, which put me in mind of improvem^ts^ to be made in my house at Milton, and of a ha-ha fence at the bottom of the garden.* I found letters from Boston to the 28^th^ of July. I have enquired of several, who gave different answers, whether the yellow bricks were of different clay from the red, or only burnt differently in degree. The mason who was at work near this house at Woodford, told me the Brickmakers mixed coal ashes with the clay, to make the bricks burn yellow; but a labourer who stood by, said the yellow bricks all came out of Surrey, and are a different clay from the red.†

18th.—At a Meeting-house in Swallow Street; the preacher a serious man, an imitation of M^r^ Whitefield, in his delivery and composition. I believe that the Dissenting congregation in Westminster consist of inferior tradesmen and servants, and very few among them of other condition. I have seen a coach or two at the Meeting in Prince Street. In the city many principal merch^ts^ and tradesmen are Dissenters.

19th.—Called upon L^d^ Chief Justice De Grey in Lincolns Inn Fields: M^r^ Herd,‡ at the Herald's Office: M^r^ Keene, Stable yard—all from home: M^r^ Whately, Lombard Street: found him at home, and acquainted him with what a gentleman had informed Lord D. (not mentioning his name), that M^r^ Temple had said about my letters, viz. that he should have them in a few days, &c. This, says M^r^ Whately, is another circumstance to shew M^r^ T. took them, for I remember he

* Better that we should not know what is in the future. Little did he dream that he was never to set eyes upon that house and garden again, or that they were to be confiscated and taken from him and his family, and sold to strangers.

† Geological and chemical reasons were not so well understood in that day as in later times; or that the red bricks get their colour from the presence of oxide of iron.

‡ Sir Isaac Heard was at one period Garter King-at-Arms, but whether this is intended for the same person we cannot say.

spake to me first about them, and I appointed him three or four days after, when he came and looked over them, but, says he, there are other circumstances, enough to put it out of doubt that he took them. James Clark, who was master of a large ship consigned to me in 1751, and who I have never heard of since, called upon me. He has been unfortunate, and is in low circumstances.

20th.—Rec^{d} letters from Judge Oliver, Sally, and M^{r} G. Erving. Rec^{d} advice of the arrival of the Man-of-War, and the acceptance and qualifying for office of 12 of the Council, and that most of the rest would probably accept. Meeting M^{r} Pownall in the Park, and finding that there were no letters from Gen^{l} Gage, I sent my letters to Lord Dartmouth. Cap. Hellon [?], wth whom I used to lodge at Taunton [Mass.], called upon me. He has been three years from home.

21st.—[Two or three lines of shorthand, not deciphered. It is of a kind that does not agree with some others of the older systems, which were in use in George the Third's time, with which it has been compared.]

Lord North, having heard that I had a letter from Boston, enquired particularly of the state of affairs there. So favourable an account of the acceptance of so many of the Council, he did not expect. The Congress he always supposed would go on, and he fancied they would agree upon a non-importation and non-consumption; but it could never last: they would soon break through it. Such combinations tolerated, I said, were dangerous examples though their schemes should fail. It was true, he said, and some way must be found to punish those concerned. It was difficult, he said, carrying the Stat. of H. 8th into execution. That the destruction of the Tea, connected with the Resolves of the Meetings was treason, he said was past doubt; but the lawyers were in doubt whether the evidence which appeared was sufficient: otherwise they should have gone on to prosecute. One thing, he said, would certainly be done. If they refused to trade with Great Britain, G. B. would take care they should trade no where else. And if any Colonies stood out, all encouragement should be given such Colonies. I avoided saying anything upon my personal

concerns. He was much more open and pleasant in conversation than at any time when I have seen him before. Called upon M^r^ Wedderburn: he is in the country.

An interval of five or six weeks generally occurred in that day between the writing of a letter in Massachusetts and its reception in London. According to modern ideas, American news would be looked upon as rather stale. In a work like the present, however, it may be now and then of advantage to quote letters of equal date with occurrences in England, thereby showing what occurrences in each country were taking place simultaneously.

Painfully exhibiting the riotous state of things in Massachusetts is a sort of letter in the handwriting of Dr. Peter Oliver, who had married the Governor's eldest daughter Sally. It is bound up among the original letters, in vol. i. blue leather backs, but the last page is missing, as there is no signature or address. The last date is September 20, the period to which we have arrived in England, *e. g.*:—

"Middleborough, Aug. 11, 1774.

"Sir!

"We have just heard of the arrival of the Acts of Parliament, by a Man-of-War, last Saturday or Sunday. Tuesday the General sent an express to the Judge, Col. Watson, Daniel Leonard, Col. Eden, N. Ray, Thomas [Hutchinson], and a number of others in the Province, as we imagine as His Majesty's Council, upon the new Establishment. Col. Watson [father of Elisha's wife, Copley the Painter's wife, and Sir G. Temple's wife] says he bids farewell to all peace and comfort in this world. I [have] never see [seen] him so uneasy in my life. He will refuse; and if he does, he will do the Torys more dishonor than ever he did them good. There are numbers in the Province that swear they will never consent to this new plan. By the next fall, the last of October, the whole matter will be decided.

Aug. 23.

"Well—Col. Watson is sworn in one of His Majestee's [*sic*] Council: he has got home: they left the Meeting to the number of 40. The first Sunday they passed him in the street without noticing him, which occasions him to be very uneasy. Some of our puppies in town are coming to wait on the Judge [Chief Justice Peter Oliver]. You will hear more of it by the time you finish this letter.

Sept. 2.

"3 men, deputed from 40 Middleb. brutes, came to the Judge's house the 24th to know abt these difficulties, and they went away as dissatisfied as they came.

"Col. Ruggles, Murray, Willard, and some others, are obliged to retire to Boston to get rid of the mobb. The Judge is now in Boston. We have been threatened, and whether we shan't be mobbd is uncertain. The Newspapers will give you an acct of the riots in different parts of the Province.

"I dread to think of the consequences that must follow our behaviour here, whether ever so mild matters are struck upon by the Ministry. If the Ministry give way to us, we are an undone people: and if they set out to punish us, according as we deserve it, there will be bloodshed enough before they can reduce us. The Middleborough people, and indeed the Province in general, declare solemnly never to submit to this new plan of Government. I wish I was safe with my family out of reach of threats and insults. I never knew what mobbing was before. I am sick enough of confusion and uproar. I long for an asylum—some blessed place of refuge.

Sept. 10.

"The Judge is in Boston yet, for safety, and will be this one while. You have no idea of the confusion we are in abt the Counsell and new mode of government.

Sept. 14.

"To-day I was visited by about 30 Middleborough Puppies, who obliged me to sign their Articles. They proceeded, and increased their number to 80, and attack'd Mr Silas Wood; carried him off and threatened his life if he would not sign their paper, to stand by the Old Charter, and give up the Protest he had then in his pocket. He finally yielded. The next day they visited abt 10 or 12 people who were called Tories, and made them resign to their unwarrantable demands:—Mr Spooner among the rest.

Sept. 20.

[Announcement of birth of a daughter to Elisha's wife.]

Sept. 23.

[Announcement of birth of a son to himself.]

The remainder of the above letter is missing. So much for mob

law, and the tyrannies of men who were crying out for more liberty. It was the species of liberty once described to me (P. O. H.) by an American—a Salem man—as "liberty all on one side." The reading of the above proceedings will involuntarily recall to memory the remarkable words uttered by Madame Roland, when she was being led to the guillotine—"O Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

In the midst of these excesses, Thomas Hutchinson, Junior, was keeping quiet at Milton. In a letter to his brother Elisha, of Aug. 29, 1774, he says:—"I have no doubt Great Britain will finally conquer; yet I fear it will be a long time before there will be peace and harmony among us."

In another letter of September 22, he notices the visit to Dr. Peter Oliver as thus:—"It is become mighty fashionable here for the people to wait on any person who has done anything that they are pleased to look upon as unfriendly to the cause of liberty, and oblige them to confess, and promise reformation. D^r^ Oliver was visited last week by about five hundred, who assembled at some distance from his house, and sent a Committee to confess him for having promoted some Address or Protest some time agoe, which penance he readily underwent, to get rid of his unwelcome guests, and I suppose may now remain at Middleborough without molestation. The poor Consignees [himself and his brother] seem to be forgot, but Mess^rs^ Clarks and Faneuil have betaken themselves to the new city of refuge [Boston]. I shall stay out as long as I can."

After reading the above narratives of such unbridled excesses, written by eye-witnesses to private friends, with no view to their going further, it is rather startling to find Mr. Frothingham, in his "History of the Siege of Boston," speak of the "patient suffering" and the quiet of the Americans. Of course he is only joking; and at page 40 of the fourth edition he adds—"But the patriots saw in this calmness, this forbearance, this absence of tumult, a high and necessary duty." Oh, the humbug of this world!

22nd.—M^r^ Blackman, a New York merchant in the city, called upon me. He seems of opinion that the major part of the merchants of N. York are averse to a non-importation scheme.

M^r^ G. Green and M^r^ Clark dined with me.

23rd.—Set out about eight from Golden Square in my own carriage with Billy for Aylesbury. Dined at Amersham. B. went from thence to M^r^ Lowndes's at Chesham, 3 miles. I went forward and reached S^r^ F[rancis] B[ernard's] soon after sunset.

24th.—Sir W^m^ Lee and Lady Elizabeth dined and spent the evening at Sir F. B.'s. Among other things in conversation, I learnt that there are about 400 voters for Members in Aylesbury: that, upon an election, all, except about 70, who are above it, receive from each of the two members, between seven and eight pounds a man, so that, with entertainment upon the day of Election, and other contingencies, the whole expense to each is about 2500£. The corruption thro' the kingdom, notwithstanding the Bribery Act, will prevail. Alderman Hayley rec^d^ a letter offering him a Borough in Cornwall for £2000.

25th.—A young man named Stocking is Curate at Aylesbury, and preached all day. Here they chant or sing the Te Deum, Jubilate, and Magnificat, which is not usual, but exceeding well performed, and so distinct that you hear every word, and the musick is well adapted to the words. I could not help being sensibly affected at seeing the boys of the Free School with their master in a particular part of the church, as it brought to my mind that Col^o^ Foster, my mother's father, was of Aylesbury, and I suppose of the same school, (he being a very good grammar scholar,)* and I doubt not a little more than an hundred years since sat in the same place. The

* There is in the collection a small thick volume, being a grammar of the Latin tongue, having the impress of Cambridge: "Printed by John Field, Printer to the Universitie, 1666." It was whole bound in brown leather the year after, for the date 1667 is stamped on the back, as also the letters I. F., probably for John Foster. It is profusely interleaved, and on these are written a number of notes, mostly in Latin, in a beautifully fine, clear, and small hand. Subsequently the volume was the property of the Governor, for the sign-manual "Thomas Hutchinson, ejus Liber, 1752," occurs in several places; and in his handwriting the following memorandum has been entered on the fly-leaf at the beginning:—

"John Foster I suppose must have been above fourteen years of age at the time of the Notes in this book in 1667. I take them to be of his writing. He left no other children than two daughters, Sarah and Lydia: the first married Thomas, the other his half brother Edward Hutchinson." It need scarcely be added that Sarah was the Governor's mother. The Arms were—Ar, a chev. bet 3 bugle horns stringed sa. Crest—An arm embowed holding a spear.

church, tho' a very decent one, being very old, and by the appearance of it, has retained its general form and disposition of seats for more than one or two centuries.

I rec^{d} two letters, 10 and 20 Aug. from Tommy; one from Peggy at Norwich, and one from Lord Gage at Furle.

26th.—Dined at S^{r} W^{m} Lee's. The weather prevented Sir F. B. An elegant entertainment, probably all from within himself, as he keeps about 200£ a year in his own hands. His estate is said to be 3000£ p annum. Cards in the evening. The game a shilling a corner, and the custom is kept up for each person to pay 18^{d} for cards when they play with two packs, and a shilling when with one. Vails* are generally laid aside. This mean custom still kept up.

At Lord Barrington's: they play a shilling a game or corner, and pay for cards. He says, everybody that plays is a loser at the year's end. His Butler is the only person who gains by cards. Much to Sir W^{m} Lee's honour is his practising as a Physician gratis. The poor of Aylesbury always make use of him as a Physician, without cost. Sir F. B. also relies much upon his advice.

27th.—Rode out upon M^{r} Thom. Bernard's mare; the first time I ever was on horseback in England: found the goings of the horse better than expected. Took a view of Lord Chesterfield's house, late Sir W^{m} Stanhope's, built in a low meadow on the side of the Thame, which runs into the Thames, as does the Isis or Ouse from Oxford: and some say Thame Isis is the name abbreviated by Thames. We then, (S^{r} F. B. and myself), took a view of a Castle, built by Sir John Vanhatton [?] a gent. of 2000£ a year, about two miles from S^{r} W^{m} Lee's, in imitation of one of the Gothic Castles of the Barons, but upon a small scale. From the top we had a prospect of great part of the county of Bucks. Winchenden particularly, lies about 3 miles, and some part appeared, but the chief part lies behind a hill.

Sir W^{m} Lee and Lady drank tea and spent the evening at Sir F. B.'s: received much civility from him and his lady.

28th.—The morning very rainy, which hindered me from

* What does this mean?

setting out for London until after 9. Showery all day, and the roads bad. Dined at Watford, and came home just about sunset.

29th.—Waited upon Lord Dartmouth, where I found M^r^ Pownall;* and in conversation upon America, he proposed that after the result of the present Congress, the King should appoint a Congress of Deputies from all the Colonies to be regularly chosen by the Assemblies, and a Moderator, or person to preside, should be appointed by the King. I asked M^r^ Pownall what was to be expected? He supposed a general Government might be formed, like that of Ireland; and many other advantages might arise. I asked whether they would make any concession as to parliamentary authority? He said —Not the least. That, I told him, was the only point which caused any difficulty in the government of the Colonies. He thought that ought to be buried. I thought they would not suffer it. If they would only forbear denying it, things would come right without a Congress: if they were determined to persist in the denial of it, a Congress would do no good, but would really increase the difficulty, and the government could, with better grace enforce obedience, if it must come to force, before such a Congress than after. Besides, I did not believe they would do anything more at this Congress than declare to the world their independency on Parliament, and wait to see how it was received; and for Parliam^t^ to treat after that, I tho't could not be. This, he said, would be Treason. Lord Dartmouth said—Parliam^t^ can do nothing which will do so much as carry any appearance of conceding to such a claim. M^r^ Pownall said his brother and he seldom thought alike, but they were agreed in this point of a Congress of the Colonies: and knowing in that way what would satisfy them, Lord D. said pleasantly—that M^r^ Pownall had a mind to go to America and be the King's Representative, and preside over all the Colonies. I answered him—that I knew no better person.

30th.—I set out after twelve in a post-chaise for Norwich,

* From the nature of the conversation that follows, this was evidently Thomas Pownall, late Governor of Massachusetts; at least, it seems to suit him best.

by way of Colchester and Ipswich, because it is a different road from those I travelled in my last journey. The first stage to Rumford: paid the Post-boy 16 miles from Golden Square. Rumford is not large, and but indifferently built. The next stage thro' Brentford, another town of one street, to Ingatestone, 12 miles, where I dined; and from thence through Chelmsford, and the villages of Springfield, and Hatfield Peverell, from which two places probably, the Springfield and Hatfield in Massachusetts might take their names; their situation being a level street in general upon the side or between rather, a river and meadow, low grounds. Chelmsford, about half of which I went through, and then turned off to the right, to take the Ipswich road, appears to be a second or third-rate town, but as far as I passed through it, mostly old and indifferent buildings, though several good houses are intermixed, and there are good seats in the vicinity which appear as we pass the road, particularly Sir W^m^ Mildmay's, whose grounds I observed, but not the house; and M^r^ Hoare's, which has a fine Pond or Canal between the house and the road. Witham is a parish of one street, but has a good Glebe, the Vicar, M^r^ Butter, [?] who was preceptor to M^r^ Grenville's children. The living is in the gift of the Bishop of London, but fell to the King when the See of London was vacant; and M^r^ Grenville gave it to his Chaplain or his children's preceptor, who, my host says, is a very good man.

Oct. 1st.—Set out from Witham near ½ after six, and breakfasted at Colchester. In our way passed through Keldon, or Kelvendon,* a long street tolerably well built, except that all the houses, or all but very few, are plaistered outside:†—a few good brick modern houses. Ipswich, at 18 miles distance, to which we passed next, stopping at Stratford Street, 7 miles, is much in the stile of Colchester, though larger, and a second rate city. The houses of both of plaister, some very old, but

* Or Kelvedon.

† Probably this was the style of work known as pargetting, the workman who practised it being called a pargetter. The wall was plastered, and then, with a tool like a large comb or rake, certain fanciful patterns were scratched or traced. It was of Flemish introduction, now gone out, though traces of it may still be found on old houses on the eastern side of England.

respectable, intermixed with modern brick buildings, some very good. Ipswich has its gates, but not its walls intire, as Norwich. From a high ground a mile distant, you have a fine view of the town. The country round on both sides makes a fine appearance; several elegant seats adding to the natural beauties. I asked a gentleman at the Inn, what remains there were of the family of Hanby? He mentioned an old gentleman who, he said, was dying, and that S^r^ Tho. Thorowgood married his sister. I let him know I came from America, and was descended from that family:* and I found he was Member of Parl^t^ for Ipswich, (M^r^ Wollaston, of Finsbury). He expressed his concern about affairs in America: said Gov. Pownall had foretold what would happen. I asked whether he had proposed any measures which would have prevented it? He did not know that he had; but said it was easier to anticipate evils, than to prevent them: spoke of Barry [Barré?] and Pownall as considerable men, but as going greater lengths than otherwise they would do, from opposition to the Ministry: said he attended to all the debates upon America: could not see but that all the Acts were necessary. From Ipswich to † 12 miles; from thence to Stoke, 13 miles, where the master of the Inn, being backward in furnishing a post-chaise, and saying the stage-coach was at the door ready to start, and I should be at Norwich much sooner, and there being only two very decent men passengers, to save time I took my passage, and made it quite dark before I came in, and should probably have been later in a chaise, as we made but one stage in 19 miles, and must have made two in a chaise.

2nd.—The paper from London of the 30^th^ in the evening, says it was that day determined in Council to dissolve the Parliament, and to issue writs for a new Parl^t^ to meet the 29^th^ of November. This undoubtedly is done in order to a more effectual provision for the state of America, than could be depended upon the last Session of a Parliament. It is what some time ago I mentioned to M^r^ Pownall, as what I had heard

* Edward Hutchinson, baptized at Alford in England, May 28, 1613, married Catherine Hanby, of Ipswich, in 1636.

† Space left blank. Debenham was probably intended.

proposed, and he agreed it would be a good measure if practicable in other respects.

A strange story w^ch^ somebody had put into Malcolm's head, and he carried to Lord D., that G. Gage was killed, &c., was sent down in letters to Norwich, and enquiry thereupon made of me, into the truth or probability of it.

At the parish church: no sermon: prayers by a M^r^ Green: about 40 or 50 present. In the afternoon at the Chapel: the Minister, M^r^ Alderson: in prayer and in preaching as heretofore.

3rd.—Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament came down to Norwich by post. I called upon the Mayor, who was just going to an Assembly or Corporation Meeting, with more pomp than the Governor of an American Colony ordinarily goes to his Assembly. His business was something new. A person had the major vote for Alderman, who had been chosen once before, and fined 200£ for refusal; and now being chosen a second time, was fined 6/8 for refusing. The fine being discretionary, (not exceeding 200£), the Commons thought this too small, and demanded a meeting, and by vote of the whole Corporation, made it 6 „ 13 „ 4. Another person, who had the minor vote in the election, demands admission as Alderman, because all the votes for the other person were a nullity, he being ineligible; and he says he has Serjeant Glyn's opinion in his favour. He was refused, and is determined to bring the cause before the K.'s Bench by *Mandamus*. This is the case of Wilkes in the H. of Commons, when he was supported by Glyn, who would not admit he was ineligible: but the case of the Norwich man is no doubt stated as ineligible, which may justify the difference of opinion in the two cases.

Coming home, a view of the Duke of Norfolk's palace in Henry 8^ths^ time, still retaining much of its original form, but void of all its ornaments, and converted long since into a workhouse, caused some serious reflections.

In the evening at a M^r^ Scot's, a considerable manufacturer, brother to M^rs^ Williams, now Smith, of Connecticut and New York. He appeared a serious religious man, a strong party man against Administration: supposes Parl^t^ dissolved to take

the country party by surprise in a new election: declares America ought not to be taxed: cites Mr Pitt's authority for it: and will not allow Parliament can make any alteration in the Charter of the city of Norwich, &c. He belongs to a Congregational Society, who retain the principles of the old Dissenters. Though a Dissenter he acknowledged an observation he had heard, to be just—that if the Church of England had not kept up and enjoined the use of the Common Prayer, there would have been an universal depravity of doctrine. He mentioned a humorous piece, which I have not seen, with the title of—A Dialogue between the Pulpit and the Desk.

Elisha's Diary keeps equal pace with his father's, and as it is generally only a repetition of it, quotation is not often necessary. Whilst his father was in Norwich Elisha made a trip to Oxford, and the following is the account:—

"October 4th.—Set out for Oxford in a hired chaise, with the Gov.'s horses, in company with Mr Clarke and Billy. Breakfasted at Richmond; stopped at Hampton Court to see the Palace, and then proceeded to Windsor, where, after viewing the Castle, we lodged: and setting out early the next morning, we breakfasted at Henley, got to Oxford to dinner, and the next day went to Woodstock to see Blenheim, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough. Returned to Oxford in the evening, and the next day walked out to see the Colleges. Early the next morning we left Oxford; breakfasted at Nettlebed, dined at Hounslow, and arrived in London about 6 o'clock in the evening."

4th.—Received a message from Alderman Thompson, to be present at the election of an Alderman for one of the Wards, in the room of the person who had been fined. I was introduced into the Hall, and placed at the right hand of the Mayor. The Electors, the Freemen, and inhabitants of the Ward, upon the Mayor's declaring the purport of their meeting, put up a person by the name of Garretson; and upon his being put to vote, there was a general cry; and Matthews, the person who claimed a right to be sworn, desiring that none of his friends would vote for him, as he was determined to support the former election. A pole was demanded, and the Mayor declared Garretson elected.

5th.—I was introduced upon the Bench of Justices at the

County Court or Sessions in the Castle, by M^r^ Coldam, a Justice for the county. I saw much the same proceedings as if I had been in the Court of Sessions at Boston. The case of a father who required sureties of his son for his keeping the peace, &c., was singular here. The father was a good farmer; the son wicked and perverse, had been committed three months, and was again remanded for want of sureties: was decently dressed—a red coat and ruffles, and of age; and considered as a stranger, who had threatened any person's life.

In the evening was a very large Assembly of the principal gentlemen and ladies of the county. I was introduced to L^d^ Buckingham, [Buckinghamshire] M^r^ Charles Townshend, S^r^ W^m^ Jernegan, &c. I had an opportunity of seeing and conversing with M^r^ Preston, a gent. of large fortune, brother to M^rs^ Hutton in New England.

I received very alarming and distressing news from Boston by the *Scarborough*. I shewed my principal letters and papers to Lord Buckingham and M^r^ Charles Townshend, at their desire, and to M^r^ Bacon, all Members of Parliament: and in the evening sent them to Lord Dartmouth by post.

6th.—Taking up a volume of the Biographical Dictionary, this passage in the life of M^r^ Maclaurin came home to me:—"Here, (says he, in a letter to one of his friends) I live as happily as a man can do who is ignorant of the state of his family, and who sees the ruin of his country."

A chearful [*sic*] Divinity Doctor Brookes, who has been in Quebec, and is still Chaplain there, dined with us. In the evening I spent an hour or two at a Club, where I expected to see Lord Walpole, who is a Member, but did not. It consists of the principal gentlemen of Clergy and laity. There were 4 Clergymen, M^r^ Norris, a gentleman of large fortune, several in the Commission of the Peace in the county, and some of the principal persons in town. All agree in the necessity of some fixed steady measures for America, but seem apprehensive that it is too powerful to retain long in a state of subjection.*

* This is the first intimation of such a discovery. Ministers and politicians in general looked at America as being still in her leading strings; but these gentlemen of Norwich had perceived that she was getting "too

7th.—In the forenoon I was present at the nomination of the candidates for the town or city of Norwich. The Sheriffs held the meeting; and with the Candidates, Mayor, Aldermen, and principal persons of town and county, were in the gallery of the Guildhall: the body of the people upon the floor. It is one of the largest and best public Halls in England. The people of Norfolk are generally of a lower size, and very few tall. Perhaps there were from 4 to 5000 people all with their hats on: all their heads near upon a level: all fronting the gallery, which was ten to 15 feet above the floor of the Hall, so that from the gallery, by the help of my glass, I could see every face, as every one was looking up to the gallery: just such an appearance I had never seen before. The Sheriff, in a proper speech, acquainted them with the cause of their meeting: recommended decorum, &c., and desired them to name such persons as they thought fit. Thereupon there was a universal shout of Harbord Harbord! Somebody probably had proposed S^r^ Harbord Harbord, which I did not hear. This shout continued for a minute. After some rest, no other person being named, S^r^ H. H., in a short speech, expressed his feeling upon the occasion: declared he had always acted as he thought right in parl^t^ and would continue so to do: would exert himself in defending their rights and liberties: consult the interest of the city of Norwich, which always had been, and always should be near his heart. Then Harbord Harbord! was sounded thro' the Hall. After a short pause somebody proposed Edward Bacon, Esq., and there was the same process as had been in Harbord's nomination, and his speech materially differed in no part, and the only observable variation was between *rights* and *liberties* and *the Constitution upon Revolution Principles.* S^r^ H. Harbord is of the Opposition, and M^r^ Bacon with the Ministry. After the business was over, part of the company went to the Coffee House, where I was introduced to

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powerful to retain long in a state of subjection." Happy if all England had discovered that she had arrived at the age of puberty, and could take care of herself; and happy if the two countries could have shaken hands and separated, and made mutual treaties of amity and commerce. But that is apostrophising after the fact, whereas they were living before it.

Lord Walpole, son of the late Horace Walpole: to Sir H. Harbord, and Sir Edward Astley, and M^r^ Coke, Members for the county of Norfolk, and other principal gentlemen of the county. M^r^ Coke is heir to the Leicester estate, and the immediate descendant of the famous Chief Justice, his great estate being still in the family, which was enobled in the late E. of Leicester, and the title extinguished by his death, his only son dying a little before him, the present M^r^ Coke being a collateral branch, I think nephew to the Earl. M^r^ Coke is in the opposition, but does not seem to be of great importance. We had some conversation upon the news from America. Sir Harbord lamented the bad state of the country; said nothing in their vindication. Sir Edw^d^ Astley thought measures had not been right. Gov. Pownall, he said, would not make a requisition himself, but advised to M^r^ Pit's doing it, who was Secry of State; and he had no doubt, if it had been made now instead of taxing the Colonies, they would have complied. I told him the reason they complied so readily with M^r^ Pit's requisition, was because it was accompanied with a promise of compensation, &c. That, he said, altered the case. I knew better how that was than he did. Lord Walpole seemed to have no mind in the affair, or none could be collected from what he said. A yellow Admiral Latham applauded the Quebec Act, and asked whether I did not think the King would do well to employ his Canada subjects to keep the rest of the Americans in order? Sir Edward said he had no objection to their enjoying the free exercise of their religion, but to arm them would set all the people of England in a flame. It was asserted at different times by several gentlemen since I have been in Norwich, that Lord Rockingham had received from the party in America the heads of what they proposed for the result of the Congress; and that the first was a declaration that Parliament had no authority to tax the Colonies in any case, unless represented in Parliament. This, it is said, the D. of Manchester and L^d^ Rockingham declared could not be admitted.

8th.—The News Papers and other accounts of the affairs of America being more and more alarming, I set out about ¼ before

9 this morning direct for London, sooner than otherwise I should have chose. Took the Bury road, and a quarter before 6 reached Sudbury, having stopped at* Hepworth and Ixworth, in the whole an hour and a half, so that we rode 65 miles in 7 hours and an half.† This is less than common for post-chaises, but I leave the postilions to be as moderate as they please. When we came to Sudbury the inns were full with people for the approaching election of Members, and we were obliged to make another stage, 7 miles, further to Halsted, which is just the same number of miles we rode in a day from Dover to London. Bury is one of the neatest towns in England, and Sudbury, which is much larger, falls much short of it in other respects, particularly in the politeness of the people.

9th.—We reached Chelmsford time enough for the forenoon service. A young clergyman read prayers and preached to a small congregation. It is a very large well-built town, and I was told they had but one church which, as it appears to me, will not accommodate a tenth part of the inhabitants. Here I heard that yesterday Wilkes was declared Lord Mayor of London. Never was a greater instance of popular folly. The city has sunk itself into the utmost contempt.

We dined at Brentwood, and came to Golden Square about six in the evening.

10th.—Not finding Lord Dartmouth at home, I went to the Office, where I saw Mr Pownall. The American news, by his account, is little or nothing more than what my letters contain. He thought General Gage was rather short in his writing, which he said, might be owing to the confusion they were in: spoke but lightly of his powers: wondered at his indifference when the proposal of going to America was first hinted: said nothing more was determined than to send three ships of the line, which would carry 600 Marines: that there would be a

* Doubtful word.

† The old writers appear not to have aspirated the "h" where we do now, and to have ignored the modern grammar rule, which requires the article "a" before an aspirated "h," but the article "an" before an unaspirated one. Where the old authors write an half, an hero, an house, or an humble petition, it sounds as if it were written a naff, or a nahf, a Nero, a nouse, or a numble petition. If this does not offend, who would say a hour for an hour, or a heir and a heiress for an heir and an heiress?

Cabinet this week, and the *Scarborough* immediately be sent back with orders to Gage.

11th.—This morning I waited on Lord Dartmouth. He let me know that my letters contained as much as his, only, he said, Gage thought more force necessary. He said ships were going. I asked what service they could do? He said Graves desired more, and they would have several hundred marines. He said nothing of what would be done further. After some time in general conversation, he inquired whether I intended to go into the country again? and I promised not to go without first acquainting his Lordship.

Captain Erving, son to Cap. Erving of Boston, having left his name at my house, I called upon him to-day in a lodging in Parl^{t} Street, and afterwards on Monsieur Garnier.

Lord Dartmouth had heard of Col^{o} Lee's endeavouring to stir up the people in America. He says he is almost a madman: that Lord Thanet asked the King to give him a Regiment, which the K. could not do without great inconvenience, but gave him rank. Lee resented the refusal; and Lord Thanet has never been at Court since.

12th.—At M^{r} Mauduit's in the city, who is much dejected with the news from America.* At M^{r} Lane's, [?] who is for the repeal of the Tea duty, but nothing further. Called upon M^{r} Harrison, the New England Factor: M^{r} Wheeler, Chairman of the East India Directors, and left cards.

13th.—Called this morning upon M^{r} Jenkinson; showed him my letters from Boston. He says Parliam^{t} will generally agree. He wishes something could be done to satisfy the Colonies: there was no intention to tax them: but is at a loss in what way it can be done.

Afterwards I was at Court. Had considerable discourse with the Attorney General upon the same subject; who promised to call upon me in the morning. M^{r} Cornwall, of the Treasury; Lord Hertford; Gov. Tryon.

14th.—The Attorney General called this morning, according to promise. Spent an hour or two upon the state of America:

* Mr. Mauduit had been agent in England to Governor Hutchinson and Lieut.-Governor Oliver during the time the latter were in America.

seems strongly inclined to relinquish all claim to taxation: said he would be willing to go back to the 12th [?] of Char. 2, he meant the Acts in that reign, if by that concession government could be maintained in America: but in what way or manner this could be done without giving up all, he was utterly at a loss.

I afterwards saw Mr Knox, who lately returned from Spaw. He is full of the faith that the Congress will lay the foundation of an agreemt. He says that when they come to examine their own plan, they will be frightened to see the consequence of such an independency as they profess, &c.

Mandamus for three new Councillors—Eliakim Hutchinson, Nath. Hatch, and Jno. Vassall, who have told Gage they will act.

A patent for Baronet to Pepperell. Gov. Tryon, and Capt. Berkeley called.

There are sentiments scattered through several of the Governor's letters written at this period which show how earnestly he was working in England for the good of America, if in any way good could be effected. Thus, in his Letter Book, under Oct. 10:—

"My thoughts day and night are upon New England. Can there be no measure taken to save you from destruction? . . . I know you are afraid I shall too much palliate or excuse the madness of the people. But don't let this hinder you from improving every disposition which appears in them to return, though in part only to a state of government. I cannot give up my understanding and suppose it possible there should be two supreme authorities in one State; I have nevertheless ever favoured the measures of that Administration which was for leaving all taxes in the state they were in before the Stamp Act, and avoiding future taxation. I dread the consequence of a Resolve that you are in a state of Revolt or Rebellion, and yet and yet [*sic*] this consequence must be charged only upon those who have excited the people to it. I have no other authority than my own conjecture, from observations made from time to time, that we are in danger of a French or Spanish war, if the disturbance in the Colonies continues. I see Mons. Garnier, the French Chargé, now and then. He courts me a good deal, and fishes. I fish in return; and I think neither of us meets with much luck. Whatever the present

leaders of America think of a war, I am very sure the distress will be greater upon America, than upon the kingdom."

This indeed was prophetic; for at no distant date there broke out wars with both those countries; and the Americans derived little assistance from her new friends, and less satisfaction. On the same date, a letter to Mr. Foster:—

"I really believe there never has been a set of men in Administration more disposed to favour the Colonies in every point which can consist with their remaining one State with the Kingdom, than the present Ministry. I don't know a more amiable man than L^d^ Dartmouth; and he has often said to me that he was happy in seeing me here, as he hoped I should be the instrument of bringing about a reconciliation. But now he seems to despair. I cannot say with any certainty, but I think it probable that Parliament was dissolved, and a new one called, merely for the sake of such measures respecting the Colonies as are thought necessary, which the King would not bring before a House of Commons just expiring, because there could be no assurance that a succeeding parliament would adopt the same measures."

To Mr. Russell, also October 10:—

"I think myself obliged to any of my friends who give me notice of the state of affairs in a country which is dearer to me than any other part of the globe."

Lower down in the same letter:—

"You depend on my assistance to bring about a reconciliation. When I arrived I saw a fair prospect of it. My hopes are blasted by the late doings in America. At present the prospect is dark. God is above all, and is able to bring good out of this present evil."

To Mr. E. D. Winslow, on October 11, he writes:—

"Our last advices are very alarming. I dread the consequences. Parliament is dissolved that the affairs of America may be considered the beginning of Parliament, in order to remove all danger of a departure from such measures as may be found necessary. What they will be I am not able to judge. I know it to be the wish of the King and his Ministers to gratify the Colonies as far as can be done without an entire separation from the Kingdom; and I meet with people of no small importance very often, who say they would most willingly break off all connection with you,

if they did not suppose you would immediately fall into the clutches of France or Spain: but it's happy for the Colonies that this is not yet the prevailing voice.

"For myself, I have been offered the fulfilment of every promise or assurance given me before I left America: but I had no aim at honours or titles, and would now be content to give up all claim to them, and to all emoluments whatsoever, and to spend the remainder of life in obscurity, if upon those terms I could purchase the peace and prosperity of my country."

It is time that sentiments like these should be drawn from their hiding place. About this time Mr. Hutchinson received an address from America, and his acknowledgment of its receipt, as entered in his Letter Book, but without date, appears as follows:—

"Sir,—I desire you to return my hearty thanks to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and of the Common Pleas for the County [of] Plymouth, for their very kind Address which you transmitted to me in London; and to assure them that as soon as the state of the province will admit of any hope of success, I will renew my sollicitations for the relief of the Town of Boston from its present distress, having rec^{d} the fullest and most gracious assurances from the King that such relief shall be granted, as soon as it can be without violating the Act of Parliament."

There are a number of letters bearing dates of about this period, either original or entered in the Letter Books, and if they are noticed at all, this is the place for them. We would have preferred not having such copious notes, so as to have allowed the Diary to have run on without interruption: but what is to be done? The letters in some places are not only more voluminous in matter, but they frequently contain points of information more striking, or more to the full, or more complete, than the Diary itself. It is impossible to ignore the letters; but it must suffice to make extracts only if possible, and endeavour to avoid copying any repetition of sentiment, for fear of being tedious.

There is an original letter of Dr. Peter Oliver, of Oct. 10, in Boston, Mass., to Elisha H. in London, in which he speaks of the trouble they are in:—

"I wish myself, and every friend I have, with you; and was it possible, you would see me instead of this letter. Do not think of returning yet: your wife [Polly] is well and safe: keep yourself safe, for we have many tribulations to go through here, and Heaven only knows the event. For myself, I hope for the best,

and will hope while life lasts. I have expectation that day will dawn from your horizon: if not, farewell to all below. If G. Britain leaves us now, the threatened destruction will inevitably ensue."

Again, an original letter, dated Oct. 27 :—

"The week before last our Sons of Lyberty here, put up a Lyberty Pole on the Green. Our Minister grac'd the solemnity with his presence, and made a prayer under the Pole, and an harangue upon Lyberty. It was a day sat apart for the Officers of the Company to resign their offices. M^r^ Conant took the pikes, and gave them to the new Officers: he has rendered himself very ridiculous to many of his friends.

"Ere this reaches, you will receive the News-Papers, which will give you an insight of our present troubles and difficulties. The Judge [Chief Justice Peter Oliver,] has been in Boston these 8 or 10 weeks, to save his life; and Madam has been there these 3 weeks, and are both going to winter there."

Colonel Watson (Polly's father), writing from Plymouth, Mass., Nov. 3, to his son-in-law Elisha, observes in an original letter :—

"The affairs of y^e^ Province are in a most dreadfull cituation [*sic*]. I don't pretend to write particulars, as you will no doubt be inform'd by other hands. Plymouth protesters [?] was call'd upon by what they call y^e^ Body [a] few days ago to recant: also the military officers to resign their Commissions, w^ch^ they was oblidg'd to do.

"My respects to the Governor. I think he is very happy in being out [of] y^e^ government."

15th.—Gov. Pownall has lost his election at Tregony. Bob, or Robert, a waiter not long since, and who has served coffee to many of the H. of Commons at St. James's Coffee House, is returned for two boroughs. Strahan, the Printer, chose, and also a coal Merchant, who a little while since was a Barber. M^r^ Pownall sent to know my opinion upon the appointment of Geo. Erving, and he is added in the Mandamus.

Captain Berkley, Jno. Williams, and M^r^ Clark dined with me.

16th.—In the morning at a Dissenting meeting in Cater Lane, where, when I was in England before, D^r^ Wright was Minister. A gentleman now preached who I had heard before in Prince Street. Doctor Priestly sat in the next pew to me. In the afternoon I heard D^r^ Price at Newington Green. Went

½ a mile out of my way to Stoke Newington to see Lady Abney's house, where I visited D^r^ Watts when I was last in England.

17th.—Went to the Inner Temple to visit M^r^ Mazieres [?] the Cursitor Baron, but not in town. Afterwards to Lord Townshend's, Portman Square, where spent about ½ an hour. Gen. Frazer there, who, tho' I had so often seen in Boston, and lately at Brightelmstone, I did not recollect until I came home.

18th.—Called upon General Frazer in Chandos Street, and Lord Chancellor in Great Russel Street: neither at home. Col. Skene, and Capt. Williams called upon me.

M^r^ Thurloe, the Attorney General, very unexpectedly called upon me again, and spent an hour or more in free conversation.

M^r^ Mauduit in the evening, and communicated letters which he had received from Boston.

19th.—At Lord Dartmouth's before breakfast. Shewed him L^t^ Gov^r^ Oliver's letter upon the subject of his resignation of his Councillor's place, to a mob which, as it contained other matter relative to the Colonies, he desired the King might see it. He told me he had wrote the L^t^ Gov. that the King did not see how his resignation could be avoided—or to that purpose. I told his Lordship I had seen the Attorney General more than once, who wished for some way of conciliating; and I asked whether, altho' hostile measures should be resolved on, the duty upon Tea could not be taken off? This, he said, could not be; they would not believe the Kingdom was in earnest. He thought it was not possible the other Colonies should justifie the Massachusetts, who, he determined to be in a state of Rebellion.

The Governor betrays some uneasiness lest the Government should take the extreme step of declaring the Colonies to be in a state of open revolt. Officially made, it would be tantamount to a declaration of war, or something too much like it. Writing to his eldest son Thomas, who was still at Milton, under date Oct. 20, in the marble paper-cover Letter Book, he says:—

"I am encouraged by some of the first people, that if it be possible to recover the Province without first declaring it to be in a

state of revolt, such declaration shall not be made. As soon as I find it determined that such declaration shall be made, I intend to keep as clear as possible of any share in the measures to be taken in consequence of it. I rather think the measures will be left to a free debate in Parliam[t] but that some judgment may be made from the King's speech and the Addresses.

"The Elections are very favourable to the Court; tho' in American affairs the distinction would be lost; Burke himself, though Agent for N. York, having declared in the fullest manner to the Electors at Bristol, in favour of supporting the supremacy of Parliam[t] which he says he would not give up, though he should lose his election by adhering to it, and M[r] Jackson, who is of the Court side, being one of the last [?] in the House, in consenting to any measures against the Colonies.

"Gov. Pownall seemed to be making himself of some importance, but has, unfortunately for him, lost his Election."

In a letter of Oct. 20, to Gen. Gage:—

"With respect to the supremacy of Parl[t] I hear of nobody who does not say it must be maintained. Burke has declared it previous to his election; and I dare say that Wilkes will not give his voice to the contrary. What measures shall be taken to maintain it, I believe is yet undetermined."

He [Lord D.] mentioned a letter from S[r] Jos. Yorke, giving information of a vessel loading in Holland for Rhode Island with warlike stores, particularly 10 field pieces, and said another vessel was loading at Plymouth with powder, &c.; supposed something would be done to stop both vessels: the latter he seemed to have some doubt upon, when I intimated that it was easy, and frequently practised, to run powder from Holland. I asked his favour to Gen. Lyman, who had 200£ a year, which has not been paid the two last years; and he promised to speak to L[d] North upon it. Called upon Alderman Oliver and M[r] Hurd: neither of them at home.

In the evening received an extreme civil letter from the Att[y] General, with the highest enconiums upon the part I took in the controversy with the House and Council upon the subject of their independency.

The Attorney-General's letter has not come to hand. As regards the common subject of Independency, some remarks in Adolphus's

History, ii. 151, are to the point:—"The thin veil with which the Americans covered their designs, rendered only a small degree of penetration necessary to discover that absolute independence was the aim of the principal leaders: that they contemplated a revolution as a glorious era, and were prepared rather to plunge their country into the horrors of civil war, than renounce their favourite project. Hence their complaints of grievances were clamorous, frequent, and specific, while their professions of attachment and loyalty were merely general, and attended with no precise offers of conciliation or satisfaction."

20th.—A vast train of carriages and horses attend Wilkes to Brentford, where Glynn and he are elected for Middlesex without opposition. In the evening were illuminations in many parts of London and Westminster: no lights in Golden Square.

21st.—Upon receiving a billet from Lord Suffolk, I called upon his Lordship, but found he was so ill with the gout, as to be unable to see company. Called afterwards at L^{d} W^{m} Campbell's, and at M^{r} Stanley's, who lives in Rathbone Place, and left my name at both places.

Dined, together with sons and daughter, at M^{r} Lane's, at Clapham: M^{r} John Lane and M^{r} Livius of the company. The roads are lighted and watched till eight, from Clapham to Kennington Common; and all night from K. Common to London; otherwise it would have been hazardous returning in the evening, robberies of late having been frequent near London.

22nd.—Col^{o} Skene [?], M^{r} Livius, M^{r} Green, and M^{r} Clark, dined with me. I felt but little inclination to discourse on any subject except America, the state of which distresses me, and we are all anxious to hear from thence, having nothing from Boston since the 6th of September.

23rd.—Thick weather and rain all day, and I think this is the first day of my keeping house without riding or walking out since I have been in England. M^{r} Knox, of Lord Dartmouth's office, called about noon. He is still of opinion that the people of the Congress will propose some plan for a general government over all the Colonies; and he thinks, when it comes to be discussed, the impracticability of it will appear, and that

the issue will be an acquiescence in the supreme controuling power of Parliament, as necessary, not only for their protection from foreign enemies, but from irreconcilable disputes and quarrels within themselves, as no other umpire can be so fit.

24th.—I called upon M^r^ Rigby, Lord Rochfort, Lord Hyde: all out of town.

M^r^ Keene called at my house: is re-elected Member of Parliament: made enquiry into the news from America. I informed him of the last advices. I observed to him that people, as far as I had discoursed with them, seemed at a loss what to do. He said he met with nobody who thought any concession was to be made to the demands of the Colonies. Some, he said, had been for taking off the Tea duty last Session, or rather, when the E. I. [East India] affairs were on the tapis, which was the Session before, but now everybody was agreed it could not be done. He thought nothing would be said of America in the K.'s speech, and that it would be best the Americans should be suffered to go on until every man in the Kingdom would pronounce them in a state of Rebellion, and unite in measures to reduce them. I excepted to this, because they would every day be gaining numbers until every man in the Province had joined; and even those who had been most firm in support of Government, must give way. He explained himself as not intending they should go that length. Perhaps, he said, after the Adjournment, American affairs might come forward; and added, that he could not speak with certainty, but only what appeared to him likely. I asked if he had lately seen Lord North? He had: but he was full of election matters, and he believed nothing had been settled.

The remark above, that "even those who had been most firm in support of Government, must give way," was largely verified in the sequel. The assertion of Frothingham has been alluded to elsewhere, that "the Revolution was no unanimous work," and it is certain that there were numbers of old English families, derived from the early settlers, who still clung to the institutions of the Old Country with affection, whose principles were constitutional, and whose ideas were monarchical, who looked with dismay at the increasing disruption of all law and order, and with abhorrence at

the low acts of violence as practised by those who ought to have been respectable citizens. These are those who took little or no part in the turmoils of party struggle, and who rather slunk back from public notoriety, as is plain from the marked absence of the majority of their names, at a time when the strife was taking serious proportions. They rather preferred to bend their heads quietly to the storm which was not of their rearing, and which they were powerless to resist when it came. To remain neutral was difficult when "the fanaticism of liberty," as Du Châtelet phrased it, had seized upon the people, and none were allowed to remain neutral if it were possible to drag them into the vortex; but when the tempest broke over them, and the bonds of law were loosened, and the absence of principle was allowing licence to run to excess without limit, then they drew aside to allow it to pass by them, and they were content to drag through their difficulties and their privations as best they might, and continue as neutral as the tyrannies of their new masters permitted. The descendants of these quieter people still survive in Massachusetts, and many of them are not without a small hankering after a complaisant view of old English institutions still.

The early States have got their "Upper 10,000," of which they may be proud. Take Massachusetts, for instance. Who are those who may be looked upon as the original settlers, some of whom were gentlemen entitled to bear coat armour, and others who were not so have attained to a place of honour in our estimation from long and steady residence in the land of their adoption? Draw the line somewhere about the year 1700, and all those who were found in the country before that date may be classed as the old Nobility of Massachusetts. The new comers will depreciate them, of course, as the fox did the grapes, declaring that they are just as good as citizens—and what would you have more? Well, these are things hard to reason upon; and yet we all feel that there is a great difference: and however much the *novi homines* may speak slightingly in the matter, it is certain that the old Nobility possess a nameless something that no amount of money can buy. A list of the names of those early families in Massachusetts, that have survived in the male line to the present day, would not be without its interest.

25th.—The King's accession. I was at Court with my daughter: and a much fuller Court than I have seen since my arrival. I was introduced to the Bishop of London by M^{r} Todd, Secretary of the Post Office, and thanked his Lordship for his

attendance in Council: a most extraordinary affair, he said, which did me, in the issue, great honor. He enquired after D^r^ Caner, and expressed great esteem for him, and for D^r^ Byles. I promised to visit him when he came to town. Lord North asked if I had anything late from America? He believed they had not come to the height. I expressed my apprehensions of bad news: told him what I had heard of the arrival of a ship from London with Tea, and of a report that the Boston people were going down to Salem to prevent its landing. I thought likewise the country Counsellors who were in Boston would suffer much by their absence from their estates, and I did not think their estates out of danger of being destroyed by mobs. He observed—"We'll pay for them."

S^r^ W. Draper very polite. Bishop of Winchester and Peterborough at Court.

As to paying for them—the intention may have been sincere when it was uttered. It would have been a boon to Governor Hutchinson's family if this had been done, but Lord North did not know what he was promising. The great question of the losses and sufferings of the Loyalists did not press for attention until the war was over. Many of the faithful servants of the Crown, who had taken what was supposed to be only a temporary refuge in England, were granted salaries for present purposes, but the great question came afterwards: and however willing the King and his Ministers might be to indemnify their friends and supporters, the nation was utterly unable to satisfy such an extensive demand.

26th.—In the forenoon called upon Lord Hertford, in Grosvenor Street: left a card, and afterwards upon Lord Beauchamp, Stanhope Street, Mayfair. Spent half an hour upon the subject of America.

Dined with M^r^ Mauduit in Clement's Lane, in comp^y^ with M^r^ Knox, M^r^ Whately, M^r^ J. Clark, and M^r^ Ashill [?] of the Paper Office, one of Geo. Grenville's Executors.

27th.—Sir Eardly Wilmot and his eldest son called upon me. I intended to have called upon Sir Eardly, and thanked him for his attendance at the Committee of Council: he very politely said he ought to thank me for my public services.

Afterwards M^r^ Oliver, the Alderman and city Member, called,* and apologised for not doing it sooner. Had much conversation with him upon American affairs. He wishes the Government would repeal the grievous Acts, and confine their authority to a regulation of the trade of the Colonies. I wished for any plan to effect a lasting peace. He could easily conceive of a partial authority in the supreme authority. I left him in enjoyment of his conceptions.

I dined with M^r^ Knox at Lord Dartmouth's office, in company with Bamber Gascoin, late Member for Weobly: remarkably loquacious and impetuous: a lawyer who, among other things advanced, that when any person was found guilty of a misdemeanour, the Court, in determining a fine, had no regard to the condition or ability of the Defendant, but fined the same, whether rich or poor. I asked if there was not such a maxim and rule, that it must be done with a salvo, *contenemento suo*, and thought a Jury in an action for damage, considered only the damage the Plaintiff sustained, whether the Defendant was able or not: but the Court, when the party was unable to pay a fine, would impose a small fine and long imprisonment, or corporal punishment— but he would not give up. A D^r^ Thomas, one of the King's Physicians, M^r^ Willis, Under Secretary to L^d^ Rochfort, M^r^ Sedgewick, and Lieut.-Governor Gore, of Grenada, and his Lady.

28th.—Called upon M^r^ Wedderburne: not being at home, I went to Lincolns Inn Hall, where the L^d^ Chancellor was sitting, and there found the Attorney and Sollicitor General, M^r^ Jackson, Montagu, Ambler, and a great number more of Barristers. My chief conversation was with M^r^ Jackson, and upon American affairs. He was not fond of the Boston Port Bill, but he gave his voice for it. The other two Acts he disapproved of. He did not now triumph, but it was a satisfaction to him that he had done nothing to bring things to this pass. He disapproved of all taxes, but acknowledged the right; and tho' the Colonies denied the right, he thought it best to take no notice of the denial, and to repeal the Tea duty notwithstanding. He wished a way could be found to possess the Colonies with an assurance

* He was no relation to the late Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts.

that the right should not be exercised. Other parts of legislation he hoped they would submit to; but if they were all obstinately set against it, he did not see what could be done.

I made a visit to Lambeth, and thanked the Archbishop of Canterbury for his trouble in attending a Committee of Council on my affair.* He received me with great politeness, and expressed his satisfaction in my conduct, and his detestation of the ungrateful return, in very strong terms.

A vessel from N.f^d^land with news that the *Rose* frigate, and two companies of soldiers, sailed for Boston the first of October, upon news of the riots in Boston and the neighbouring towns, which seemed to amount to a revolt: and by a vessel from Philadelphia, advice of certain Resolves of a Committee of Towns in the county of Suffolk, which had been adopted by the Congress at Philadelphia, and are more alarming than any thing which has yet been done.

29th.—Called upon M^r^ Blackburn with M^r^ Clark: afterwards upon M^r^ Mauduit, where we spent near two hours in conversation upon the news from America.

30th.—At Tavistock Chapel near Drury Lane: heard a Charity Sermon by a Clergyman who read prayers at the Lock, and preached at Romaine's; took his text from Tobit.

Dined at 5 o'clock at Lord Beauchamp's with M^r^ Charles Townshend of the Treasury, Sir George M'cartney, Col^o^ Paterson, Col^o^ Mordaunt, and Col^o^ Dalling, Lieut^t^ Gov^r^ of Jamaica. Dalling thinks no occasion for more force in America: that the Congress has been carried on without any tumult: and he hopes America will be settled on a more extensive liberal plan. I asked what security he proposed for the abiding by any plan? That he did not know. Mordaunt said—If the Americans were united, it would be to no purpose to send forces to subdue them. Few military men are fond of going to America.

31st.—Called upon M^r^ Townshend, of the Treasury; (not at home); and afterwards at Lord Dartmouth's office. Find M^r^ Knox much altered by the late news:† he supposes now

* He means the meetings of the Privy Council in January and February, 1774, when the affair of his letters was investigated.

† The Resolves of the Congress at Philadelphia.

that all Treaty is over. The first thing, he says, will be to let America know, that Britain will support its authority; and then concede what shall be thought fit.

At the Inner Temple I found Mr Mazieres, who ought to have called upon me, but I think more is lost than gained by such punctilios. He disapproves of the present conduct of the Americans; and so he does of parts of the late Acts of Parliament. He thinks the appointment of the Council by the Crown was well, but then, they should have been for life. He was appointed one of the Judges for India, but somebody younger than he, being named before him, he refused, tho' a most lucrative employ. Lord Chancellor, sensible that he had colour for exception, procured him the place of Cursitor Baron, between 3 and 400 a year.

I called upon Sir T. Mills, who informs me Lord Mansfield enquired after me, and that he will let me know one day this week when to wait upon him. I told him I expected to have seen Lord Mansfield at Court Accession Day. "Oh!" says he, "that would be contrary to etiquette. The near friends of the last King always make a point not to go to Court upon that day, tho' my Lord was saying he thought ten years was pretty near enough to stick to the rule; and as it's now 14, he had some thoughts of going this year."

November 1.—This morning waited on Lord Dartmouth, where I found J. Pownall. Both seemed thunderstruck with American news: at present seem to suppose it impossible to give way. Lord D. said, if the Resolve of the Congress is to be depended on as genuine, then, &c. I thought it would not be printed, attested by their Clerk, if not genuine.

In the evening spent an hour or two at Lord Chancellor's. He had not seen the Resolves of Suffolk, nor that of the Congress, though they had been in the London papers: seemed much struck: could answer for himself, he should not recede: he thought nothing but a change of Ministry could cause a change of measures: he did not think that possible. I wondered at his supposing it possible. I have frequently had it hinted to me that the Ministry themselves, all considered themselves in office just as long as they could answer the

King's purpose, and that he had no personal esteem for one set more than another. This perhaps may make them more anxious to answer his purposes: on the other hand, there is less stimulus from an affection and regard for his person, which must in some degree be reciprocal.

The plot was thickening. Every ship from America brought alarming news; yet, not only the Ministry then in power, but the Opposition—indeed, every Englishman felt that the honour and the dignity of the nation were at stake, and rejected all idea of making concessions to a Colony that was literally in a state of open rebellion. From a number of letters written about this time, it is necessary at least to make a few extracts. Peggy shall have the precedence. She rarely touches upon the great events of the day, except by a passing word, but confines her correspondence mostly to lighter subjects. Before going to lighter subjects, she makes the following sympathising remark when writing to Elisha's wife, October 13:—

"You congratulate me on being in London at this time of general calamity. It is certainly a happy thing for us; but I am anxiously concerned for those left behind, nor do I see any prospect of relief for you."

With respect to attending the Levées and Drawing-Rooms, she says—"It is customary for gentlemen and ladies to go again soon after they have been presented. . . . . This day paid a visit to Lady Mary Boulby who presented me at Court. Governor Tryon called upon us in the morning. Billy and I then took a walk in the Park, which, by the way, does not answer my expectations; nor do I think it much superior to our Boston Mall. It is the only place I have been disappointed in. This afternoon we drank tea with an American—M^rs^ Grant, M^r^ Cheeseburrough's daughter."

Under date Oct. 19, among a variety of topics, she writes—

"This morning I took a walk in the Park with Billy, and who do you think I see? Why, the King and Queen, as you are alive, carried through the Park in a couple of Chairs! I have not seen them before but at Court. The Queen looked very pretty: I insist upon it she is handsome, but nobody will join with me."

Perhaps the German Sedan Chairs were introduced by the Georges—we are not sure—and with the Georges they began to

go out, though they lingered on in some districts, and are well remembered by most people of middle age now living in England.

On Tuesday, apparently the 27th of October, she speaks of having gone once more into the presence:—

"Tuesday Evening. My task is over. I have been at Court again. It has been a fatiguing, though not altogether an unpleasant day. I sent yesterday to Mrs Keene to know if it would be agreeable to her to go to-day? We were both of a mind; for while a servant was going with my Card, she sent one to me; and to-day about one o'clock papa and I set off for St. James. We called for Mrs Keene, but found that one coach could not contain more than two such mighty hoops; and papa and Mr K. were obliged to go in another coach. There was a very full Drawing-Room for the time of year. The King and Queen both spoke to me. I felt much easier than I did before, as I had not the ceremony of being presented to go through: indeed my dear, it is next to being married. I thought I should not mind it, but there is something that strikes an awe when you enter the Royal Presence. I had however many compliments paid me on my performance: if I tell you what the Queen said of me to-day, will you not think me vain? The company all stand round in a circle, and the King and Queen go round, and speak to everybody that has been presented. As she advanced towards me, I felt in a little flutter, and whispered Mrs K. that I should behave like a fool. 'You need not,' say she, 'for the Queen has been saying many fine things of you to my sister. She says you are very genteel, and have much the appearance of a woman of fashion.' I can't say but I felt of more importance, and perhaps answered her questions with a better grace. She asked me how long I had been in town? I answered—'About a fortnight.' 'Are you come for the winter?' 'Yes Ma-am.' 'How do you like England—better than the country you came from?' 'I think it a very fine country.' 'What part of it have you been in?' 'Norfolk.' 'I hope you have your health better for it.' 'Much better.' Thus ended our conversation; and had it been with any other than a Queen, I should have thought it too trifling to relate. She told papa she was very glad to see his daughter look so well. We were fatigued with standing, and got out of the Presence Chamber as soon as we could. Lord Dartmouth came and spoke to me. I congratulated him on the birth of his daughter, which is a great rarity, after seven sons. He is the most amiable man I ever saw; and was he not married, and not a Lord, I should be tempted

to set my cap at him,—two substantial reasons however to prevent me. . . . . .

"Four of the young Princes came in after I had been there about half an hour. I never saw four so fine boys. After the Drawing-Room was over we went into the Nursery, and saw the rest of them. I was highly delighted, and could hardly keep my hands off them: such sweet creatures I never beheld. The Princess Royal with two sisters and a little boy which I took to be about 3 years old, stood in a row, one just above the other, and a little one in leading strings, sitting in a chair behind them, composed this beautiful group. I was determined, if possible, to kiss one of their little pudsey hands, and with some difficulty persuaded M^rs^ K. to go up to them, their [there] being a great deal of company in the room. She at last went, and I followed her. I asked Prince Ernest for his hand, which he very readily gave me, and I gave it a very hearty kiss. They behaved very prettily: they courtesied to everybody that came in, and the boy nodded his head just like little Tom Oliver. We did not get home till almost five o'clock, and found Elisha and Billy fretting for their dinner. Good night, my dear; I am so much fatigued, I cannot write any more."

"Saturday Evening. [Oct. 29.]. . . . . M^r^ C[larke] dined with us. We had a dispute after dinner—which was the best country—New England, or Old? Papa, your husband, and myself, were for the former: M^r^ C. and Billy for the latter. I own I still feel a partiality for my native country. Papa could not help expressing his in very strong terms. M^r^ C. said he never should lose the idea of the last winter: that the injuries he then received were too strongly impressed upon his mind ever to be erased. I told him I was surprised to find his affections so alienated from his country: that I thought the friends he had there, if nothing else, must make the place dear to him: and as to climate, surely, said I, we have the advantage. They would neither of them allow it, but said the extremes of cold and heat were enough to ruin peoples' constitutions. I, in return, had no mercy upon this, but exclaimed against it as cold, damp, dirty, and altogether disagreeable, and declared that I could not take a breath of air, but it gave me a cold and cough, which immediately fixed upon my lungs: and that if I lived here fifty years, I never should be reconciled to the climate, or to living in London; but could not but allow that the country was exceedingly beautiful, and struck me beyond anything I could imagine: but that only served to

tantalize, as the ground was always so wet, (even in the middle of summer) that it was impossible to enjoy it by walking. We carried it on till it was time for them to go to the Play: and I believe Mr C. was glad to get off with a whole skin. How happy should I be to see that country restored to a state of peace and quiet! not so much for my own sake as papa's, who I think will be happier there. Many times have I thought I had bid it an eternal adieu. O, my dear Polly, could you but have looked in upon me when my health and spirits were so low, when I had no female friend to take a part of my sorrows—but I will not distress you. I am too well assured of your affection for me, to think it will not give you pain. Begone all melancholy refflections! [*sic.*] How often do you intrude when I wish only to give pleasure!"

"Thursday. [Nov. 3.] Sir Eardly Wilmot and son call'd here. I made an acquaintance with his two daughters at Lord Gage's. The eldest is married to Sir Sampson Gideon, Lady Gage's brother, and is a very genteel pretty woman. Miss Wilmot is not handsome, but tolerably agreeable. The old gentleman says she will wait on me as soon as she comes to town, and was vastly civil and polite. I think they are a family I shall like to be acquainted with. Mr C. came in presently after. Papa, Elisha, and myself were just getting into the coach to go to the Temple and walk in the Gardens: he did not need much urging to make a fourth. The Gardens are nothing extraordinary, but there is a pretty Fountain. Yesterday papa went to see the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. I had a mind for a ride, and went with him, and set [*sic*] in the coach while he paid his visit. You may remember hearing of his lady's having her routs of a Sunday evening. We have not attempted to play cards till last evening since we came. We were just in the midst of a game of Quadrille when Mr Bridgen came in and interrupted us. He is a merchant in the city, and a very good kind of man: his lady is daughter to the famous Richardson, author of *Sir Charles* [*Grandison*] and *Clarissa* [*Harlowe*]. She was one of my first acquaintance, and a very friendly sensible woman; but her constitution is so delicate that she hardly ever stirs out; it is said she is now writing something which will be published. We had not been long seated, before a violent rat-tat at the door made us jump. Patrick [Riley] came up and pronounced Mrs Knox. I had never seen her before: papa had dined at her house, and he introduced us. Mr C. came in presently after. The lady staid about half an hour and took

her leave: the gentlemen then went to politics, with which they concluded the evening.

"Sunday Night. [Nov. 6.] It has been so bad a day, and my health not quite confirmed, that I thought it best to keep house. Papa dined with Lord Beauchamp.

"Tuesday Evening. [Nov. 8.] We had been talking all day yesterday of going to the Play, but rain came on, and we gave over all thoughts, when M^r^ C. came in and told us it was a very fine Play, and advised by all means to go. Your husband and I could not restrain our curiosity, but ordered the coach: hurried on our things, and off we march'd. The Play was *The Grecian Daughter*. If you have ever read it you will not wonder that I did not sit with dry eyes. Such a lively representation of filial love obliged me to get as much out of sight as I could, and give full vent to my tears: nothing could be more affecting than the interview between the old man and his daughter in prison. To-morrow evening *Alexander the Great* is to be acted. Their Majesties are to be there. We sent this morning for four places, but they are all taken. I am disappointed, as it is a Play I wish'd much to see: but I am not sure I shant put my bonnet over my face and go into the Gallery.

"I send this by the Packet which goes to-morrow night; but as my paper is not quite filled up, I will answer your letters, which ought to have been done in my last. What a flattering picture do you draw of a young Nobleman! Indeed my dear, I have seen no such one. The men do not please me here; and Miss Murray and I both agreed on our first arrival, that New England was the only place for pretty fellows. I am still of the same mind when I think of them at all; but indeed they do not engross much of my attention. You say I enter into public places secure of conquest. O spare me my friend! All I aim at, or can possibly think of attaining, it is a tolerably decent appearance. Those I studied to please are many leagues distant from me. If you hear anything of him I *once* wish'd to make happy, do not fail to impart it. [Aside—she seems to have left a piece of her heart behind her.] You mention a certain match being broke off: papa has been applied to again. Strange man! He has offered to make a voyage immediately, if encouragement is given. You need not ask whether it was or not. . . . . Papa sends his love to you. What joy would it give me if he could be the means of restoring peace to his native country, but I see no prospect of it: you are bent upon destruction."

2nd.—I tarried at home till two, writing to Boston, when walked for the sake of exercise; and just after I had gone Lord Hertford returned the visit I had made him. In the evening received a letter from Lord Hardwicke, dated at Wimple [Wimpole] in Cambridgeshire, desiring to hear the state of affairs in America—which I answered, and sent him my last letters.

3rd.—Visited M^r^ Morris: called at Lord Marchmont's: M^r^ Onslow's: Mackenzie's: and L^d^ Ch. Just. De Grey, who were all from home. Went into the city as far as Cheapside corner. Met the L^d^ Mayor Elect in his coach, drawn by two white horses, his servants in new liveries, followed by the two Sheriffs, each in his gilt carriage, going to Lord Chancellor's; being a preparatory ceremony to Lord Mayor's day next week.

4th.—M^r^ Lyell [?] and Davis, (going to Boston), Bowdoin, Vassall, Clark, and M^r^ Wilmot, son of Sir Eardley, dined with us. In the evening M^r^ Mauduit called. Among other conversation, he mentioned that at the time of the repeal of the Stamp Act, M^r^ Pit, in his speech said, that the Kingdom had broke its original compact with the Colonies: that Sir Fletcher Norton interrupted him—"What! Does any gentleman dare to affirm in this House that the Kingdom has broken its compact?" and said something of a gentleman's not remaining in that place after such a declaration: that M^r^ Pit gave him a disdainful look, with a "Pshaw, pshaw, pshaw!" which vexed Sir Fletcher: bro't on personal reflecting altercation, and diverted the main point. This, M^r^ Mauduit says, he heard and saw, and I don't remember to have met with before.

5th.—I waited upon Lord Suffolk, who received me with great civility. I acquainted him with the conversation between M^r^ Temple and me, w^ch^ he said agreed with what M^r^ Wedderburne had told him of M^r^ T.'s conversation with him, only that was more circumstantial: he said T. was a man it was best to have no connexion with. He then went upon American news. The sum of what he said was, that it would be a work of difficulty to restore the friendship which had subsisted between the kingdom and Colonies, and it could be done in no other way than settling the authority over them, which, for himself,

he would speak his mind with freedom, he thought must be done at all events.

As I was taking leave, he apologised for mentioning one thing:—"The last time I was at Court," says he, "the King expressed himself with concern that no mark of honour had been conferred on M^r^ Hutchinson; and said he expected Lord Dartmouth and Lord North would have settled something before this time. I wish it in my power," says his L^d^ship, "to contribute to it."

I thanked his L^d^ship for interesting himself in anything which concerned me: said that L^d^ Dartmouth had once spoke to me on the subject: I did not remember that Lord North ever had. I by no means slighted His Majesty's intended favour, and desired that I might, when any motion of that sort should be made, have an opportunity of waiting on his Lordship.

Dined with M. Garnier the French Chargé: M^r^ Morris, Bortwick Bridgen, and a French gentleman, were the company. The whole entertainment à la mode de France.

Upon this day, whilst there are probably great disorders in the town of Boston, burning Popes, Generals, Governors, Commissioners, Consignees, &c., no difference appears from other days, except a few guns at noon, and now and then a boy in the street, crying "The 5^th^ of November!" and asking for a half-penny: at least, I heard no talk of pageantry in Westminster.

Novemb. 7th.—The third rainy Sunday, and almost every day between the Sundays, more or less rain, or without sun. Went to the nearest place of worship—the Chapel in King street, where a grave man said prayers, and a young man read a good sermon. Dined, (as also my sons and M^r^ Clarke) with M^r^ Jackson, Southampton Buildings. One of his Electors from Romney, a plain young man, a farmer, says, the several divisions of Romney Marsh contain 4800 acres: that last year it paid a tax of 8/- ℔ acre for repair of the sea bank after a breach: that the tax, *communibus annis*, is 2/6 an acre: few or no cattle, or anything but sheep feed there; and they never have any turnips, hay, or other fodder in winter; nor does he remember its being covered with snow of any duration.

8th.—This being the first day of Michaelmas Term, I went to Lord Dartmouth's Office to view the procession. There were 3 state coaches, the L^d^ Chancellor's, L^d^ Chief Justice of the K. Bench, and a gentleman by me said the third was the Master of the Rolls. The coaches of the other Judges and Lawyers scarcely exceded a dozen. Constables and other civil officers in plenty, marched by the sides.

Afterwards I went to Westminster Hall, and took a view of the several Courts.

The Governor, writing to his eldest daughter Sally, Nov. 1, alludes to the drawing-room and the nursery. Of Peggy he says: —"She was at Court last Tuesday, being Accession Day, and the King and Queen both spoke to her; and it made her very proud, when she heard from a Lady in the Drawing-Room, that the Q. said, 'She thought Miss H. was very genteel.' After the Levée was over we went into the Nursery, and saw a fine parcel of children. A little Prince not above 3 years old held out his hand to Peggy, and she had the honour of kissing it. You would have been pleased to have seen Dukes and Duchesses make their complim^ts^ to the Princess Royal, but just 8 years old, as if she had been a woman, and the very pretty returns she made.

"With all our gaiety we live as much in the N. Eng^d^ way as ever we can, and I have not missed either Church or Meeting any Sunday since I have been in Eng^d^ except one, when bad weather and a cold kept me at home.....

"Now you know all about our way of living, I can with good truth assure you I had rather live at Milton than at Kew, and had rather see Peggy and Tommy and ——— playing about me, than the Princess Charlotte, Prince Augustus, or ———, and I have no doubt your sister is of the same mind."

Alluding in the same letter to the opposition and the difficulties he had encountered in America, during the course of his public life, he says:—"But I can never be thankful enough for having been enabled so to conduct myself during the time of my being in Administration, as that in all the controversies I have had with the people of the Province, I have never contended in any instance for what I did not think perfectly right, and for the real advantage of the men who were endeavouring my ruin. Without this reflection I should not be able to support myself."

The letters are numerous, and they take up more room here

than was intended, but they cannot be slighted, as they contain points of information not to be found in the Diary; and though cautiously made, with injunctions suggested by experience and common prudence that the contents should not be made public, the interval of time that has elapsed since now neutralises that injunction, and no individual can suffer from their publication. The Governor's character will gain. The absence of harshness or vindictiveness in these private letters, even when he is speaking of those who were endeavouring to destroy his fortunes and his reputation, is not a little remarkable, and reveal a truly Christian and forbearing spirit. We have below a letter to his younger and only brother Foster. It was entered in his Letter Book by his own hand :—

"London, Novemb. 1, 1774.

"Dear Brother,

"I was loth to let the Packet go without a letter, though I have little more to say than that we are all as well and in as good spirits, as people can be who are banished from their best friends, and who are expecting every day to hear of the complete ruin of their country. Our last advices from America were of the 20 of Sep. from Philad., just after the Congress had adopted the Resolves of your county of Suffolk. I am not without expectation of hearing of the re-assumption of your first Charter. If I should be chosen Gov. I am determined not to serve.

"If I knew what was to be done here, I would not tell you in a letter, but I do not know. I dare say L^d^ North does not know. I think it as likely L^d^ Germaine or Edmund Burke should start the measure as L^d^ North, for it is not a Ministry, but a National, concern. I will not permit myself to believe that it's possible we should hazard actual hostilities, from a country so disproportioned in power. God, I trust, will open the eyes of the blind before it comes to that. We have not yet all the news it's necessary we should have, in order to make a probable conjecture what will be done. The general voice is, that so important an affair has not come before Parl^t^ since the Revolution. Indeed, I do not think that affair was of so great importance.

"I am concerned for my sisters. I hope you see them often. I have authorised Tommy [his son at Milton] to assist them. I don't see that y^e^ Court are likely ever to receive any Salaries from the Province again. I think I wrote to you what Lord North said to me on the subject. Mention me w^th^ affection to M^rs^ Hutchinson [Foster's wife was daughter of General Mascarene] and y^e^ children.

"New England is wrote upon my heart in as strong characters as Calais was upon Q. Mary's: but there is this difference—She lost the one by her own folly; I am not sensible I could have kept the other, except in a way which would have caused more pain from reflection, than I now feel from the loss of it. This consideration, and the hope, w^ch^ I am determined not to part with, that I shall return, and that my enemies will be forced to own that I have at least, always meant the interest of my country, supports my spirits, and I have not known more tranquility for many years past, than since I have been in England.

"I have rec^d^ no monies, but I have all possible assurances that I shall be no loser by the expense of my voyage, and I am told some instrument is prepared to secure it to me. Lord Dartmouth very early spake to me from the K. to know what mark of honour he should confer upon me, and advised me to think of nothing short of an hereditary honour. I considered there was not an estate to support a title. If I had had but one son I might better run the risk, but shall decline it as my family is circumstanced, unless my eldest son shall think I hurt him by the refusal. I tho't it not amiss however to ask his L^d^ship if I should be reproached with being slighted in Eng^d^ whether I might say that I had the offer of such a mark of honor? He answered immediately—'Most certainly. I venture to assure you it will be conferred immediately.' And so the matter rests, and I have said nothing about it since. But all claim to this honour, and all the effects I have in the Province, I would cheerfully part with to see it restored to the orderly state it was in when I first came to the General Court."

The latter portion of the above letter reveals his private reasons for refusing the proffered baronetcy more fully than occurs elsewhere. He alludes to the same subject in a letter of the 4th of November. The honour he appears to have held lightly; and he allowed prudential considerations alone to have any weight.

As we have now reached the end of the first volume of the Diary, we will make a break, stopping only for a few quotations from some letters that bear equal date therewith. The hostile Resolves of the Congress of Philadelphia had taken the English people by surprise. The following remarks, from a letter of this period, to a friend whose name is not recorded, are much to the purpose. They are in the old marble paper Letter Book, in the handwriting of Elisha apparently, with the last paragraph in that of the Governor himself. They run thus:—

"A vessel from Philadelphia brings an account of the remarkable Resolves of the county of Suffolk, and the Ratification, or rather Avowal, of them by the people met together at Philadelphia. These proceedings alone are enough to put it out of my power to contribute to any accommodation; but I expect a great deal more, and it is my intention, after satisfying my curiosity by attending Parliament at the beginning of the Session, to spend some time at Bath, and to keep as much out of the way of being chargeable with any measures in Parliament as possible. Indeed, I do not believe any measures will be determined anywhere but in Parliament, where something may be thrown in for form's sake, which may come out of their Forge quite another thing than it went in. It is out of my power any longer to promote a plan of conciliation. I cannot think any exception can be taken to my shunning all share in a plan of hostilities—a plan which, if determined upon, I hope will never be executed. I saw L^d^ Dartmouth yesterday. 'Why, M^r^ H.,' says his Lordship, 'if these Resolves of your people are to be depended on, they have declared War against us: they will not suffer any sort of Treaty.' 'I cannot help it my Lord. Your L^d^ship knows I have done everything in my power to close the breach between the Kingdom and the Colonies, and it distresses me greatly that there is so little prospect of success.' This passed, or to this purpose, and little more passed besides a silent lamentation for some time; after which I mentioned some other affairs."

To another friend, Nov. 2, in his own handwriting:—

"I will write you no politicks, unless it be politics to tell you that I bear not the least ill will to my Milton neighbours for the share they have at last taken in the general confusion. I know the nature of the contagion. It is more easy to keep the small pox from spreading when the whole air is infected, than commotions in a state when they have been raised to a considerable height. I shall yet live and die among them, and I trust recover their esteem."

The characters of the Earl of Dartmouth and one or two other Ministers of the period can scarcely be passed over. They are mentioned to another unnamed friend in the same book:—

"I will make one observation to you of a political nature. I have more than an hundred times, in New England, heard the Ministry spoke of as a set of men combining to deprive the Colonies of their liberties, and to introduce an arbitrary and despotic

Government: and sometimes it has been said Popery. I verily believe there never was an Administration with less views of that sort, or more disposed to concede to every claim of the Colonies, which can consist with their continuing united to the Kingdom. Lord Dartmouth, who is at the head of the American Department, is as amiable a man as you know—a man of literature, as well as good natural sense. His greatest foible is an excess of humanity, which makes him apt sometimes to think more favorably of some men than they deserve: and for his Religion, he would pass in New England for an orthodox good Christian: but here every man who is not ashamed to own himself a Christian, is called a Methodist. I had been often in his company before anything passed upon that subject. At length one day when nobody was present—'M^r H.' says he, 'the old Puritans, who first went over to your Colony, were certainly a set of serious godly men: is the same sense of religion which they carried over with them still remaining there, or does infidelity prevail there as it does here in England?' The long conversation which followed I will not commit to writing. The introduction will give you some idea of the man. I seldom see him but he laments that the people in the Colonies have put it out of his power to do what he never would have come into his Office, if he had not hoped to do, towards a reconciliation. Lord North, L^d Suffolk, and the L^d Chancellor, appear to me to have just the same dispositions. To say this to a man deep in party would be *canere surdis* [to sing to the deaf], but this is not the case with you."

Writing Nov. 2 to his son Thomas, at Milton, he begins—

"My d^r Son,

"The storm thickens every time any vessel arrives from America."

Lower down—

"Since the dates of these lett^s a vessel is arriv'd from Philadel^a w^ch brings an acc^t from Boston of a Meet^g of the first county in Massach^s, and of certain Resolves passed there, which are undoubtedly treasonable," &c.

Again, Nov. 4, to someone else unnamed:—

"I have been pleasing myself ever since I have been here, with the prospect of a plan for giving satisfaction to the Colonies, that the power of Parl^t in taxation would not be exercised for any other purpose than regulating their Trade, when it could not be

so well regulated in any other way; and that the general legislative power of Parl[t] should be no further exercised than as a superintending power, and consistent with that internal legislative power w[ch] each Colony had always enjoyed. But all plans of that sort are now at an end, or at least, suspended. The only question among the persons concerned in Executive and Legislative power is this—'How shall an entire separation of the Colonies from the Kingdom be prevented?' This, as far as I can conjecture, will come before Parl[t] for every member to give his free uncontrolled sentiment upon; but I will not hazard a conjecture, what the result of such sentiments will be. I often hear it said—'Something decisive must be done': but I do not believe the Prime Minister will determine in his own mind what that shall be until he has collected what is the general voice of the Kingdom. My curiosity would be sufficient to induce me to attend the debates, and that is all the part it's best I should have in the decision."

A pity that Governor Hutchinson's well-intended plan could not have been carried out; but it has become plain, from what has been given above, that the Americans had made up their minds not to have anything to do with the English Parliament whatever. An honest desire to intercede and try to do good seems to have been the main incentive that brought him to England.

Here the first volume of the Diary ends, and here we may halt a moment and take breath. To those readers who have followed the Diary, but more especially to those who have gone through the letters, it must be plain that a great crisis was impending; and in the eyes of some it threatened to be more momentous to the nation in its consequences than the Revolution of 1688.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTINUATION OF THE DIARY FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

1774, November 8,* London.—Made a visit this morning to M^r George Onslow in Dover Street, son of the late Speaker, who received me with great politeness. He thanked me for my public services, after my having thanked him for his attending the Committee of Council. I let him know I attended his father in the year '41, to his election from Isher [Esher?] to Guildford. He told me he had since represented the same county, but was not now in Parliament, Lord Onslow not being likely to live many weeks, being speechless and deprived of reason by a paralitic disorder; and upon his death he should be in the other House: and he not only wished himself to be clear of the House of Commons, but the King had approved of it. The abuse the King's servants met with in the H. of Commons was intolerable. Lord North, he said, bore it with surprising patience: he was sure it was contrary to L^d N.'s inclination to continue in his publick character: no man was happier in domestick life, and he had great merit from the public for thus denying himself. He asked me if I was not much pleased with the audience I had of the King?—greatly—"not more," says he, "than the King was with you." He thanked me for conducting an affair of his nephew, L^d Fitz-William's son, in America. I had forgot he was his nephew. He hoped to cultivate an acquaintance, &c.

From M^r Onslow's I went to M^r Stuart Mackenzie's (brother to Lord Bute) in Hill Street, and had [a] long conversation

* November 8 is marked twice over, that is, at the end of the first, and beginning of the second volume of the Diary. Perhaps these are two halves of the same day.

with him upon American affairs. He condemned the repeal of the Stamp Act, but seemed not to approve of the Act itself: said that he was then well acquainted with Prince Massareno, the Spanish Ambassador (who, he said, is now expected again in England) and with Mons^{r} Guerchier, the French Ambassador, that he talked with both of them, and asked what they thought of the measure? that it appeared to be a quieting measure—"But tell me your real opinion"—"Why, really, of all the weak measures in Government I have heard of, this appears to me to be the weakest"—that Massareno was of the same mind, and spake of the disaffection of the Spaniards in America to the Spanish Government, and, adds M^{r} M^{c}kenzie, several of the Lords of the Council said at the hearing, that D^{r} F. was as much disaffected to Britain, and would rather the Colonies should be subject to France, Spain, or any other kingdom in Europe, than to G. Britain.

At the time of the repeal, he says Lord Chatham, then M^{r} Pit, was so necessary a man to the Rockingham Administration, that whatever part he had taken, they must have followed: that he verily believes, when M^{r} Pit came from home to attend the H. of Commons, he had not determined which side to take: that he is sure he had not mentioned his intention to any person: that L^{d} Temple and L^{d} Camden came unusually forward upon the floor of the H. of Commons, and discovered an eagerness to know what part he would take: that when he found it would be a popular stroke, which might appear from the many petitions for the repeal, then he determined, and at the same time gratified his revenge upon his brother [-in-law?], Geo. Grenville, who he hated: that Pit's determination determined the fate of Britain and her Colonies.

The papers take notice of the death of M^{r} Bradshaw, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and fame says that he died *suddenly.* M^{r} Keene, of the B^{d} of Trade, tells me that when he quitted his place of Secr^{y} to the Treasury, when the D. of Grafton went out, he had a pension of 1500£ ꝑ an., settled for 3 lives: that he had a salary of 1000£ as L^{d} of y^{e} Admir^{l}: that he married a woman with ten thousand pounds: and after all, by his extravagance, is obliged to raise large sums by annuities

upon lives: and after all his advantages, is so distressed as to chuse death rather than life.

In the evening, upon M^rs Knox's invitation to my daughter, I accompanied them and M^r Knox to the play at Cov. Garden, where one of Shakespear's, *Much Ado about Nothing*, was (I thought) poorly acted; and the Entertainment, the story of Paris and the Apples, wretched stuff. Garrick is celebrated as the English Roscius. I have not yet seen him.

9th—I visited L^d Chief Justice De Grey, who has been in the country, or upon the circuits, ever since my arrival, and is now confined with the gout. He would scarcely hear the mention of his attending at Council, declaring that everybody was bound in justice to appear upon such an occasion:—enquired about D^r F.; supposed he was in America:—lamented the state of America, owing to the want of steadiness and firmness of Council:—he was now utterly at a loss what could be done, and took particular notice of the L^t Gov^s vindication, w^ch says the people who beset him were generally landholders; and if such people generally appeared, what could 5 or 6,000 men do? I observed—the common people in America were generally Landholders, there being very few tenants, and wherever you found a master of a family in the country towns, the probability was, that he was a freeholder. He said Government was at an end. I acknowledged it: and that the friends of Government were not at liberty to say they were such. He asked—What could be done? I hoped I should be excused from suggesting any coercive measures. He said Government had a right to my opinion or judgment.

Doubtless, as Mr. Hutchinson continued to be a servant of the Crown, the King and the Ministers had a right to his opinion and judgment. Since he had left America, it had been heedlessly asserted by those who had not got the Goddess of Truth at their elbows, that all the coercive measures adopted by England against the Colonies had been instigated by him—that he was in constant communication with Administration for this purpose—if not, indeed, one of the Ministry. Chief Justice Peter Oliver, who had removed to Boston for safety, and who was well acquainted with the floating rumours, speaks as follows, when writing Nov. 4, 1774,

to Elisha's wife, who was at Plymouth. He dates his letter from "Boston Camps," whatever that may mean. One passage in his letter runs thus:—"We have heard the Gov^{r} is a Privy Counsellor, with £2000 p year; it wants confirmation: he has been offered a Baronetage with £2000 p year, but refused: no promise made him has failed." Numerous passages in his writings show how averse he was to the idea of coercive measures, and with what horror he contemplated military intervention; and so far from wishing to advise the Government in any way, he particularly desired to keep himself clear from the entanglement and the responsibility of anything of the kind. This appears in several places. To go no further than a letter quoted a few pages back, where he says—"It is my intention, after satisfying my curiosity by attending Parliament at the beginning of the Session, to spend some time at Bath, and to keep as much out of the way of being chargeable with any measures in Parliament as possible."

Any information I was capable of, I said I ought, and was ready to give. I could not think such a state of anarchy could be long endured. Nothing was more uncertain than popular opinion or prejudices, which frequently changed from one extreme to the other. It would be the ruin both of the Kingdom and Colonies to separate them. He was willing they should have all the assurance could be given that they should be indulged in matter of Taxation, but would never part with the absolute supreme authority of Parliament. I did not see how any line could be drawn. I had even thought as his Lordship does with respect to taxation.

He mentioned the service I had *endeavoured* [*sic*] to do for the Kingdom and Colonies. I said my Lord Mansfield expressed to me his surprise, that when I was so uncertain what conduct would be approved of here in England, I went on so steadily as I did. He stop'd me by saying—"I was not surprised. I wondered you undertook, but when you had done it, I knew you would persevere, from the knowledge I had of you, not personally, but of your general character, and from what I had seen of y^{r} correspondence with Governm^{t}, and with gentlemen who had shewn me your letters." I observed, that when I had engaged, I could not well help going forward without dishonouring myself. I came forward one step after another,

until I came to the chief command. I wished, after I left him, that I had added—that when I had the prospect and offer of the first honours in my own country, I was not destitute of ambition, and could not help its having some influence.

I went from the L^d^ Ch. Justice to the Adelphi Buildings upon the river, and saw the procession of the Lord Mayor and Company to Westminster; and went from thence to M^r^ Clark's lodging at the corner of Paul's Churchyard to see the procession by land, which was not finished until dark; and the throng was so great that my coach was stop'd so long as to make it ½ after five before I got home to dinner. Wilkes, the Mayor, was said to be sick, and to look miserably. M^r^ Ambler, one of the King's Counsel, and who saw him in Chancery, says he will not live out his year. There never was a Mayor less attended by people of note; and it looks probable he will be more and more contemned, until he quite sinks. The show had nothing in it worth taking any pains to see. Sir Egerton Leigh, a new Carolina Baronet, I met at M^r^ Clark's lodgings. My Lord D. had observed to me the same day, that he did not wonder I was not fond of being created a Baronet.* I called upon his Lordship in the morning at his Levée, as he was to go out of town to-morrow, but nothing very material passed.

10th.—This morning waited on Lord Gower, who has not been in town since my arrival until yesterday. His Lordship was exceeding friendly. He had been very ready in attending on my affair: said he no more than did me justice: my cause was good. I was nevertheless much obliged to M^r^ Mauduit for his assiduity, as otherwise it might have been misrepresented.† He expressed his sense of the necessity of effectual measures w^th^ respect to America.

From L^d^ Gower's went to L^d^ Dartm^s^ office, and while there the publick letters were brought in, w^ch^ came by the Paquet from New York. The principal news was the vote of the Congress, recommending to the Merchants in the Colonies to stop all orders gone or going to England for goods, until the final

* No explanation is given as to what led to this remark.

† He means the affair of the Letters.

result of the Congress was known.* The disorders appeared by the newspapers to be much increased: everybody out of Boston submitting to the demands of the populace.

M^r^ John Pownall was very inquisitive about the constitution of the College. I informed him [of] the state of it. M^r^ Knox asked what he proposed? and declared his opinion that altho' the old Charter was vacated, it did not follow that the Act for making it a Corporation had lost its force; otherwise, if a Corporation could not make a Corporation, for then it would have been null *ab initio:* but I think there is no danger from that rule of law, when applied to the legislative powers of the Colony Corporations.

11th.—I went this morning again to Lord Dartmouth's office, where I found M^r^ Pownall and M^r^ Knox, and I introduced the subject of the College; whereupon M^r^ Pownall asked whether it was an University? if not, what pretence they had to give Degrees? I said they had given Masters' and Bachelors' Degrees from the beginning:† that two or three years ago, out of respect to a venerable old gentleman, they gave him a Doctor's Degree, and that the next year, or next but one, two or three more were made Doctors; two of them I supposed because they were high party men: and as to giving Degrees, they had the practice of the College at Connecticut, Jerseys, &c. Pownall said the King ought to be the fountain, &c. I observed (which was my end in introducing the subject), that after so long usage, it would be hard to disturb the College. Perhaps the impracticability of carrying on the affairs without a Council, might tend to a more quiet settlement of the new Constitution. He argued with me, and concluded by saying he desired to take no such advantages.

We have had flights of snow or sleet to-day, and the weather as cold as it generally is in New England so early in the year. In the country snow fell 2 or 3 inches deep.

12th.—Spent some time to-day at Lord North's: thanked him for his care for my support. He said the Warr^t^ had been

* "We have to-day the *New York Mail*, and an account of the advice to stop all orders for goods from England, as given by the Congress."—Marble paper Letter Book, Nov. 10.

† The Governor took his Bachelor's Degree there, as mentioned before.

finished these three months.* He spake long upon the state of the Colonies: said that until some [thing] further was known of what was doing at Philadelphia, no particular measure could be determined. He had hoped that the Colonies, having asserted their right, and Parliament desisting from taxation, disputes would have subsided; and he believes they would if they had not been afresh stirred up by people here; but now the case seemed desperate, Parl^t would not—could not—concede. For aught he could see it must come to violence. He had the Kingdom w^th him. There was no danger of a change in Parliament. There was no danger of a change in Administration.

He was now in town at home, and I knew where to find him.

M^r Pownall was there, and told me he had good authority to say, the doings at Boston would not be supported by the Congress. I told him, if it had been said by most people, I should have doubted the authority. M^r Jenkinson shewed me extracts of a letter from an officer, the 26 Septem.: represents the Province in a state of rebellion. Sir John Blaquire was there also.†

13th.—St. James's Chapel being the nearest place of worship, and a very decent congregation, we attended there again, the same person both reading prayers and preaching, as read last Sunday.

M^r Clark dined with us. This was a remarkably fair day: the wind north of west, and as cold as it is usual to have the weather in New England so early in the winter.

14th.—Having agreed to let the house I hire in Golden Square, for the remainder of the term I have in it, I spent most

* Casual remarks occur in his Diary and in his letters on the subject of his pay, salary, or allowance, though the amount is not stated. This constituted him an official servant of the Government during his temporary stay in England. Nov. 11 to his son he writes—"The King has signed a Warr^t for my salary, or an equivalent, which is intended to continue until other provision is made for me."

† "I am distressed for my country. If the newspaper accounts are true w^ch we have just rec^d by the Oct. Mail from N. York, you are in a state of perfect anarchy as can be found in history. It adds to my distress when I hear one and another say, 'Let them suffer. It will learn them the necessity of Gov^t.' I tell them, they who suffer, or many of them, really ought to be rewarded; and they who have made themselves obnoxious are victorious and triumphant."—Nov. 10, Letter B.

of the forenoon in viewing houses, without being able to find one to my mind. Afterwards went to Lord Dartmouth's office, where I heard of Lyde's arrival from Salem, at Falmouth, and that most of the letters were come up, but none yet for me, nor any of my family.

15th.—I visited M^r^ Keene in the morning. Afterwards Lord George Sackville Germaine, who expressed great regard.* He has great knowledge in American affairs: says the Colonies must be saved or lost this Session. The House will be of the same mind they were the last year, and nothing is necessary but the Ministers pushing with vigour—or to that effect. From thence I went into the city to M^r^ Mauduit, where I found M. Letheuitter, a member of Parl^t^ who, Mauduit says, was his pupil. Spent two hours in conversation upon the deplorable state of affairs in America;† and then went to dine with the Attorney General, who had no other company, where I tarried till seven in the evening.‡ Among other things, speaking of M^r^ Locke's Treatise upon Government, he pronounced it a mean performance, unworthy a man of M^r^ Locke's general character. The Attorney General is certainly a man of exceeding good sense, but has the character of being indolent; and it is said by delaying business he has given occasion for complaint against him.

16th.—Monsieur Garnier called upon me in the morning: was very inquisitive about the news from America: professes to wish for an accommodation, and to hope no hostilities will take place.§ He says the Count de Guignes is detained in

* Writing more than three years before the date at which we have arrived, Walpole says in a letter of Dec. 18, 1770—"A duel that happened yesterday, Lord George Germaine and a Governor Johnstone, the latter of whom abused the former grossly last Friday in the House of Commons, Lord George behaved with the utmost coolness and intrepidity. Each fired two pistols, and Lord George's first was shattered in his hand by Johnstone's fire; but neither were hurt. However, whatever Lord George Sackville was, Lord George Germaine is a hero."

† Writing to his son Thomas, Nov. 11, he says—"Everything here remains as when I last wrote, only the amazement increases."

‡ This would imply that the dinner hour, even among the higher classes, was usually much earlier than at present, and that an invitation to dinner did not include an entertainment for the evening. Society is always making the hours later and later.

§ Had not the French been very sore ever since they had been driven out

France by cross suits between him and his Secretary, for unfaithfulness in the Secretary, and unjust accusation in the Count, who the Secretary had charged w^th^ Stockjobbing: and also a suit between him and some French Merch^ts^ in London, who had been great adventurers, and great losers in the alley [?], and charge Guignes with the loss, alledging they acted as his Factors, which he utterly denies.

No news yet of any letters by Lyde, nor are any yet come to hand to the Secr^y^ of State. Admiral Graves has wrote to the Admiralty, that he had tried to carry one of the sloops up to the south part of the Harbour, to cover the General's men whilst they were fortifying the Neck; but he could not do it, and had employed a scooner [*sic*] in that service. Upon reading a newspaper at Lord Dartmouth's office, M^r^ Keene and M^r^ Knox in company, M^r^ Knox expressed his satisfaction in an account of a determined design to oppose the King's troops: wished to hear it executed: "we shall then (says he) be at no loss how to proceed."

17th.—I dined, and all my family, with M^r^ William Palmer, where we spent most of the evening in company with M^r^ Charlton Palmer, who I knew in England in 1741, and his wife, and several others. When I came home I found that the late L^t^ Governor's youngest son Silvester,* being one of the passengers in Lyde, had been at my house, but had not left my letters, having promised, as he said, to deliver them with his own hand. There came passengers besides, M^r^ Hystop and son, Rufus Chandler, Doctor Payne, Josiah Quincy, and M^r^ Higginson of Salem.

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of Canada? Was it not suspected that their agents afterwards fomented many of the rebellious feelings against England now germinating in the Colonies? Was it not thought that if the Colonies broke free from the Mother Country, France would hold herself ready to pounce upon them? And did not the assistance which France openly lent to America at a later date throw her open to something more than mere suspicion? And yet the French Minister professes to wish for an accommodation, and to hope that no hostilities would take place. It was one of the fears entertained by the English Government, that if the Colonies were set free, they would become a prey to the clutches of France or Spain.

* Brinley Sylvester Oliver, born Sept. 6, 1755, married Sarah Louisa Barton. He died s. p.

18th.—In the morning S. O. came with a great number of my letters from my friends, and also General Gage's letters to Government. The latter I sent immediately to M^r^ Knox, Lord D. being in the country. Soon after I had sent them, M^r^ Pownall desired, by a card, that I would come immediately to Lord D.'s office, upon an affair of very great importance.* My own coach being out, I immediately took a hack, and was not sorry to find the business was nothing more than to acquaint me General Gage had wrote that there was a person unknown, supposed to be going over in Lyde, upon a bad design, some said to Holland, and that young M^r^ Oliver, who was a passenger in the same ship, would probably be able to give some account of him; and therefore L^d^ North had desired Pownall to examine M^r^ O. I determined it must be Quincy; but gave my opinion it was best not to send for M^r^ O. upon this information, because I believed he knew nothing about Quincy's business, having inquired of him just before; and told Pownall O. was to dine with me, and he might, by a general conversation, easily satisfy himself whether he knew enough to make an examination advisable. He fell immediately into my sentiments, and was convinced at dinner that it was best to make no public or particular inquiry. M^r^ Pownall, Knox, Mauduit, Whately, Stuart, Paine, and Oliver, dined with me. M^r^ Joseph Whately the clergyman, came in the evening and staid some time.

M^r^ Pownall wished I would allow him to send such of my letters as I thought fit to the King; which I consented to, and selected some of them accordingly.

19th.—I met M^r^ Pownall at Lord North's this morning. I asked him what reason he had for my favourable thoughts of the proceedings of the Congress? He said there was a private correspondence, and every step had been communicated. The New York and New Jersey men went determined against a Non-importation, &c., and they brought the Pensilvania people

* "There are advices from America that are said to be extremely bad: I don't know the particulars, but I have never augured well of that dispute. I fear we neither know how to proceed or retreat. I believe this is the case with many individuals, as well as with the public."—Walpole's Letters, Nov. 14, 1774.

to the same way of thinking, and Folsom of New Hampshire, and others, came in and carried a Vote against it; and they agreed to present a Petition to the King, which Adams drew up: and though it was very exceptionable, yet, as it diverted the other measure, it was agreed to, and they expected to break up, when letters arrived from Doctor Franklin, which put an end to the Petition, and obtained a Vote for Non-importation: and when the last advices came away, they were disputing about articles to be excepted. Carolina, &c., wanted cloaths for their Negroes: Massachusetts stores for fishery: and other governments other articles which they could not agree about, but had thought it advisable to recommend a suspension of all orders for goods until they had agreed in the Congress,—which Pownall thinks they never would. I wish he may not be deceived.

Lord North expressed himself in higher terms than ever upon the news from Boston, and said it was to no purpose any longer to think of expedients: the Province was in actual Rebellion, and must be subdued.* He would not allow the thought that the Kingdom was not able to do it. Some merchants perhaps might be frightened; but the sense of the people in general was the other way. He did not know what General Gage meant by suspending the Acts: there was no suspending an Act of Parliament. How far it was necessary to temporize, from circumstances which he alone could know, he alone must be the judge. As for Hessians and Hanoverians, they could be employed if necessary; but he was of opinion there was no need of foreign force: at present they could not be sent: two regiments it was determined should go from Ireland in the spring, and as many more might go from one part or another as should be wanted. The Acts must and should be carried into execution.

He asked whether there ever had been any bodies of people actually in arms? I told him I had no doubt that at some of the attacks upon the Counsellors and other officers, some persons among the mobs might have arms; but I did not

* "Lord North has very good parts, quickness, great knowledge, and what is much wanted, activity."—Walpole's Letters, vol. v., 224.

believe there had been a body of men generally armed, unless for the purpose of training. He then asked who there was to head them? I mentioned the account of Putnam, who encouraged the Connecticut people to gather together, and said he was a man of natural courage, but I thought had no talents for a General. After further general conversation, he let me know Quincy had desired to see him, and that he was determined to allow it; but he wished to know what he was. I informed him he was a lawyer, as inflamatory in Town Meetings, &c., as almost any of the party: that I fancied his errand here was to inflame the people by his newspaper pieces, and in every other way possible; and to give information to those at Boston, of the same spirit and party, what was doing here, and whether they were in danger. Lord North, to convince me of the determined design of Administration to do something effectual, said—"I will venture to tell you that Parliament was dissolved on this account—that we might, at the beginning of a Parliament take such measures as we could depend upon a Parliament to prosecute to effect."

20th.—At St. James's Chapel, D^r^ Pye read a sermon. He is the Incumbent. Last Sunday at Islington church the Minister in the morning read one of the late Bishop Sherlock's sermons, and in the afternoon another Minister hapned unluckily to pitch upon the same sermon.

Called upon M^r^ Cornwall in Golden Square in my way home. Dined with M^r^ Jenkinson in Parliament Street; the Dean of Norwich was there, who had been Chaplain to M^r^ Grenville, and I have heard, Preceptor to his children. He told me he had often heard M^r^ Grenville speak of me with great regard: that he was sorry he was not in town when I was at Norwich, and wished me to come down again, and take my lodgings in the Deanery. M^r^ Cornwall and lady, (who is sister to M^r^ Jenkinson,) Dalrymple and Mauduit dined with us. Great part of the conversation was upon American affairs, and both Jenkinson and Cornwall declared very fully their opinions of talking no longer, but immediately acting to purpose; and Cornwall said he knew Lord North was of the same opinion. He is the first lawyer who I have heard express a doubt of

extending the Statute of Henry the 8th to America. I have heard Lord North say there was no doubt; but Cornwall wished an Act might pass, providing for the Trial of Treason wherever committed in England; though he thought Impeachment would be the best way of proceeding in the present case, and observed that Sacheveral's Impeachment effectually established Revolutional principals, which the party who supported him wished to explode.

21st.—Mr Ellis called upon me in the morning, and spent a quarter of an hour upon American news: after which, at Ld Beauchamp's desire, I spent an hour there in satisfying his Ldship's inquiries into the Constitution of Massachusetts Bay in particular, as well as the Colonies in general: then went to Lord Dartmouth's office upon Mr Pownall's desire, who has a plan in his head for an Act of Parlt to suspend all the Militia laws of Mass. Bay. He said Sir J. A.* would be sent, and suspend Gage in his military comand until the Province is reduced to order: but the chief that passed was an account of Quincy's visit to Lord North. Upon his first coming in he acquainted Lord North that he was just arrived from Boston, his business here being to recover his health: but as he was here, he wished for an opportunity of waiting on his Lordship, and assuring him that the people of the Massachusetts must have been much wronged by the misrepresentations which had been made from time to time to the Ministry, and which had occasioned the late measures: that there was a general desire of reconciliation, and that he thought three or four persons on the part of the Kingdom, and as many on the part of the Colonies, might easily settle the matter. Lord North said to him, he had been moved by no informations nor representations: it was their own Acts and Doings, (of which he had been furnished with attested authentic copies,) denying the authority of Parliament over them. His Ldship did not suppose he would say this was a misrepresentation. This authority can never be given up, but must at all events be enforced. This was his determination: it was the determination of the rest of the King's Ministers: none of them would depart from it. If he

* Jeffery Amherst?

should yield the point, he should expect to have his head brought to the Block by the general clamor of the people, and he should deserve it. This must be submitted to, and then he would give the most favourable ear to every proposal from the Colonies.

The question between England and her Colonies is here divested of all the entanglements touching taxes, Internal and External, Representation, and so on, and is concentrated into the single one of the Supremacy of Parliament. After all, this is so comprehensive that it embraces everything else. Quincy had been duped into the idea that the representations of Governor Hutchinson lay at the bottom of all the troubles of America; as if any set of Ministers could be so shallow as to act in important matters of State upon the advice of a Governor alone, unsupported by any collateral corroborative evidence of any of the numerous officials in the Colony by whom he was surrounded, and with whom he was obliged to work. It was to try and establish a malicious charge of this sort, and "to raise the fury of the people against him," that his private letters were purloined in England and printed in America; and then, when they had been published, people saw that there had been no crimes to divulge, and that they contained "no sentiment which the Governor had not openly expressed in his Addresses to the Legislature." Endless are the devices that dishonest men, engaged in party strife, will resort to in order to advance their projects. It is possible that Quincy, in his simplicity, or as a believer in the doctrines in which he had been instructed, held an honest conviction that the Governor really was such a delinquent—that the ministry were labouring under false impressions—and in that view we will give the American the credit of a well-intended desire to enlighten them. It is not usual for Prime Ministers of England, or, indeed, of most other countries, to grant private interviews to strangers. The first point put by Lord North to his visitor was probably enough to show him that a vast obstacle lay across his path at the very commencement of his honest labours; and his confidence in the success of his mission received a sudden check.

He said he heard Quincy intended to go to Holland; but he did not admit he had any such intention. Quincy asked if his Lordship had heard what the Congress had agreed, or would agree [to]? He spoke with an air of indifference, and supposed

they would agree upon a Non-importation, a Non-exportation, and may be a Non-consumption. Quincy said there was no doubt they would agree upon all; that otherwise, the Delegates from Mass. Bay would be much disappointed: but there was something further that they would agree upon—to raise a large sum of money in Bank for the general use of the Colonies. Lord North asked what sum they talked of? Quincy said, "A hundred thousand pounds."

"A hundred thousand pounds!" says Lord North, "why, I thought they were always able to raise 3 or 4 hund^{d} thousand pounds in 3 or 4 weeks."

This is all Quincy could get out of his Lordship, who pronounced him a bad, insidious man, designing to be artful without abilities to conceal his design.

This account is agreeable to what M^{r} Pownall had before told M^{r} Knox he received from L^{d} North, as Knox related it to me.

22nd.—There was snow enough this morning to cover the ground, and it continued snowing until near noon; but rain coming on, it was all gone by night. Sir Francis Bernard came to town just at dark, and took up his lodgings at my house.* I could not help remarking to him the uncertainty of human affairs. Ten years ago, when he was Governor, and I L$^{t.}$ Governor, nothing was more improbable than my succeeding him, and both of us being obliged to come to England,—he to entertain me at his house in Ailesbury, and I him at my house in London.

23rd.—I intended to go to Court; and just as I was getting into my coach, Lord Beauchamp came in and tarried until it was too late. He says the K. Speech will be very general, and will point out no measures, and he thinks the Addresses will be as general, but that the assurances of supporting the authority of Parliament will be very strong.

I went to Lord Dartmouth's before L^{d} Beauchamp came in, who had just received Quincy's book,† and another pamphlet,

* The letter inviting Sir F. B. has been entered in the marble paper Letter Book. Elisha's Diary says—"Nov. 22. S^{r} Francis Bernard came to town, and took lodgings with us."

† The visit of Quincy is alluded to in letters of Nov. 19 and 24, entered

which somebody, he said, had just sent him in. He asked me the character of the book, and of the man, which, when I had given, he said he had seen letters from persons in Boston to persons of respectable characters here, recommending him as a person well disposed to bring about a reconciliation between the Kingdom and the Colonies. His Lordship then repeated the conversation Q. had with Lord North, but not so particularly as I had heard it from M^r^ Pownall, and said Lord North looked upon his design to be to represent the Colonies in the most formidable view; and at the same time supposed the measures taken in England to be caused by misrepresentation. I wished his Lordship to urge him to go into particulars. With respect to the Colonies in general, his L^d^ship wished for some expedient: that some proposal had been made: was astonished at the Resolve of the Congress at Philadelphia, approving of the Resolves of the county of Suffolk. I told him I looked upon it as an evasive, equivocal thing, artfully drawn: that when they shall be charged with approving the Resolves in general, they may be able to say they approved of them only so far as they were wise and temperate—epithets they have affixed to the [words blotted out with a pen]. As for the Massachusetts Bay, he said they were plainly in a state of revolt or rebellion; there was no avoiding measures with them.

The remaining time before dinner I spent at Lord D.'s office with Mess^rs^ Pownall and Knox. The former told me Quincy had been with Williams the Inspector, D^r^ Bancroft, and [blank] to wait on his brother Governor Pownall.

M^r^ John P. came home with S^r^ F. B. and dined with me.

24th.—M^r^ Cornwall called upon me, and spent some time. He supposes nobody can give in to the claims of America, but

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in the marble paper Letter Book. In the first we read—"From the information in your letter to Lord D. he enquired, what I knew of Q— who is come passenger in *Lyde*. I gave his Lordship his just character and acquainted him that he called upon Doctor F. the first day after he landed, and brought recomendatory letters to Wilkes; and I had reason to believe republished a piece in the *Public Ledger* of to-day; so that his Lordship will be able to make a shrewd guess what will be his principal business," &c. The letter of Nov. 24 gives pretty much the same story as the Diary.

seems at a loss what measures Parliament will take. He takes it for granted nothing can be done before Christmas. The settling the House will take up so much time, that there will be little enough to make provision for the money necessary to be immediately supplied for deficiency in the Navy and Army. He says Governor Pownall may probably come in when the vacancies appear. He had reason to believe that he (P.) had let Lord North know he would be a friend to government:* that he is a man of parts, but runs away with strange notions upon some subjects.

We removed this day from Golden Square to a better house which I have taken in St. James's Street.

The death of Lord Clive the day before yesterday, and announced in the papers to-day, makes a subject of speculation.† His disorder was bilious, and he sent for Fothergill, who prescribed: but L^d^ Clive said he had been helped formerly by laudanum; but Fothergill told him it would kill him. The next day he told Fothergill he had not followed his prescription, but had taken the laudanum, and would try it again: and F. repeated that it would kill him. He took it notwithstanding, and the same day, or soon after, fell into a fit and died. M^r^ Bradshaw having lately shot himself, and the Duke of Athol thrown himself into the river, the first question was—whether Lord Clive had not laid himself asleep also? Some say he is worth a million, and that his *Jaghire*‡ of £30,000£ p an. is to continue ten years longer. If he is so rich, thirty

* It has been apparent that Pownall has been an opponent to the present Ministry. Why this change?

† See April 8, 1775.

‡ In the *London Magazine* for 1773, p. 44, there are some lines headed "Protestation," in which the word Jagheer occurs—

"You I love, my dearest life,
More than Georgy loves his wife,
More than Ministers to rule,
More than North to play the fool,
More than Nabobs love to rob,
More than Pitt to catch the mob,
More than Camden loves grimace,
More than Barrington his place,
More than Clive his black Jagheer," &c.

thousand pounds only, w^h^ he has given to a younger son, is unequal.*

Great part of the day and all the evening, snow and a high wind: it is said to threaten a cold winter.

25th.—The snow lay upon the top of the houses this morning, but scarce any on the ground, and the air as cold and blustering with scattered flakes of snow, as is common so early in N. England.

I was at the King's Levée, who among other things, inquired whether I tho't it colder in New England at this time, than it is here.

Lord Suffolk introduced me to Lord Rochfort. M^r^ Jackson called upon me, and M^r^ Paul Wentworth, and M^r^ Jenkinson. Before dinner I made a visit to M^r^ Ambler in Queen's Square, Member of Parlt and King's Counsel. Dined with M^r^ Knox, who had a very polite company—Lord Suffolk, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Beauchamp, Sollicitor General, M^r^ Cornwall, M^r^ Grenville, eldest son of George Grenville, and M^r^ Keene. He had invited M^r^ Stephens of the Admiralty, but was unwell.

Lord Dartmouth, after dinner, gave me a particular account of what passed between him and Quincy. He said Q. came to his Levée with Williams after I had seen his L^d^ship Wednesday last: that he professed to come over for his health; but believing the Massachusetts people had been misrepresented, he wished to make a right representation: that it had been said they would soon be quiet and contented, he knew the case to be just the reverse: that now two counties which had always [been] high for Prerogative from conviction, had now joined all the rest of the Province in their opposition to the late Acts—these were Hampshire and Berkshire: that the new Counsellors were in general persons the most exceptionable to the Province, of any which could have been pitched upon, and only one whom the people were satisfied with, which was the L^t^ Governor, and he by chance, for they understood he was not the person intended, but that the name of the Ch. Justice

* No great man can ever serve his country without slander and abuse as a portion of his reward. He can do no good action (let alone bad) without having hurled at his head all the crimes that only bad men can imagine.—See Adolphus, ii. 16.

was mistaken. L^d^ D. interrupted him here and said it was strange the people of N. E. should suppose the Ministry so inattentive as not to ascertain the names of the persons they appointed. He then said he had the highest opinion of Lord Mansfield, and he did not doubt his Lordship was capable of projecting a way to reconcile the Kingdom and the Colonies. Lord D. asked if he had seen L^d^ Mansfield? He said No: he did not know how to be introduced to him, or to y^t^ purpose. Lord D. said he believed Lord M. was fully of opinion that the proceedings in Massachusetts Bay were treasonable. Q. did not know but it was: he knew the people in N. E. had no idea that they were guilty of Treason.

Mr. Quincy is here labouring under a false impression not to be wondered at, owing to the similarity of name belonging to the late Lieut.-Governor, the then actual Lieut.-Governor, and the Chief Justice—all of them bearing the patronymic of Oliver. In appointing a new Lieut.-Governor the selection was by no means a chance one, for it will be remembered that in his first interview with the King, Mr. Hutchinson explained his reasons for not nominating his relative the Chief Justice, Peter Oliver.

As regards the state of Boston, there is a letter by Mr. H. to Lord Hardwicke and duly entered in the marble paper Letter Book, partly by Peggy's hand, and partly by his own, in which he speaks of the military operations at Boston. It is dated Nov. 21, and has been written in some haste.

"My Lord,—

"I promised to acquaint your Lordship with any remarkable American news. Our last advices from Massachusets Bay are by a vessel which sailed the 30^th^ of September. General Gage had fortified the entrance of the town, and he was building Barracks: but a day or two before the vessel sailed, the workmen, by the instigation of the Selectmen of Boston, threw down their tools, and refused to strike a stroke more. It is certain an enthusiastick spirit spreads through the Province. I cannot yet [so far Peggy: the rest by her father] think they will either attack the K.'s troops, or stand against them. 15 [?] of the C[ouncil] still remain firm, but they dare not go out of Boston, tho' most of them are not inhabit^s^ there. The G. [General or Governor] stop'd the Ass[embly] which he had call'd, from meeting, because he had call'd them to meet at Salem; and the C. not being able to leave B. with safety, could not meet w^th^ them. The towns thereupon

chose Memb. to meet the 2nd Tuesd. in Octob. and 'tis expected the old C. will meet wth them in defiance of the Act of P. This will be a most criminal act, and I wish they may not be guilty of it."

26th.—Mr Jenkinson calling yesterday at my house, and not finding me at home, wished to see me this morning. He made enquiry into the present state of New England. The facts I gave him as well as I could. He could not account for the General's not marching out of Boston to suppress the riots. I thought his Council were of opinion he had not sufficient force, unless he left Boston without defence. I mentioned the difficulties to which the Council were subjected, who had families and estates in the country, and were shut up in Boston. He said it was a case required immediate consideration, and that he had spoke his mind to Ld North, but he doubted whether it was practicable to bring it on before Christmass.

I went with Sir F. B. in my coach to Mr Mauduit's in the city, who we found very much hurt that Q. should have had admittance to any of the Ministry after he had published so impudent a book. Nobody so forward as M. in pronouncing Mass. Bay in rebellion. I said to him that I did not remember that it was said in '45 that Scotland had rebelled: there was a rebellion in Scotland: and the most that can be said now is, that there is a rebellion in Massachusets Bay.

Mr Charles Townshend of the Treasury called upon me before dinner. Such of *Lyde's* passengers as had been to my house upon their arrival, dined with me to-day, and Mr T. Bernard, Miss Bernard, and Mr Clarke.

27th.—Went with Sir F. Bernard to the Temple Church, where Dr Thurloe, Master of the Temple, and brother to the Attorney General, preached a good sermon, the subject the Prophecies, much in the manner and stile [*sic*] of the late Master, the Bishop of London. In this assembly, where there are so many men of reading, a preacher will not venture upon a printed discourse. Perhaps not one in ten preach any other.*

* In the present day there are so many readers, that very few clergymen would venture to read a printed sermon for fear of detection, as every man wishes it to be supposed that he is the author of his own. Without quoting

Two or three Sundays ago at Islington church a clergyman in the forenoon gave the people a very good sermon. In the afternoon they were surprized to hear another clergyman preach from the same text, the same sermon, word for word, which they had both borrowed from the Bishop of London. We dined with M^r^ Jackson. About 7 in the evening we went first to Lord Mansfield's, where we met with M^r^ Justice Willes, Counsellor Wallis, D^r^ Douglas, a Canon of Winsor [*sic*], Sir Fletcher Norton, M^r^ Adams, the Architect, and others. From thence to Lord Chancellor, where, besides most of the company which came from Lord Mansfield's, we found Lord Dartmouth, M^r^ Stanley, Secretary to the Treasury, and divers other Lords and gentlemen, and several principal lawyers.

Every Sunday evening the L^d^ Chancellor and L^d^ Ch^f^ Justice receive company in this manner. Each set tarries about a quarter of an hour and then goes off, but makes it a rule not to leave the room quite empty, until it is so late as to be proper for all the company to quit. When I was in London formerly [in 1741], I observed this custom when people newly married received company in a forenoon.

28th.—This forenoon I spent an hour most agreeably in the Court of King's Bench hearing L^d^ Mansfield give judgment in the Grenada Cause. An action was brought by a Planter, against the Collector of the Revenue in Grenada, for money rec^d^ by the Def^t^ to the use of the Plaintiff without considerations, &c. L^d^ Mansfield recited the special verdict, and then went particularly into the several points in the pleadings, and then stated the points upon which the case turned. He allowed that, as Grenada was a conquered island, the King had a constitutional right, as well as a right by the capitulation, to impose this duty: but in 1763 he had issued a Proclamation inviting all his subjects to purchase [?] and settle in

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names, there is a good story, almost forgotten, of a clergyman who transcribed a printed sermon into his MS. sermon book, to look original; and, feeling that he was quite safe, displayed his black cover manuscript letter paper on the pulpit cushion, and thus delivered himself to his congregation. Meeting one of his hearers afterwards, he said—"How did you like my sermon?" "Very much," replied his friend; "I always did like that sermon."

Grenada: assuring them the Gov^{t} of the place should be like that of his other colonies, governed by Royal Comission; and particularly that there should be an Assembly: and a Commission was issued to Gov^{r} Melville, and he was instructed to call an Assembly. After this Instruction, but before any Assembly was called, the King, by another Proclamation, declared his subjects in Grenada liable to a duty of 4½ p c^{t} upon sugars, &c. exported, in lieu of all duties, customs, &c., to which they had been subject whilst under the French King. This, his L^{d}ship observed, would have been undoubtedly of force if it had preceded the Proclamation for settling the Government under an Assembly of their own: but as it followed it, and so long after it, that there had been time for an Assembly to meet, tho' none did meet, he declared it to be of no force, and that no taxes could be imposed on the inhabitants, except by the Assembly or by Parliam^{t}.

He cited an opinion of Sir Philip York and Clement Wearger [?] Attorney and Sollicitor Gen. in 1722, in the case of Jamaica, when the Assembly refused to make laws, &c. that as the island had, after the conquest, been settled by a Colony of English subjects, so that there was not then, as he found by a particular search into the state of the island at that time, many, if any, one of the Spaniards left, and he had heard there was not one among the Whites, [and] but one among the Blacks. No laws could bind Jamaica but such as were made in Assembly or in Parliament. Upon the whole, they were all of opinion Judgment should be for the Plaintiff.

It occurred to me that within these last twenty years, I had seen in the papers the death of a Spaniard in Jamaica, who was upon the island when it was surrendered to Cromwell's General, and was above an hundred years old.

Query whether all the monies collected at Grenada for 10 years past must not be refunded?

From Westminster Hall I went to Lord Hillsborough's in Hanover Square, who received me cordially. I carried him Sir F. B.'s Letters, and the Proceedings of the K. in Council upon my Letters and the L^{t} Governor's, which had been pub-

lished by Mauduit, both of which he was glad of, because he was to move for an Address upon the King's Speech;* and upon my telling him I had several late letters from America, he wished to see them, and I sent them to him after I came home. I then went to Lord Hardwicke's, who by a card had desired to see me, and spent near an hour.

Lord Barrington called when I was from home. No person has stood all changes for 20 years past so well as Lord Barrington, who is now Secretary at War. He was asked by the Mayor of Plimouth, when everybody else had gone out, upon every change of Ministry, how his Lordship could stand it? He answered, (when they were at dinner,) that he could compare the State to a great plum-pudding, which he was so fond of that he would never quarrel with it, but should be for taking a slice as long as there was any left. Being cousin German to Lady Bernard, Sir Francis has experienced his friendship—has just given a place of 200£ a year to his son Tho. and bro't a younger son into the army.

29th.—In the morning called upon M^r^ Keene, who acquainted me with the particulars of the King's Speech, such of the Court Members as are in town, having met the evening before in the great room L^d^ Dartm^s^ Office. After walking in the Park I went to that Office to see the King go to the Parliament House, the parade of which was much less than I expected; but little appearance of state except the State Coach itself, and the ordinary Guards. It struck me to observe the ceiling of M^r^ Pownall's part of the Office, which was the Duke of Monmouth's bed chamber, the stuckoe remaining the same in one corner, whereof is a large cypher J. M. B., James Duke of Monmouth and Buccleugh, being denoted by it. Whilst I was there, I mentioned something of Williams's appointment to the place of Commissioner of the Customs in America, when Pownall said—"I understand he was the man who gave information to Lord North of his seeing the Letters in Temple's possession, directed to D^r^ F.; upon which information T. was removed. I think it probable

* "The [King's] Speech is said to be firm, and to talk of the *rebellion* of our Province of Massachusetts."—Walpole's Letters, Nov. 29, 1774.

this is merit enough, or the principal merit, for W.'s appointment."

30th.—In the morning with Sir F. B. I made a visit to Lord Barrington's in Cavendish Square, who rec^{d} me with great politeness, and kept me near an hour in conversation upon American affairs. He is of the moderate party, and I can intirely agree with him in his plan of government of the Colonies. He was very inquisitive upon many points of the present Constitution of Mass. Bay, and the practice upon them, and wished often to see me. He detained us so long that we had scarce time to dress to go to the House of Lords to hear the King's Speech. A card from L^{d} Dartm^{h} shewn to the Dep. Usher, M^{r} Qualme [?] introduced me and my daughter, and S^{r} F. B., M^{r} and M^{rs} Knox.* As I had not been present on such an occasion when I was before in England, except once in a great crowd at the lower part of the House, and as I now stood near the Throne to great advantage, and had a pretty good view of the King upon the Throne, and the two Houses of Parliament, and saw the formality of the Speaker's presenting himself, and heard his Speech, and the King's acceptance signified by the Chancellor, and then the Speech in return by the Speaker, and after that the King's Speech from the Throne to both Houses, delivered with admirable propriety—upon the whole, I have received greater pleasure than I have done from any other publick scene since I have been in England.

December 1st.—Lord Hillsborough having sent his servant yesterday, after I was gone to the Parl^{t} House, to desire to speak with me, I went this morning to his Lordship, and found that he wanted my leave to read one of my letters to the House of Lords, and not seeing me had ventured to read it without leave. It gave me concern until I heard what letter it was, and I think it would have been better to have omitted even that, especially as both L^{d} North and L^{d} Dartmouth had seen it, and must know where he had it. Lord Hillsborough moved for the Address, and spoke an hour and a quarter.

* Elisha was also present, and writing to his wife, he speaks in glowing terms of the gorgeous scene, the King's figure and the tone of his voice.

Lord Buckingham[shire ?] seconded, and spoke about 4 minutes. Then the D. of Richmond moved for an Amendment, viz.—that His Majesty would order all the papers relative to America to be laid before the House; that when the House had received all the information which could be obtained, they would then give such advice and assistance as the dignity of Parliament, and the general interest of the Dominions of his Crown should require: and he enforced his motion by a warm speech, in which it might be inferred he was in favour of the claim of Independency of the Americans, if he did not in words express it. Lord Camden seconded the motion. Lord Littleton answered. Lord Shelburne replied to L^d^ Littleton, and Lord Dartmouth closed in a speech of about 20 minutes, when, upon the Question for the Amendm^t^ the House divided, 63 against, and 13 for it; after which many Lords went home, and a second Division was not expected: but when the Question was put, whether the Address should pass, the House divided again, 46 for and 9 against; 4 of the 13, and 17 of the 63 having left the House. The 9 protested:* which, it is said, they can do only after a division, and so made the division necessary upon the last Question. The Protest, it is said, plainly exempts the Americans from Parl^y^ authority in some cases, and yet Lord Rockingham was among the Protestors notwithstanding he was the father of the Act which declares them subject in all cases whatsoever. Strange, to what length party spirit carries men. Here is an instance of nine Lords, who had rather give up the Colonies to a foreign power, and run the risk of making the Kingdom a Province of the same power, than not indulge a spirit of opposition to the measures of Administration.† At the close of the last Session the Duke of Richmond said—"I think the Americans have good right to resist. I hope they will resist; and that they will succeed." L^d^ Camden said "he joined with the Noble Duke in thinking they had good right to resist; but he could not hope they

* Chapter xxv. of Adolphus's History opens with an account of these proceedings. The Commons voted the Address by 264 to 73.

† It was thought that if the Colonies were free, they would immediately fall into the hands of the French or Spaniards, as observed before.

would succeed." "Surely, (says the Duke,) if they have good right we ought to wish they may maintain it." This anecdote I had from [the] Lord Chancellor.*

I went to Court to see and hear the Address of the Lords delivered, but did not go into the Circle, as I had always done before, having been there so lately as last Friday. The King had not his robes on, and was dressed in a plain suit; only the Chancellor, the Abp. of Canterbury, half a dozen Bishops, and ten or fifteen Lords attended; and the Drawing Room was far from crowded. The B^p^ of London shewed me the names of almost all the Ministers of the Episcopal Convention at the bottom of a letter, signifying their apprehensions, &c., as he informed me, and remarked upon it, that he did not know what could be done. He did not shew me the letter to read, as I rather appeared not to desire it.

Dined with [the] Lord Chancellor, his lady and daughter; the Attorney General, M^r^ Jackson, and Sir F. B. made the company. Much dispute between the two lawyers, who differ much upon American measures. Jackson declares to the unlimited authority, and yet seems to be for receding from late measures: the Attorney General the contrary, as to receding. Both blame Gage for not suppressing the late riots with his troops. Jackson at the close, said he wished Adams, Hancock, &c., could be made examples of—or to that effect.

2nd.—Went this morning for the first time since I have been in England, to the Treasury: settled the affair of my allowance from the King, to commence from the expiration of my salary the 17^th^ of May inclusive: and to be by Privy Seal, and not by Patent, the difference in the fees being 70£ Sterl. or more. Talked with M^r^ Leake upon the affair of the Comissioners at Boston, particularly M^r^ Burch.

Dined at Lord Dartmouth's, with my son E. and daughter, besides M^r^ Keene, and lady, Sir F. B., and Colonel Dalrymple.

3rd.—Called upon Sir Eardley Wilmot, and Col. Paterson,

* Strange that the Duke should have made such an unconstitutional assertion! He ought to have said, that England always had the right over her Colonies from their very foundation, and had never relinquished that right; but, owing to the change of times, it may not now be expedient to enforce it.

but saw neither of them. Mr Mauduit made me a visit in the evening: amongst other things mentioned his being present in the House of Commons when Mr Dowdeswell observed upon the accounts of the Commissaries in Germany, that application and complaint had been made by the Agent of one of the German Princes, that he could not have his accounts not [*sic*]* passed, notwithstanding he had paid the usual allowance upon the occasion which Mr Dowdeswell, upon enquiry, found to be 5000£ to one of the Comissaries, Govr P—, and 1000£ to his Clerk: that upon enquiry of Govr P—, he denied the receipt of any monies, and if there had been any transactions of that sort, they were by his Clerk. Being asked where his Clerk was, he was run away; and all the notice taken by the House was, that when they addressed the K. to allow 3000£ to each of the other Commissaries, they neglected P—l, and would not address for anything to him.

4th.—At the Meeting House in Carter Lane, where Doctor or Mr Pickard, a serious man, preached a good New England discourse.

Dined with Lord Hardwicke; his Lady, Marchioness of Grey in her own right, his daughter Lady Mary, he having no son, a Miss Gregory, Daniel Ray and his wife, and Mr John Yorke, brother to Ld Hardwicke, made the company. In the evening Dr James Yorke, Bishop of St. David's, came in. He is youngest brother to Ld H. Sir F. Bernard set out at ten o'clock from my house to return home to Ailesbury.†

5th.—A rumor of bad news from Boston. I went to Ld D.'s office, where I saw his Lordship, Mr Pownall, and Mr Knox, who all assure me there has no sort of intelligence been received, except that a letter from Mr Rutledge [?] one of the Congress at Philad. intimates that Deputies would be sent to

* The word "not" repeated by accident.

† In a letter to Mr. Burch of Dec. 4, he says—"Sr F. Bernard has obtained a pension of £800 for himself, and 400£ Lady Bernard, and a place of better than 200£ a year for his son Tom; all which makes him happy, and I think more healthy. He has been with me as a lodger for 10 or 11 days, in a house which I have taken three doors above Park Place, very pleasant and well furnished. We live in great friendship. My other predecessor has been printing again, and given me two or three severe lashes. Non scribit, cujus carmina nemo legit. I am at the end of my paper."

England, and that he expected to be one of them. This letter must, I think, have come by the last packet. It's now nine weeks since we have heard from Boston.

Attempted to go to the H. of Comons, but upon hearing that the Galleries were ordered to be cleared, gave over. Lord Beauchamp afterwards desired the Speaker privately to allow of my admittance, but he said he dared not do it. There was no regard to the particular subject of debate, in ordering the House to be cleared; but the disturbance by pressing into the House and crowding the Members, occasioned the Order.

The leaders of the people were daily becoming more bold, and the people were behaving accordingly.

In the blue-back Letter Books (for want of a better name), vol. i., there is an original letter of Thomas Hutchinson, at Milton, to his brother Elisha, in London, dated Nov. 20, in which he says:—"We expect daily such acc^{s} from England as I fear will put us in a worse state than we yet have been, which has determined me to move to Boston in a few days, as eleven Regiments and a good fortification round the town, make it the safest retreat. I hope that affairs, coming to such extremities, may not much worry the G—r. I know in a degree what his feelings for his country are, and I doubt not the time may come when he may return here with applause, if he chuses it; but that we shall be a conquered country first, I believe will be the case. There are various opinions what lengths the people will go before they submit: at present they certainly appear to be determined to make a bold stand. P.S.—I live under Liberty Pole, which is erected on the Square by Brown's Tavern. I skulked to Boston for two or three days while it was erecting."

The Governor, in London, to his son Thomas in America, Dec. 9, *inter alia*:—"I am at a loss whether you are in town or country. You don't write me enough of the *minimarum rerum quæ domi geruntur*, which Cicero says somewhere are acceptable articles of news to anybody at a great distance from home."

In another original letter from the same to the same, of Dec. 20, Mr. H. comments on a malicious attempt of the Congress at Philadelphia to cast upon him the blame of the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbour, when they knew the legal reasons why he was unable to grant a pass. He says:—"The charge against me by the Congress, as being the cause of the destruction of the Tea, does me no harm here, where the circumstances are known: but it

shows great malice in the Boston men in so representing it to their brethren. I think I have heard, that in the time of it, one or more of these men said publickly, they knew it was not in my power to grant the pass when it was applied for."

Party feeling ran very high, and from the nature of its attacks, ought to be represented blind. Again he writes to his son—"I see the newspaper abuse upon me still. An infamous lie sent to New York in a handbill, to be published there, because it could easily be confuted, and the printer exposed, at Boston."

6th.—Called in the morning upon Lord Gage: afterwards upon Sir Eardley Wilmot: also upon S^{r} Edward Hawke, M^{r} Wedderburne, and M^{r} Jackson; neither of the last being at home. Then went into the city, and spent an hour with Mauduit.

I find the motion for an Address was made yesterday by L^{d} Beauchamp, who spoke long upon American affairs, but proposed no measures: rather made the late Acts a national proceeding in which the Kingdom had been disappointed: but still seemed to suppose anarchy, which was the tenderest name to be given, could not hold, and that the Acts themselves would in time force their way. He was seconded by M^{r} De Grey, son to the Chief Justice. Lord John Cavendish then moved for an Amendment upon the Address, the same with that of the Lords, and was seconded by Frederic Montagu, who had been of the Rockingham Administ^{n}. None of the Champions appearing, Lord North spake sooner than he intended, and let the House know that the K. would order all papers to be laid before the House whenever the state of America should come before them, meerly [*sic*] to know whether they would support the king or not, the papers could be of no use, and the motion only tended to delay. If he had not spoke as he did, he would not have spoke at all; for, going into Solomon's Porch soon after, his foot slipped, and he came upon his knee, down two or three steps, so as that he could not have stood from his lameness.

Gov. Johnstone, Burke, Barré, and Charles Fox, were the speakers for the Amendment, and a new Member, M^{r} Hartley. On the other side were [blank] and M^{r} Wedderburne.

It was thought Dunning would speak, but he did not. The Attorney General was prepared to answer him. Not a word was said to justify the American claim to independency. All the opposition was to the conduct of the Ministry. Upon a Division 264 were for the Address, and 73 against it, w^ch^ is a greater majority than is usual upon the first meeting of a new Parliament.

In a letter of Dec. 10, to Mr. Sewall (apparently) Gov. H. freely handles these questions. "The King's Speech," he says, "as it appears in print, is strong. If you had heard him deliver it, with infinite propriety, you would have thought it much stronger. The Address of the Lords, and especially that of the Commons, one would imagine should make some impression upon Americans, if they supposed the one and the other really to intend what they profess. I verily believe both are in earnest.

"A general plan, I have reason to think, is forming to provide for all events; but the completion of it I suppose is deferred for want of news from Philadelphia and Boston. Your proposed Congress at Concord is said to be more clearly —— —— [*sic in orig.*] than the General Congress at Philadelphia. This I have repeatedly heard from more than one of the greatest lawyers in the Kingdom, and it distresses me when I hear of it, because I expect many persons will unwarily be drawn to ruin themselves by becoming Members of this meeting. Indeed, all parties seem to pronounce it the most plain act of Revolt that they are capable of.

"No person was admitted to the Debates in the H. of Commons except Irish members; not from a desire of secrecy, but from the foolish behaviour of some of the crowd, raising the resentment of some persons of high temper against them, having been jostled going to the House. I am assured by a Member who wished all America could have heard the Debates, that not one word was said in favour of the measures or claims in America; but the time was chiefly taken up in censuring the present Ministry. Burke was more flowery than ever; he addressed himself with a great deal of rhetorick to the young Members, cautioning them against the wiles of Administration; but was so facetious that he pleased the whole House. A short answer was given by a blunt M^r^ Van. [?] 'The Honorable Gentleman,' says Van, 'has been strewing flowers to captivate children. I have no flowers M^r^ Speaker to strew; all I have to say is, that I think the Americans are a rebellious

and most ungrateful people, and I am for assuring the King that we will support him in such measures as will be effectual to reduce them.' The honesty of the man and his singular manner, set the whole House into a halloo! and answered Burke better than Cicero could have done with all his eloquence. There never were so few speakers; and L^d^ North spoke immediately, or next after the motion for Amendment had been Seconded, supposing the other side had no more to say.

"I believe you suffer, and everybody here believes the same. I hope your patience will continue a little while longer."

In a letter of December to his brother Foster Hutchinson, he says—"The accounts received of the sufferings of our friends in Boston, fill us with concern. I hope their patience will hold out, and that their deliverance is near," &c.

7th.—In the morning to M^r^ Charles Townshend: and Cl. Dalrymple calling, intended to have gone to M^r^ Stanley, but met him in the Park, and walked down the Mall together. He seemed dissatisfied with the delay upon American affairs. Then called upon General Harvey, who thought more troops should be ordered as soon as possible, or those which are there recalled. I called upon M^r^ T. Townshend Jun., one of the Privy Council in Franklin's affair, who went with the minority in the H. of Comons, as did Geo. Grenville, to the surprize of many, as it was his father's doing which brought on all the troubles, and if he had lived. [Obscure, something wanting.] M^r^ Townshend was as full as anybody for supporting the supremacy of Parliament, but was forbearing taxation, as good policy. I was also at M^r^ Keene's, who asked what I thought would be the effect of an assurance given the Americans, that Parliament [something omitted]. This was occasioned by what one of the Members—I think it was a new Member—M^r^ Hartley said in the debate,—that he had been informed there was a letter in the Secretary of State's Office from M^r^ Flucker, (I suppose he meant Cushing,) that if things could be put upon the footing they were in the year 1764, the Colonies would be content. This same Hartley, Quincy, by some means or other, had made himself known to, and when Quincy was at the door, Hartley came out more than once, and inquired for him, and I think must have taken that hint from him.

8th.—M^r^ Morris, Comiss^r^ &c., called and breakfasted. I expected something to be said on the subject of M^r^ Williams, his appointment at the American Board; but nothing dropped. He mentioned Quincy's having been introduced to him; and though his book was high, he professed moderation, and wanted some line to be settled.

Quincy is alluded to by Mr. H. in a letter of Dec. 9, directed to Judge Auchmuty:—"M^r^ Quincy shews himself in publick places, and I fancy sometimes in the newspapers. He has not only made himself known to Mess^rs^ Bollan, Franklin, and Wilkes, but has found the way to L^d^ North and L^d^ Dartmouth. His visit to the former has occasioned some contradiction. L^d^ North told me that Quincy desired to be admitted to speak with him. Quincy tells his friends that L^d^ North desired to speak with him. It seems M^r^ Williams, the Inspector, was the messenger between them. If the remarks which L^d^ North made upon the first visit are truly reported, there will probably be no second visit to cause a dispute. It seems his chief business was, to represent the Massachusets people to be engaged almost to a man, and so determined as that they would sooner die than submit, and particularly the two counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, which heretofore were the most loyal in the Province, to be now the most zealous and unanimous in opposition; and this, not from compulsion, but from conviction: and he added that the people were more enraged than otherwise they would have been, by the appointment of the most obnoxious persons for Members of the Council; there being only one of the whole number that was agreeable to the people, and that was the Lieut^t^ Governor, and he would not have been appointed, not being the person intended, if the Christian name had not been inserted wrong in the Warrant. I am not sure whether he said this to L^d^ North or L^d^ Dartmouth, but I think it was the latter: I know it was he told me of it."

Quincy's visit is put in its true light at Dec. 15 of the Diary, last paragraph. The recent elections were not got over without several sad cases of bribery. Elisha relates one of them when writing to his wife. He says—"I could write you whole sheets on the late Elections, if I thought it worth your attention. I will only say that the ladies have so interfered in procuring votes for their friends, that some people have proposed it should be called the Ladies' Parliament. One lady, being told by a gentleman that he could not engage his vote without a kiss, she quickly

replied—That should never lose her husband a vote. If this is not bribery, I don't know what is. Whether it will set aside the election, I will not determine."

The idea, however, of a Ladies' Government was not new, for in the Annual Register for 1766, and some eight years before the date of Elisha's letter, there is a facetious article at page 209, proposing a Female Administration; and on page 211 a list of the Lady Ministers is given. Miss Chudleigh is down as Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is the lady who was afterwards Duchess of Kingston, and prosecuted for bigamy.—See this Diary, Dec. 12.

M^r^ Montagu called also.

Waited upon Lord Rockingham, Grosvenor Square. Lord Lumley and S^r^ Thomas Milner came in while I was in the Ante-chamber. Lord Lumley asked what was to be done to allay the heats in America? I doubted whether they ever would be allayed, until they were convinced that Parliament would not part with the supreme authority, &c.

Mr. Mauduit called upon me in the evening; among other things, mentioned this anecdote:—In the debate upon the Address Edm. Burke addressed himself to the young Members: cautioned them against being deluded with Court wiles, &c., with many flowers of rhetorick, and much pleasantry and elegance. M^r^ Van, a plain blunt Member, observed that an Honourable Member had been strewing flowers to please children: for his part, he had no flowers to strew: the Americans he knew, had behaved in a most ungrateful, as well as outrageous manner, and all that he had to say was, that something must be done without delay, effectually to reduce them to order.

9th.—Col. Gorham breakfasted with me. M^r^ Knox called, and gave me intimation of a Proclamation preparing to declare the proceedings in Mass. Bay treason: to offer pardons to all who came in and took the Oathes, &c., within a limited time, except such persons as should be named. I avoided any conversation which might lead to a mention of the persons to be excepted. He said it was then under consideration of the Attorney and Sollicitor General.

Called upon S^r^ Tho. Milles:—not at home: and upon Lord

George Germaine, who is of opinion, whenever any measures are determined, the Americans should be given to understand, in some way or other, no internal taxes should be laid upon them. At present they are not afraid of them.

In the evening visited L^d^ Mansfield, where I found M^r^ Jenkinson. I hinted to his Lordship the expediency, if any Proclamation should be issued, of observing in it, that the opposition to the King in Parliament, was a breach of the Oath of Allegiance; which he said was a thought worthy of consideration. His L^d^ship asked when we were likely to hear of the Concord proceedings? and pronounced any acts of the old Council, and an Assembly chosen by the people, Treason; as well as an assuming Gov^t^ according to the first Charter.

Walking in the Green Park to-day with my daughter, I asked a labourer who was setting some posts, how deep the ground was froze? He said, four inches. The weather has been cold for three or four days; not more so than is common in New England: but many people here say, they never knew it so cold so early.

10th.—Called upon Col. Speene [?] in Margaret Street, but did not find him at home. M^r^ Welbore Ellis made me a long visit; and gave me an opportunity of explaining several parts of General Gage's conduct:—for his not laying the L^t^ Gov^r^ under Arrest, when he came to him from the Mob. I shewed him Judge Oliver's letter, which says the General told him the L^t^ Gov^r^ never let him know that they had made him promise to return to them: and M^r^ Ellis had understood that the Custom House officers of the Port of Boston were returned to Boston; but when I informed him that not one was returned, he said he was glad he was set right; and he should be able to set other people right. Col. Dalrymple also called upon me some time.—M^r^ Clarke, Whitworth, Chandler, Oliver, dined with me. The Mail Packet for New York, which used to be made up Wednesday evening, was delayed until this Saturday evening, the Address of the H. of Commons not being ready on Wednesday.

The new Lieut.-Governor was in jeopardy. The letter of Judge Oliver has not been saved. It seems that the Lieut.-Governor,

also called Oliver, though no relation, as before explained, endangered the integrity of his allegiance by his indecisive conduct with the Liberty men. He may have prevaricated, or he may have lost nerve before them, under fear of personal ill-usage, and it may have been accidental his not telling General Gage every particular that he might have detailed. On this subject Governor Hutchinson wrote to him very candidly from England, in a letter bearing date Nov. 24, which is entered in the marble paper Letter Book. He says:—"I should not treat you as a friend if I represented the manner in which people express themselves upon the subject of your resignation, different from the whole truth. In general it is said, a man is excusable who, when he is in the hands of 4000 people, and threatened with death, submits to the terms imposed upon him. Some have got it here, I know not how, that before you went to y^e^ Governor, more had been said to you by the mob, (for I call them mob, tho' freeholders,) about your resigning, than you communicated, and that if the Governor had known the whole, he would have laid you under Arrest. Others say that unless our mobs differ from those in England, no man is in danger of his life in open day. It is impossible for people here to know all the circumstances of y^e^ case. A succession of other great and important events, some come and others coming, will probably put an end to further speculation, and I fancy the Answer you have already received, will be all you will receive. [No intimation what that was.] I thought it best to take no notice of your motion for an express order from the King, because, if circumstances so alter as to make it advisable to re-assume your seat, you may do it without such an order, as well as with; and if they should not so alter, it will be best you should not have the order."

He appears to have retained his seat for the present.

11th.—We went down in the coach to the church in Foster Lane, expecting to hear a Charity Sermon from D^r^ Maddan, but found all parts of the church so crowded, that we could find no room, and returned home.

At Court I met with Lord Hope, brother to L^d^ Hope who was some years since in N. England, and soon after died. He desired Mr. Stuart Mackenzie to introduce him to me. He thanked me for my civility to his brother, and let me know the family hoped to see me in Scotland. Sir James Porter,

D^r^ Thomas, K.'s Physician, D^r^ Heberden, besides L^d^ Chancellor, L^d^ Mansfield, &c., were very civil.

Dined with M^r^ Jenkinson: his brother [in law] Doctor Ross, a Clergyman, and M^r^ Mauduit, made the company. M^r^ Brereton, descended from S^r^ W^m^ Brereton, who intended for New England, came in after dinner. The conversation turning upon the Ministers admitting all sorts of people from America, M^r^ Jenkinson said Lord Mansfield told him Quincy had desired to see him, but he would not admit him. Doctor Ross said that Franklin had exhibited his accounts to the Post Office, which they had not allowed, not being properly vouchered, and that he was chagrined at the refusal.

M^r^ Brereton being an acquaintance of the late M^r^ Thomas Hollis, I enquired into the circumstances of his death? and he informed me that nothing could be more sudden; for walking upon his grounds w^th^ one of his tenants, he fell down breathless. M^r^ Brereton mentioned an instance of his singular obstinate temper. He had been most zealously attached to M^r^ Pitt until he took the honour of Earl of Chatham from the King, but then gave him up. M^r^ Pitt however, continued to court M^r^ Hollis; and knowing he was at Weymouth, a bathing place, M^r^ Pitt wrote to him, that he would be there at a certain day, and desired him to provide convenient lodgings. M^r^ Hollis provided the lodgings, but left the town himself the day Lord Chatham was expected, because he would not see him.

12th.—News of a vessel from Salem. Went into the city to M^r^ Mauduit: could find no letters: was informed there were newspapers at the Coffee House to the 17^th^ of October. The Assembly or Congress at Concord was then sitting. Called at Lord Dartmouth's Office on my return, but they had no letters.

Dined with my daughter at Lord Gage's. There were of the company Sir Sampson and Lady Gideon, D^r^ Potts, who I had seen w^th^ M^r^ Maseres, M^r^ Mitchell, the Sussex Attorney, Major Rooke, M^r^ Pollock, and M^r^ Eardley Wilmot.

The town is full of the talk of the Duchess Dowager of Kingston, against whom a Bill is found for Bigamy. Upon notice, some months since, that such a prosecution was intended, she quitted her house at two o'clock in the morning, and set

out for France, and is now at Rome. It is agreed she was married to M^r^ Hervey, brother to Lord Bristol, being then Miss Chudleigh, by w^ch^ name she called herself when married afterwards to the Duke of Kingston, who having no children, gave her by Will his Personal Estate, and also his Real Estate, being 17000£ p an. for life, w^ch^ after her death he gave to a younger son of his sister; and the eldest son, who is slighted, now carries on a suit against the Duchess. It is said there is proof of the marriage with Hervey. Having been a celebrated beauty, of more than suspicious character, haughty and imperious in her prosperity, she seems to have no friends.*

13th.—In the morning called upon Lord Dartmouth: gave him an account of the news from Boston, which he had not heard. Afterwards upon Lord Hardwicke: to M^r^ Jackson, Southampton Build^s^, and Sollicitor Gen^l^:—neither of them at home.

In the morning I sent L^d^ Dartmouth copy of General Gage's answer to the Congress, and he sent me in return, account of the Packet's arrival from New York, and of the Congress at Philadelphia, that they had agreed upon Non-Importation, Non-exportation, and Non-Consumption: an Address to the people of G. Britain: another to America: a Letter to the Canadians, pressing a junction, and to send Deputies to a Congress to meet the 10^th^ of May: and a Declaration of Rights.

Most of the assertions and most of the arguments used at this Congress were notoriously against established law and well-known facts: but their proceedings, at all events, serve to show how widespread was the spirit of disaffection, and how organised was becoming the machinery of resistance against all the measures of the English Ministry. Mr. Frothingham, at p. 32 of his 'Hist. of the Siege of Boston,' tells us that the Revolution was not a unanimous effort. His words are:—"The Revolution was no unanimous work; and the closer it is studied, the more difficult and more hazardous it will be found to have been. In Boston, the opposition, the Tories, were respectable in number, and strong

* Most of the particulars of this celebrated case are given in the papers, journals, and magazines of that day. The Duke's death, with a few notices of his life, occur at p. 466 of the *London Magazine* for 1773.

in character and ability." This may apply to a certain period of the dispute; but by the end of 1774 the loyal men were powerless to stem the current of Liberty, and dare not even show themselves, so that all form of law and all civil government were at an end. It is plain to us now, and it is strange that it was not plain to Administration then, that by this time there was no middle course left, and that there was nothing to choose between actual warfare, according to military principles, and total independence.

14th.—At Lord Dartmouth's, who gave me the result of the Congress to read and to return, and asked me what could be done? but added, there was no doubt that every one who had signed the Association, was guilty of Treason: and if he was to be directed by the resentment natural upon the first news of such an insult, the most vigorous measures would immediately be pursued in order to punishment; but it was an affair to be well considered, and deliberated upon. I asked if this news would accelerate any determination in parliament before the Adjournment? He seemed to think not, but was not positive. I carried the result to M^r^ Ellis, where we made our remarks upon it.

M^r^ Soame Jenings called upon me, and claimed his wife's relation to Miss Hutchinson.*

Col. Dalrymple, M^r^ Thompson, Doctor Tarpley and wife, M^r^ Bridgen, Clarke, and Oliver, dined with us.

15th.—M^r^ Tho. Townshend, Jun. called upon me: he pronounces it bad news from America—declares against their principles—asked whether I did not think they would have been quiet after the Repeal of the Stamp Act, if his kinsman Ch. T. had not brought forward the duties upon painters' colours, &c.?—does not know what can be done. He voted against the Address, and is of L^d^ Rockingham's people.

Afterwards Lord Adam Gordon called. He is in Parliam^t^ again, and was out the last Parl^t^. He condemns America: says many Members censure the Acts infringing upon the Massachusets Charter, &c., and seems at a loss also.

* From Governor Hutchinson's sketch of the earlier members of his family, called 'Hutchinson in America,' it seems that a great-granddaughter of Richard H., brother of William, who first went to America, was married to Mr. Soame Jenings.

Lord Hardwicke desiring an acc^{t} of what news I had, I called and gave his Lordship the particulars of the Congress, which he took down in writing. He blames Gage for too much tameness: is surprised that the Ministry are not yet engaged in some plan or other. At Lord Dartmouth's Office I found M^{r} Knox. He says nothing will be done until after the holidays, the Members being all gone, and they can hardly make a House: a stop will be put to measures w^{ch} were intended, and to a ship under orders; but did not say what the measures were: he hopes they will not call for the papers, especially Gage's letters, which he speaks of as not proper to be shewn—which I suppose is the reason I have not seen them.

I called upon M^{r} John Yorke, and Soame Jenyns, and left cards.

Dined with M^{r} Ambler, Sollic. Gen. to the Queen, K.'s Serjeant, &c., in comp^{y} with M^{r} Just. Blackstone, Att. Gen., M^{r} Jackson, and a clergyman, M^{r} Sumner.

M^{rs} Ambler was daughter of Nich. Paxton, and a relation to Charles, after whom she very particularly enquired, and said he was often at her house in England, as was also M^{r} Palmer. Nothing was said about America, until the Att. Gen. went off. Last time I was in comp^{y} with him and M^{r} Jackson, they were warm. After he was gone Judge Blackstone * spake freely of the necessity of something effectual without delay. He gave us an anecdote which was quite new to me. When the Repeal of the Stamp Act was carried, he moved that it might be an instruct^{n} [?] to the Committee to bring a Clause into the Bill, that it should not be of force in any Colony where any Votes, Resolves, or Acts had passed derogatory to the honour or authority of Parliament, until such Votes, &c., were eraced or taken off the Records: and there was a Question carried in in the negative: for when he mentioned his intention to M^{r} Grenville, he did not encourage it, but being vexed with the Vote for Repeal, said he did not care how bad they made the Act. It was then 4 o'clock in the morning. Sir Jn^{o} Cust, the

* How many great names of that day have passed into utter oblivion, whilst that of Blackstone survives! Every man renders his name immortal by his works.

Speaker, desired Mr Blackstone next day not to insist on his Motion, standing upon the Journal, as it did not obtain, but he would have it entered.

Mr Mauduit, in the evening, tells me he saw Lord North on Tuesday;* that he mentioned the appointment of Sewall as a Comissioner, which would save the salary of a Judge of Admir[alty ?] at Halifax, as there was no occasion for one there: but he said it would probably be necessary to stop all trade with the Colonies, and then they would want a Judge there. Mauduit did not think of a Provincial Judge. He then excepted to Williams as being extremely disagreeable to the other Comissioners: mentioned the letters he had wrote: told Lord North of his declaring that Quincy did not desire to see him, but was sent for by Ld North. He (Ld N.) said he did not send for him. Williams wrote him a letter that such a person was arrived from Boston, and if it would be agreeable, he would bring him to wait on his Lordship. The next morning Wms went himself to Lord North's, who supposed him to be come for an answer. Upon his being admitted, he brought Quincy in with him.

16th.—Mr John Yorke, brother to Lord Hardwicke, called upon me in the forenoon, after I had been in the city, and had called upon Mr Walton,† and Mr Blackburne, in order to know what news they had recd from America: neither of whom were at home.

Went to the Levée, the King inquiring the difference of climate, &c.: and from thence to see Gilbert Eliot and Mr Jenkinson—but saw neither: and then to the House of Commons, where the first Motion was by Mr Gascoigne—that, whenever the House should be ordered to be cleared, the petitioning Members, in matters of Election, should leave the House, as well as the people in the Gallery. The motion was seconded, but opposed by T. Townshend and Burke; and dropped without a question. Then, upon a call for the Order of the day, Lord Barrington read in his place an Estimate of the land forces for the present year, being very near the same with the last, which caused Ro[?] Fuller[?] to say something,

* It was now Thursday. † Or perhaps Watson.

and T. Townshend to inquire into the state of America—whether additional forces would not be wanted by and by? &c. Mr Van, a plain, blundering country gentleman, said something which shewed him to be for acquiescing in the Estimate: then Governor Johnstone made a long speech, and wished Members would see their errors about America, but had no hopes of it: wondered we could not treat America as we did Ireland—with a great deal of unmeaning inconclusive talk; after which Cruger the New Yorker and Member for Bristol, made a set studied speech, from some of the Pamphlet writers; the conclusion, that notwthstanding the rage we had set the Americans into, they did not wholly deny the authority of Parliament. They were answered by Lord Clare, who laboured to distinguish between Ireland and America, and touched upon Rigby for saying once, that Ireland, by right, might be taxed by England. This nettled Rigby, who still insisted they had a right, tho' he was not for their exercising it. Lord North spoke exceeding well: let them know the affairs of America were of that importance that they would force their way into the House, whether he inclined to bring them there or not; but he knew it his duty, and was determined to bring them before the House, with a plan as soon as the Holidays were over; for Masstts Bay only, they had navy enough, and for all other purposes besides. If a more extensive guard should be wanted for the rest of the continent, men must be applied for. He cleared himself from a reflection of Gov. Johnstone, for saying they must bring America to their feet, intending no more than that they could not repeal the tea duty while America denied their authority, and threatened them if they did not: but let them petition, which he, in the time of it, declared to be what he meant, and he would consent to whatever should be tho't proper. Charles Fox spoke well, but too impetuous: he urged Lord North to consent to lay the papers before the House now, that they might have time to consider them in the Recess; but nobody seconded, and the Question was called, and no Nays. Lord North spoke twice in the debate. A Mr Hartley, a new Member, read two of the Philadelphia Resolves, to shew the Colonies would submit to a Regulation of Trade, and that

the Congress thought it reasonable they should comply with Requisitions to contribute to the public charges.

17th.—We have further advice from Boston by a N. York vessel, whose letters arrived yesterday, that the Congress there had chosen a new Treasurer, Henry Gardner, instead of Treasurer Gray, and recomended to all the Collectors to pay the public monies to Gardner, and recomended to the Militia to form themselves into companies, and to chuse their own officers: and had given 10 days to the new Counsellors to resign; upon failure to be recorded in every town as infamous. This I communicated to Lord Dartmouth.

Called upon the Bishop of London, who received me with his usual goodness: afterwards upon Lord Hardwicke. Col. Dalrymple called upon me.* He says he saw M^r^ Cornwall the day before yesterday, who told him American affairs would come the next day before the House, and advised him to attend: but when the day came (yesterday), he saw Cornwall again; who then changed his tone, and said it was determined to waive the consideration. Since the last accounts are so full that there can be no doubt of the intentions of America to refuse submission to the late Acts, it is a matter of speculation for what reason American matters are deferred until after the holidays.

18th.—At the Lock Hospital: E. and P. [? Elisha and Peggy.] Lord Dartmouth and several of his children were there. D^r^ Madan preached. Sir Gilbert Eliot called upon me before dinner with Col. D. He seems to be at a loss what measures Ministry intend; and hinted as if it was possible, the papers might be called for, and the time whiled away till May; but this is impossible; the people would not suffer the present Administration to continue inactive in office so long. Speaking of Franklin, Sir Gilbert said Cowper was the last man in the kingdom who adhered to him, but he had now intirely given him up; the letter which he published determined him.†

* This is doubtless the same Col. Dalrymple to whom Governor Hutchinson gave up the keys of the castle in Boston Harbour, when they were both in America.

† The letter acknowledging he sent Governor H.'s letters to America. In England this act was looked upon as sufficiently dishonourable to put a man out of the circle of respectable society.

Went in the evening w^th^ M^r^ Mauduit to D^r^ Heberden's in Pall Mall, where spent two or three hours in most agreeable conversation. The company besides, were the Bishop of Litchfield, and Doctor Ross Wollaston, the preacher at the Charterhouse, M^r^ Holford, a Master in Chancery, D^r^ Burrill, a Comiss^r^ of Excise, and the Member for Milborne.

19th.—A letter to Government from Gen. Gage of the 3^rd^ of October, but nothing material in it: the accounts in newspapers are 4 weeks later. There's a strange silence upon American affairs, to me unaccountable, considering the importance of them, unless it proceeds from amazement. It is whispered that Lord N. in the Cabinet, is more backward than most of the rest of the Ministers. Lord D. was an hour and more with him to day in Downing Street, as M., who is always about the Treasury, informed me. In the evening I called upon the Attorney General, but not at home.

20th.—M^r^ Thompson called upon me, as he was going into the country for the holidays. M^r^ Livius and M^r^ Green dined. M^r^ Mauduit called in the evening, and acquainted me with the Petition to the Kingdom from the Congress being in the hands of D^r^ Franklin.*

21st.—Called upon M^r^ Keene, who asked whether it was not better to give up to the Americans, than to be at the expense necessary to reduce, and afterwards secure them?† And he appeared to be serious. Afterwards I went to L^d^ Dartmouth's Levée. He had heard of the Petition, and told me he understood it was sent to D^r^ Franklin, M^r^ Garth, M^r^ Burke, Lee, and Paul Wentworth: that they were either to deliver it to Lord D., to be presented to the King, or otherwise, with such Merchants as they could collect, to present it to the King themselves, as they judged best.

Dined, as also Peggy, with M^r^ W^e^ Ellis in Little Brook Street, in comp^y^ with M^r^ Jenkinson, Sam. Martin, late of the Treasury, that fought with M^r^ Wilkes, M^r^ Cornwall and his

* After a debate in Parliament, the permission to receive this Petition was negatived by 218 to 68.—Adolphus, vol. ii., p. 194. Had it been differently put together, or differently worded, it might have found greater favour.

† Or rather, not secure them. Most men nowadays would think that Mr. Keene was right; but it is rather too late to discuss those points now.

wife, and Dalrymple. In the evening came in the Bishop of London, M^r^ Cooper, Lord Robert Bertie, M^r^ Egar, Sir Gilbert Eliot, M^r^ Doyley, Sir John Sebright, several other gentlemen, and as many, or more, ladies. Three tables of cards. The Bishop asked me what they would say in New England to a Bishop's playing cards? I told him the prejudice against cards was in a good measure worn off. D^r^ Caner I had heard, did not approve of them. M^r^ Cooper told me the Petition, or a copy, had been given to Lord North by Lord Dartmouth, who rec^d^ it from some of the persons to whom it was sent. He had not seen it himself: some thought it very high; others more moderate: that Paul Wentworth refused any concern w^th^ it: Lee was in Italy, and Garth he believed, was not in town. He did not know what would be done with it. Cornwall said to me at dinner — "We shall set all right in America"—or to that effect. M^r^ Hans Stanley came in at the close.

22nd.—I called upon M^r^ Cowper * by appointment, but he disappointed me. I afterwards went to Lord North's Levée. He observed to me that he had seen the Petition, and asked if I had seen it? and upon my saying I had not, he gave me an account of it. He said they enumerated a list of what they called grievances, and prayed for relief. He observed they did not deny the Right. But they publish to the world, I said, or accompany it with papers, which deny the Right. Yes, he repeated my words, they accompany it with papers which deny the Right. He added, he thought it a poor composition. That, I thought might be owing to the amendments proposed by one and another of the many members. I could plainly perceive that it would have been very agreeable to him to have found something in the Petition that would lead to an accommodation; and if it had not been for the extravagance of the Resolves, Association, and Addresses, passed by this Convention, notwithstanding the illegality of their assembling, which would have been winked at, the Petition would have been attended to. It was carried to Lord Dartmouth by D^r^ Franklin, accompanied by Lee, the late Sheriff, and M^r^

* He sometimes spells this word Cooper, at others Cowper.

Bollan, who was not one of the persons to whom it was sent; nor was Lee, but he, it is said, was in the room of his brother, called *Junius Americanus*.

23rd.—Lord Beauchamp called in the forenoon, and informed me a Motion would be made in the H. of Commons against adjourning over the holidays, the state of America requiring them to sit. This, he expected to come from the Opposition, but expressed his own fears lest encouragement should be taken from a delay, especially when it appeared that the seamen were lessened, and the land forces not increased. He did not doubt the Minister had a plan of operation, which would be preparing for during the holidays. I told him it did not become me to find fault w^th^ measures. I wished notice had been given to the Colonies, in what light their assembling at Philadelphia for the purposes professed, would be looked upon here, as it might have been some discouragement. He said people here were assured that some favorable proposals would be made. In this indecisive state have affairs been since my arrival, and I think it not impossible that to this moment Ministry is not fully determined what measures to take.

I walked into the city to M^r^ Mauduit's. M^r^ Gibbons, a Member of Parliam^t^ came in, to be informed of what passed between M^r^ Grenville and the Colony Agents, when the Stamp Act was passed; for Charles Fox, he said, had charged M^r^ Grenville with smuggling that Act through the House.

We all dined w^th^ S^r^ Sampson Gideon: L^d^ and Lady Gage there, Major Rooke, a M^rs^ Stewart, and young Wilmot. Lord Gage told us something had been said, but meer conversation, about not going over the holidays, and it went off. The House adjourned to the 19^th^ Jan^y^. Major Rooke told us the talk about the Court was, that the American merchants would meet and make some proposals.

Col. Murray, brother to the D. of Athol, called upon me. I fancy my serv^t^ left a card there intended for Col. Barré.

M^r^ Sparhawk bro't letters from New England, some as late as 17^th^ Oct^r^ and one from Deacon Sayward at York, October 22^nd^.

24th.—I called upon Lord Hardwicke, who expressed his opinion, that no measure was fixed. He heard L^d^ Chatham

was very alert: openly condemned late measures: declared for repealing some of the Acts passed last Session, but not for repealing all the Americans claim'd. He thought his partizans were mustering, and if his spirits kept up till Parl^{t} met again, believed he would make a bustle, and intimate that nobody but himself could set America right.

We had repeated reports of an express from Boston with a Petition—but all false.

25th.—At the Temple Church, D^{r} Thurloe preached a sermon for the day. This is singular in the worship—that instead of singing after the Litany, they sing after the Second Lesson; and after the Litany they have a short Voluntary whilst the Minister is preparing for the Communion Service. After the Comunion one of the church officers, (of which there were half a dozen at least, with bands and black habit), came with a book, and desired I would write my name. I saw at the head of the page a List of such as were at the Communion at the Temple church Xmas Day 1774, and I observed the book carried round to the several pews.

M^{r} Peters and Sparhawk arrived in the Mail ship from Piscataqua:* wth S. Oliver, dined with us. Peters is a Missionary at Hebron in Connecticut: came over to represent the barbarity of the Sons of Liberty there, in taking him out of his house; forcing him to a Gallows at a great distance; tearing his gown to pieces; calling them rags of the W——, and threatening him with hanging, unless he signed their Solemn League and Covenant; which I think he finally refused; but signed an engagement never to write anything against them; and as soon as he could he made his escape, and came over to tell his own story. He says M^{r} Bostwick of G. Barrington has been taken out of his house, stripped, and whipped. He adds that their Colony has been much inflamed by copies of a letter, or pretended letter, said to be wrote by M^{rs} Temple,* wife of John Temple, late Comissioner, dated

* The Indian name of a river that empties itself into the sea at about 60 miles N. by E. from Boston.

† She was sister of Mr. Bowdoin, some time Chairman of the Committee of Council in Boston, during part of the Governorship of Bernard and Hutchinson, and wife of Mr. Temple of the Letters; but at this time she was in England with her husband.

from London in March last, which Peters says, was sent by the Boston Comittee of Correspondence, charging the measures with respect to America upon the Comissioners and Missionaries, their Representations: which letter, he says, was read in most of the churches; and that their Ministers name L^d^ Bute, L^d^ North, and Gov. H. and Gov. Gage in their pulpits, as bringing in Popery, &c.

He makes Trumbull, Gov. of Connecticut, an encourager of them: says his Proclamations used to be with the King's Arms; but his last, for a fact, was with a new device—Halberts, Guns, Drums, &c., and the stile of the Colony altered, the words "His Majesty's" left out, and now called "the Colony." Dyer, Sherman, and other counsellors, as high rebels as any.

26th.—I called upon Lord Hardwicke with the Boston paper of the 24^th^ of October. His Lordship observed that nothing seemed to be doing about America. I walked into the city as far as St. Paul's; and upon my return Col. Dalrymple called, and seemed greatly dissatisfied with an account he had received —that Lord Mansfield opposed sending more forces to America. Raising new Regiments will make room for promotion. Nobody out of the Cabinet can judge what is determined in it. There is a report in the city, said to be from one near the Court, that in the Cabinet Council every Member had been asked whether he had any doubt of pursuing the measures begun last Parliament? and that there was a unanimous voice for pursuing. Thus far we are in the dark. M^r^ Knox tells me to-day there is no difference of sentiment with respect to New England: they wish to consider the demands of the Colonies in general, and the peculiar conduct of N. England, separate and distinct.

About noon I stopped at my taylor's [*sic*] house in Bedford Street, and it was so dark that it was very difficult to see to write or read without candles; and in the street it seemed not so light as it generally is in New England a quarter of an hour after sunset at this time of year; and yet neither rain nor fog, but the smoak [*sic*] of the City and a haze. L^d^ Hardwicke sent me a haunch and breast of venison.

27th.—We have been remarkably more free from the noise of coaches for two or three days than since I have been in

London. I suppose no part of the year is so religiously observed as Christmas Eve, so that after dinner the streets were as still as on a Saturday Evening in Boston, and towards nine o'clock the coaches seemed wholly to have done passing, and the noise was rarely heard the whole evening.

M^r^ Constable, a Scotch gentleman of good fortune, a Catholick, who took the house of me in Golden Square, called to-day. I asked what was the talk about America? People, he said, were divided. Some thought they had been let alone too long, and that it was now best to leave them wholly to themselves.

28th.—I walked into the city to Clements Lane and back: settled the expense of the hearing on the Complaint against the late L^t^ Gov. and myself; M^r^ Mauduit generously giving his trouble, as M^r^ Wedderburne had his fees.*

The distinction of taxation, with those who were willing to find subjects for disputation, offered an admirable ground for fighting upon. In the early days of the Colonies the full rights of Great Britain over them had never been questioned. "The practice of imposing taxes by authority of Parliament on the Transatlantic dominions was not new; it had been used ever since their establishment. And," continues Adolphus, i. 138, "so far as precedent can be required, to support the right of the Mother Country to draw pecuniary relief from her dependencies." The first settlers went out with their Charters in their hands; but they bore with them the sanction and power of Parliament, and they were only too glad to live under it. The statutes from Charles the Second and his successors were framed on the understanding of this right, The Commonwealth Parliament passed a Resolution or Act to declare and establish the authority of England over her Colonies, 'Annual Reg.' 1766, p. 41. All orders of men acquiesced in it. Even Mr. Otis, who eventually became one of the most determined leaders of the disaffected party, once said, as quoted near the beginning of this volume, "It is certain that the Parliament of Great Britain hath a just, clear, equitable, and constitutional right, power, and authority to bind the Colonies by all Acts wherein they are named. Every lawyer, nay, every tyro, knows this." But after the Canadian war England extended her

* Amongst the papers there is nothing to throw light upon this matter of business.

authority by the imposition of a few more Acts of legislation; and then some of the advanced spirits began to analyse the situation, and make a strong distinction between internal and external taxation, which is the distinction alluded to by Governor Hutchinson in his Diary. Duties laid upon their ports and merchandise for the regulation of trade they had always lived under and thriven by, but duties or taxes levied upon the body of the people in the country were denounced in the strongest language. If we look a little closer into this, we shall see that it is a distinction without a difference. Upon this the following remark was made at the time: "A tax laid in any place is like a pebble falling into, and making a circle in a lake, till one circle produces and gives motion to another, and the whole circumference is agitated from the centre: for nothing can be more clear, than that a tax of ten or twenty per cent. laid upon tobacco, either in the ports of Virginia or London, is a duty laid upon the inland plantations of Virginia a hundred miles from the sea, wherever the tobacco grows." 'An. Reg.' 1766, p. 43. No doubt a tax or a duty, of whatsoever nature it may be, has not been enacted long before its effects penetrate to the remotest corners of the country to which it has been applied. But where men are looking for grievances, they never need look far before they find something to cavil over. The next advance was to declare that the English Parliament had no power or authority over them, because they were not there represented; yet, they admitted at the same time, that representation was impossible, owing to the great distance. If this was a grievance, it was one of their own making, for, as Dr. Johnson pithily wrote, "He who goes voluntarily to America, cannot complain of losing what he leaves behind him."

On the subject of the different classes of taxation, the Governor makes a few remarks in a letter of Dec. 31 to Dr. Murray. The letter is entered by his own hand near the end of vol. i. of the marble paper Letter Books, and evidently in a great hurry. He says: "I don't remember the distinction between Represent^{n} in taxes upon land, and taxes upon Polls or personal estate. I don't believe there is any better authority for connecting any particular kind of Represent[ation] and Taxation, than that both words end in *ation*. Such jingles we often run away with. That there should be a Represent^{n} of some sort, in order to legislation of every kind, is certain; and the supreme authority of every Gov^{t} under Heaven, is in fact the Represent^{n} of the people: but what share the people have in the election of the Represent^{s} or Supreme authority of Britain, depends not upon any established rules or

maxims, but is to be collected only from the practice, which has been different in different periods: and in every period the supreme authority which then existed, was in fact, such Representation as had authority to make laws for taxation, and all other purposes."

After my return M^r^ Cornwall called: supposes not a word will be said when Parliament meets, upon the distinction of taxation, and legislation, or against the supreme authority of Parliament: and he is sure a Motion will not be made by any in opposition for the repeal of the late Acts respecting Mass. Bay, though they may be declaimed against, and the Ministry attacked: and he added, that the Colonies had now compelled Parliament to pursue them until they should come into some method of contributing in some degree unto the general charge of Government. This I could wish he may have wrong judged, for I see no prospect of peace while it continues to be a plan to take.

Col. Dalrymple came in and informed me he had just been with L^d^ Drumond to L^d^ Dartmouth's. L^d^ Drummond left New York the 11^th^ of November. An Express from Boston had brought advice of the 5^th^. The Congress rose in their proceedings. He talks of 20 men as a select force, always to be in arms; and says there was a report that they had gone so far that Hancock began to be frightened. I should not think it strange if this should be confirmed.

At M^r^ Knox's to drink tea.

29th.—We are in pain for Cap. Dundass and passengers in a scooner [*sic*] sent Express from Gen. Gage, and spoke within Scilly the 16^th^. Lord North is gone to Banbury, L^d^ Rochford to his seat, and there is the appearance of all the tranquility which might be expected if America was perfectly quiet. Even the political Barometer, the Stocks, neither rise nor fall. Everybody now agrees that L^d^ North has a plan which he will lay before Parliament the first day of meeting: but [neither] Jenkinson, Cornwall, nor even Ellis, do not know what it is; only, they say he talks of more forces. Lord Dartmouth's answer to Franklin, as Wentworth told me the Committee report it, that the King would receive the Address, and lay it

before Parliament, it being conceived in decent respectful language, is not generally approved, because all the proceedings of the Congress, from which the Address cannot be separated, are utterly inadmissible. Whether it be owing to the nature of the English Constitution, or to some other cause, there is a strange inaction considering the critical state of affairs.

I walked into the city as far as the Old Bailey, and back thro' Holborn: then a turn or two in the Park, and called at Lord D.'s Office, where saw Pownall and Knox. In the evening Mauduit called.

30th.—Except a walk in the morning to the head of Warwick Street, and a turn up and down the Park, just before dinner, I spent this day at home writing, and expecting L^d^ D., who sent me a note, that he intended to call upon me if he could find time, which I suppose he could not. It has been a remarkably clear sun-shiny day: said to be rather cold, but we should think it very moderate in N. England. No accounts yet of Dundass in the scooner from Boston.

Lord Hardwicke sent me a note a day or two ago, that he was going to Richmond for a few days, and desired if anything remarkable from America, that I would acquaint him with it. There is a very singular curiosity in this nobleman, to know everything that passes in the world. Mauduit says that he kept a person at his own expense in Germany, I think it was, during the war, purely for the sake of receiving the first intelligence of everything which occurred there.

31st.—I called upon Lord D. by appointm^t^, where I found M^r^ Pownall. I proposed the Packet's going to Boston instead of N. York. They thought it not necessary now, because a Man of War would go in a few days. Lord D. was more free upon America than he has been of late. He read to me the long Petition to the King from the Congress. It is artful, and full of duplicity. Lord N. he said would be in town on Monday: talk'd of 4 or 5 Reg^ts^ in the W. Indies: two to go from Ireland: but said it would be necessary to raise more men: said they were impeded for want of authentick accounts from Gen. Gage. I called upon the Bishop of London: wished him to examine the draft of the Petition, and see whether it

was not done by one of his Missionaries in America. Mr Ellis called and spent half an hour. He says Govt will never be settled until every person in public office in America, is obliged to swear that he will conform to Acts of Parliament. I thought that would make a general convulsion. He said it could not last; and after it was over, all would be quiet. Walked in the Park with Peggy, when met Mr Hale, the late Collector of Boston. Mr Bridges, T. Bernard, and Vassal dined with us. The scooner seems to be given over. A vessel is ordered out to cruise after her. Fine weather.

Thus ends the year 1774—the last year of peace with America. There is no break in the Diary, as the entries referring to the events of the next year are proceeded with immediately. The several Diaries, Letters, and other writings which have been quoted, and which remain to quote, were the productions of persons most intimately connected, as witnesses, with the events that gave rise to one of the longest, fiercest, and most costly of wars that ever broke out between a parent state and her Colonies. The evidence that has been laid before the reader, as culled from these original sources, not written with a view to go beyond private hands, invite our confidence from their authenticity. They make it plain that the two countries were drifting towards a great crisis. England forbore long, for she was loth to proceed to actual hostilities; nevertheless, she was sending troops across the Atlantic: and if England had not made up her mind to strike, America by this time had made up her mind to defend herself. She was arming too. Beware of the first blow! Governor Hutchinson, in several places, remarks on the indifference, or indecision or apathy of Ministers or the English people when, to him, there appeared to be a catastrophe impending. The English were not aware of the gravity of the situation, and hence the easy way in which many of them looked at it. Few of them thought that the Americans would stand fire, and still fewer thought that they would return it.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF THE DIARY.

January 1st.—At the Temple Church : the Master preached. M^r Green came in and dined with us. In the evening Paul Wentworth called, and brought with him a copy of the Petition. He declared his disapprobation of it in strong terms : pointed out the most exceptionable parts : said they had put it out of the power of the Crown to treat : no time ought to be lost : could see but one way of proceeding, &c. This is different from anything I have heard from him before. He says Lord Chatham and Lord Shelburne are concerting a plan of opposition : that Lord Temple is with them. I knew that Lord Chatham had declared in favour of the right of Parliam^t over the Colonies in all cases. He knew that he was now of a diff^t mind : that he had heard L^d Shelburne declare the same this summer in Holland, that whatever L^d Temple may have been formerly, he would now be with him. He said that between Thursday and Sunday L^d T. had been no less than five times at Wentworth House to see Lee (Junius) : that he hoped by having Lee under his tuition to have made something of him, but Lord T. had made him higher than ever. He mentioned contracts of one House in London with the French at Havre for 20,000 bbl^s flour from the Colonies. He was surprised at the correspondence carrying on between the French and Dutch on the one part, and the Merchants in the Colonies on the other, for a very great extension of their trade. A large Dutch ship sailed for America loaden [*sic*] with tea at 17^d, intended for the English Colonies. Two vessels sailed with arms and ammunition in the spring for the Colonies. That which [was] a cutter was employed to watch : [she] did not go out, but the cargo was taken out [and] put on board a Dutch vessel, which lay in the Texel, when the last mail came away with the Master

of the English vessel on board. He overheard a confidential conversation between a Spanish gent. in a publick character in Holland, and the Hopes [?], one of whom is a Member of the States, in which the Spaniard declared it to be the interest of Spain that England should prevail against the Colonies; for all the European nations had reason to be jealous of the growth of America, and ought to wish it checked. He observed, nevertheless, that the French and the Dutch were extremely attentive to the present controversy, expecting great advantages from their trade. He said he could discover that, notwithstanding the appearance of determined resolution, there was a mixture or degree of fear, both in the American leaders, and those from whom they took their directions in England.

This, indeed, was not to be wondered at. The leaders might well feel a sense of some apprehension when they had at last the Rubicon in sight, and when it was plain to all men that the end of diplomacy had been reached, and that a tremendous explosion was at hand. Beware of the first blow! This consideration might daunt all reflecting men; for the first blow would be the signal that would put in jeopardy the lives and fortunes of thousands in both countries. Those who took the matter with the greatest ease were the Ministers themselves; but all their coercive measures against America were supported in Parliament by large majorities.

2nd.—Walked into the city to Broad Street, to pay the duty of my coach. How would the N. England people bear such a tax, even from their own Representatives? Called at M^r^ Lane's counting-house in Nicholas Lane. General Mackay called upon me, having been a few days in town from Scotland: apologised for not writing me oftener, after he left New England, because he did not chuse to run the risk of his letters falling into other persons' hands: says that after he arrived, he told Administration what they might expect: gave them an account of Franklin as a most dangerous man, but they gave little heed to it. He asked whether Hancock lived in Boston? I said I supposed so, as I had heard nothing to the contrary.* "And not secured?" says the General.

* Hancock's house was a detached one that looked out on the common. There was one house between it and the State House. I made a sketch of it in May, 1837. It has since been removed.

We all dined with Mr Soame Jenyns. Mr Jn° Pownall, wife, and daughter in company. A Rout in the evening, and many ladies who I did not know: a Mr Randall, and Col. H. [blank].

Mr Pownall, while there, received a note from Mr Knox, with an acct of the scooner's arrival, and the sum of the advice by her: had intended an attack, but dropped it, some opposing: talked of an army of 15,000, to be kept in the pay of all the Governments: had summoned the old Council, in order to settle a Constitution. G—— thought 20,000 men would be necessary. Very cold evening now.

3rd.—Mr Lane and son, Mr Watson, wife, sister, and partner, and a young Canadian in his family, and Mr Jon. [?] Bernard, and Mr Vassall, all dined with me. In the evening Mr Mauduit joined. Three gentlemen from New England, Ingersoll, Bliss, and Blowers, came to my house in the evening, with a great number of letters and papers from my friends. [Weather] very moderate and pleasant.

Mr. Blowers.—"Sampson Salter Blowers was born at Boston in March, 1743, and was educated at Harvard College. He studied law with Governor Hutchinson, as Judges were then allowed to have students. He was one of the Counsel for Cap. Preston in 1770. He signed the Address to Governor Hutchinson on his departure. At the beginning of the Rebellion he was imprisoned; I do not know whether he was released or escaped. He went to London [as we are informed above], where he lived for some time, till appointed Solicitor-General of New York, then held by the King's troops. After the rebellion, he was appointed Attorney-General of Nova Scotia; was elected to the Assembly, and chosen without opposition as Speaker, though party quarrels ran high in the House. The Colony was then excited by the disputes of 'Loyalists' and 'Old Settlers,' as the contending political parties were called. Blowers led the Loyalists. In 1797 he was appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, and resigned his seat in 1832. During these 35 years he outlived every person in public life in the Colony. The Governor and two of his successors; the two Judges, and four of their successors; thirty Barristers; the twelve Members of his Majesty's Council [?] and several of their successors; the forty Members of Assembly, and many who had succeeded to their seats; —all these passed away while Blowers was Chief Justice. He lived

ten years after retiring from the Bench, and died at Halifax, from the effects of a fall in October, 1842, aged 99 years and 7 months. He married a Miss Kent, who outlived him two years, and died at about 90. Blowers was of great ability. He had untiring industry, vast legal knowledge, sound judgment, impartiality, and patience. He had little eloquence; no wit or imagination. His mind was grave, deliberate, and cautious. But on one occasion he showed an irritable temper. Uniacke, the Attorney-General of Nova Scotia after Blowers, a very able, but ruffianly man, had a street fight with Jonathan Sterns, a Boston Loyalist. Uniacke, a very strong man, beat so savagely Sterns, a weak and sickly man, as to cause his death. Blowers, who was an intimate friend of M^r^ Sterns, was so angry that he challenged Uniacke to fight a duel. Uniacke accepted the challenge, but secretly sent his wife to inform the police Magistrates. So the two officers of the law in the Colony were bound over to keep the peace. Blowers had the greatest esteem for Foster Hutchinson, Jr. [a nephew of the Governor], and was greatly grieved by his death. Blowers retained his faculties to the last. He kept up his College studies, and always read with pleasure the Greek and Latin classics. In his later years he was silent and gloomy, and would not speak of the scenes he had witnessed many years before. He destroyed all his papers: no letters nor memoranda of any kind were left by him. In person he was very short, and rather thin: his face had some resemblance to that of Washington; a portrait of him is in the Legislative House at Halifax, but does not in the least resemble him. He had no children, and his property, after his widow's death, went to a M^r^ Bliss."—W. J. Stirling.

4th.—In the morning accompanied the three N. England men to L^d^ Dartmouth's, who made a particular enquiry into the affairs of the Province. Bliss gave the fullest account. He was clear, upon Lord D. asking whether any concession would be like to satisfy, that it would not, and that nothing but a force sufficient would bring them to order. He told Lord D. that a day or two before he came away, Cushing met him and told him he had a letter from Franklin, advising to persevere with firmness and moderation: that their friends increased: that as great a majority would be for them in the next Parliament, as had been against them in the present or now last: that there would be a change in Administration, and

then friends would come in. Went to the Registry of the Exchequer in the Abbey. Saw and examined Doomsday Book, and was surprised to see them [2 vols.] so intire, so well preserved and the writing so plain and legible.*

I stopped half an hour at Lord D.'s office with M. Pownall and Knox who, as they said, were lownging; and it is strange to see every office in a state of inaction.

We all dined with M^r^ Grant in Billiter Lane. Sir Arch. Grant, Lady, 2 old maiden daughters, a M^r^ Grant of King Street, Cap. Gordon of the Navy, and wife, who is niece to Lord Chancellor, all Scotch, made the company. Sir Arch. is between 80 and 90: four or five years ago married Miller the Broker's [?illegible] daughter, with 60,000£, who seems to be about 50, and has purchased a Ladyship. He lives ½ the year in Scotland: was in Parliam^t^ from 22 to 36: has kept to his estate ever since: says he has planted fifty millions of forest trees, besides what he has sown and not transplanted, which cannot be numbered. So great a planter seems to have been rewarded by so long a life, to see so great fruit from his labours.

5th.—In the morning to Clemens Lane and back. The New England passengers in Callahan and Ingersoll, who came in the scooner, dined with us, as also Mauduit.

M. shewed me a letter from Ruggles, and read a paragraph wherein he offers to raise a Regiment, if the King would authorise him, and desires to know His Majesty's pleasure: says he will take no step until he has an answer, unless General Gage should propose it to him.

6th.—About a quarter after nine we set out from St. James's Street, in a coach with four post horses for Bath: made our first stage at Hounslow, the next Maidenhead, then Reading, and a quarter after five put up at the Castle Inn in Speenham Lands, 58 miles, which is more than at the rate of 8 miles an hour for the time we were in the coach.

Maidenhead is but small; Reading is a second-rate town, of which we took a good view from the upper rooms of the Inn:

* Sept. 10, 1851, in the Chapter House, I also examined this valuable record, and made extracts for my MS. Hist. of Sidmouth.—P. O. H.

has 3 parish churches, and several Dissenting Meetinghouses—Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers. After Brentford, except the places where we stopt, the villages are small and but few of them; and exclusive of the towns, there is the appearance of a country as thick settled in many of the roads in New England, as in the tract of country we have travelled to-day. Newbury runs along by Speenham Lands, in a long street in sight, but the road goes through no part of it. The river Kennet, which is said to have its rise in Marlboro', and to join the Thames somewhere near Reading, has been made navigable for barges, and is as near as wide as Naponset river a mile above Milton Bridge, but must be deeper.*

7th.—We set out from Speenham Lands about 8, and made our first stop at Marlboro', at an Inn which was the seat of a late Duke of Somerset, and the apartments are now exceeding elegant, and part of the same furniture remains—the gardens in good order. This place was once a Roman Castle: part of one of the angles remained at the bottom of the garden until a few years since, when the stones were removed. The Mount, which was a Watch Tower for the Castle, remains entire at the upper corner of the garden; has an eight-square small building at the top, which I attempted to go up to, but the grass was so wet that I restrained my curiosity to preserve my health. There is a fine prospect of the town and the country round, as I understood. The town is not large: the buildings in general mean—near the Market somewhat better.

Our next stage was the Devises;† at the entrance of which is an elegant new-built house on the left side of the road, the seat of M^{r} Heathcoate; and it is in general a better town than Marlborough, but a third or fourth-rate town at least, most of

* The Naponset, or Neponset, as they used to spell it when I was there, is a river which, it is pleasing to observe, has retained its original Indian name. It falls into Boston Harbour at about three miles south-by-east of the city. Milton is on this river, seven miles south of Boston. It was here, and also at Braintree, a few miles to the south-east, that the Governor's principal estates lay.

† The Devises. The article is never used now, but the place is spoken of simply as Devises. In early times they spoke of The Massachusetts, but the prefix has become obsolete.

the houses being of wood plastered. From Maidenhead to the Devises the soil is generally upon the gravel, and abstracted from the benefit it received from the humidity of the air, beyond that of New England. I doubt whether it would be more fertile. But from the Devises to Bath, the soil is upon the clay, and is much of the same quality with Milton hill: many springy hills, and the best grass land between Bath and London, and consequently there is a less proportion under tillage. We reached Bath at 4: dined at the Bear, and took lodgings at M[r] Briton's, Milsom Street.

The application of geology, as a science, to the chemical principles of agriculture, was but little understood a hundred years ago. Clay was clay, and gravel was gravel, no matter what geological formation they belonged to; yet neither of them could be identical if taken from the Primary, Secondary, Tertiary, or Quaternary series. From London to Reading and on to Newbury it is almost entirely on the London Clay: thence beyond Marlborough on the Chalk; Devises on the Greensand: and then westward over the edges of the strata, in a descending order, to the Great Oolite at Bath.

8th.—A storm the whole day, so that I did not go out of the house. Billy, in the evening was taken very ill with, as I thought, a bilious cholick. I gave him a dose of Indian root, which, not working in an hour, and his pain being extreme, I sent for D[r] Carleton, to whom, in case of need, I had been advised by Master [?] Montagu, who, by the help of camomile tea, set the vomit a-working, and afterwards prescribed a composition instead of castor oil, which I had prepared for him as a cathartick, which, after some 7 or 8 hours, had the intended effect.

9th.—I called this morning upon Col. Barré, Gov. Tryon, and Col. Cunningham, who were all from home: upon M[r] Montagu, elder brother to the Admiral, and of good estate in the neighbourhood, who I found at home. Went to the Lower Rooms and subscribed, and to the Pump Rooms, and took a view of that part of the city. M[r] Temple and Bowdoin called upon me.

10th.—I set out with E [lisha] in a post-chaise early in the morning to Bristol. From Bath to Reynsham, about 8 miles,

found rich grass land, clay soil, much like what we found between the Devises and Bath; after that to Bristol, more like the land about Marlboro' and Reading. The river Avon runs along much as the road goes, down to Bristol, navigable all the way for barges, and at Bristol for ships of burden. It looks for colour and thickness like Connecticut and Hudson's rivers after a freshit; and this is said to be its colour at all times. Breakfasted at the American Coffee House. Called upon M^r^ James, a correspondent of my son's: at M^r^ Waldo's, a New Englandman, but he was absent from home; and viewed the town from a hill where the Parliament's army planted their cañon, and beat down great part of the College or Cathedral. Then took a view of the Cathedral, which has nothing worth observing, being in more decent repair, otherwise not much superior to that of Rochester: then walked to the Hot Wells, where found many consumptive people drinking water, of which I tasted, and could not think it very different from Milton water, both being soft, only this is not so cold, but can scarcely be said to be warm, tho' they are called the Hot Wells. It is not improbable that the chief virtue may be in the imagination, and the change of air, and exercise by travelling, in most of the subjects. In summer it is a place for diversion, and is well accommodated with well built houses for lodgings, and an elegant building for a long or public room. The rocks on each side the narrow river are much spoke of, but are far inferior to the rocks on each side the narrows in Hudson's river.* In returning I stopped at the Exchange: the building elegant but the people almost all in the street, and dressed, and in all other respects appeared like the London tradesmen at Long Acre Chappel, as different from the Londoners on 'Change as one city differs from another. I had formed a pretty just idea from the long-continued accounts of people who had been there, but it rather fell short: the houses are meaner, the streets narrower and dirtier, and except the buildings in three or four small squares (or rather some of those buildings), and some of the Company Halls, there are no elegant houses, scarcely fit for a first-rate tradesman to live in. At Keynsham

* Probably the Palisades are here alluded to.

is a large house, said to belong to the Duke of Chandos,* and the tower of the church there is large and well built, and there are one or two houses well preserved, and seem to have been built in one of the Edwards, or not long after, which might then belong to persons of some distinction; but in general it is a poor village. There are half a dozen country houses within a mile or two of Bristol, lately built of the Bath stone.† The city (Bristol) in general, and the country round, is not to be compared with Norwich. The inhabitants are said to be more in number.

M^r James entertained us with a dinner, and asked two of his neighbours, merchants: and we returned to Bath the beginning of the evening.

Cruger, the Representative, had wrote to Philadelphia a bitter letter against the people of England, a copy of which had been sent over here, and printed in the newspapers. One of the gentlemen who dined at M^r James's, intimated that if it had come before the Election, Cruger would have failed; and wondered he was not afraid to return to Bristol. It seems he was in London when the letter appeared. I asked whether he owned the letter? He said he did not deny it. There was a person in Bristol who had seen the original in Philadelphia.

The sun but little abroad to-day; the weather, notwithstanding, remarkably mild and soft, like an October day in New England: not the least frost anywhere. Peter Taylor, Esq., Member for Portsm^th, and Gov. Tryon, called while I was at Bristol.

11th.—I called upon M^r Temple, Bowdoin, and Erving, and afterwards upon Peter Taylor, who was very desirous of entering upon political matters. He says nothing will come on in Parl^t until the beginning of Feb^y: that he has reason to think there has been no Cabinet Council: that each of the Lords have had transcripts sent of all advices: that the Council will meet this week: that a plan, or rather two different plans, for reducing

* Spelt Chandous, apparently.

† Geologically speaking, this is Great Oolite. If examined where broken, it presents the appearance of the hard row of a herring. Though soft enough to be cut with a saw when quarried, it soon hardens. It is a fine buff colour, and all Bath is entirely built with it.

America will be proposed: that if any of the Lords should be disposed to favour America, they will be honorably removed from the Cabinet, and others put in their stead. He himself is for a duty of five pounds on every vessel, and a dozen frigates constantly cruising to seize every vessel which shall be found to have sailed without paying the duty.

12th.—We all went in the forenoon with Gov. Tryon and M^rs^ Tryon to Col. Hamilton's house in the Crescent. Col. H. is uncle to the present E. of Abercorn: has an independent fortune: spent much time in travelling: made a small but well-chosen collection in Italy, and has furnished a middle-sized house in Bath, in a most elegant taste. He lived at a place called Payne's Hill, in Surrey, which he sold to live at Bath, where he married to a lady who lived there, but I am not informed what her name was. The paintings by Panini, which Col. Hamilton employed him to do, are all the strongest perspectives that ever I saw, particularly the views of the insides of St. Peter's and St. Paul's, which by the help of a magnifying glass, fixed on triangles, appear as they hang up to the greatest advantage. The Pantheon is near as strong. There are many other views equally fine. A bust of Marcus Aurelius is the fairest, and most intire of any antique I ever saw. Another of Domitian Enobarbus, Nero's father, has the advantage of being genuine beyond dispute. His hangings, stained at Rome with the juice of herbs, have so much the appearance of needlework, that it is difficult to distinguish them from genuine tapestry.

From M^r^ Hamilton's I went to Lady Huntingdon's, where I found her Ladyship in a very small ordinary room, with pen, ink, and paper on her table, and was very politely received by her. She inquired much into the state of religion in America: wished to see people there lay less stress on the non-essentials of religion, and to pay greater regard to the vital parts of it.*

* Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, daughter of Earl Ferrars, born 1707, married Lord Huntingdon. Though gay and thoughtless in her youth, an illness changed her mind to a more serious turn. She built chapels, held religious meetings, patronised earnest ministers, and, having attained the age of 84, she died in 1791.

I went to the Pump Room, and was a few minutes at the Lower Rooms, where were parties at cards, and others walking; and but a small proportion, if any of the company, such as I wished to enter into an acquaintance with. At the Grove Coffee House I saw M^r^ Temple, who inquired if I had seen the Petition from the Congress, and how I approved of it? I told him I should have approved of it if it had not been connected with the general proceedings of that Congress, which I did not approve of. He thereupon said—"Lord Chatham has seen it, and likes every part of it."

13th.—Gov. Tryon introduced me this morning to the Bishop of Chester, who is a cheerful good liver, and who expressed his desire of being acquainted. I saw him at the Pump Room. Peter Taylor called upon me, and acquainted me that he had seen a letter from Boston, dated 10^th^ Decem^r^ from an officer in one of the Regim^ts^ from Quebec, advising that the troops were in good spirits: little or no desertions: that the Congress had chose a Governor: and that Hancock failed of the choice by one vote only. I think it more probable that one vote might be wanting for proceeding to the choice of a Governor. He adds that the *Asia* was arrived w^th^ 500 troops. It seems she had 300 Marines; and that upon her arrival, Hancock, Adams, and others, thought fit to abscond. I have also letters from London to inform me Col. Prescot was arrived in 25 days from Boston, and had left 9 letters and a large packet, which he said were of consequence, at my house. I determined therefore to make all the haste I can to London.

14th.—We set out from Bath about 8 for Warminster 16 miles, over some of the largest hills which surround Bath, and were an hour going between 4 and 5 miles, but reached Warminster by ½ after 10. The land mostly clay and chalk. Warminster is a respectable old market town, and here I saw the greatest quantity of corn, being market day, that I had seen in England: and we were stopped for some time by the multitude of waggons. I found here a gentleman by the name of Middlecot, whose grandfather went over to England* near 80 years ago to take possession of an estate w^ch^ the grandson

* From America.

now lives upon. It's a good house he lives in, with elegant garden: small. The grandfather was uncle to Middlecot Cooke, and M^rs^ Bouchier was his sister, to whom I was a pall holder about 10 years ago or more in Boston. I remember my father's telling me of his being at this house,* and M^rs^ Alden, who went to England with a sister of Gov. Belcher, lived here for some time, and also Doctor Cooke and son, &c.: but the present owner pays little regard to, and made little enquiry about, his N. England relations. He had seen among his papers the names of Hutchinson, Winslow, &c.

From Warminster to Salisbury 20 miles, we rode almost all the way with the hills on the left, which I suppose separates us from Salisb. Plain great part of the way, and a fine vale on the right, with the river† about the breadth of Cambridge river above bridge, which accounts for all that plenty of corn. The river runs through Salisbury, an exceeding well built large town, with strait wide streets, many of the buildings having more the appearance of our brick houses in Boston, than is common in country towns in England: has three parish churches and the Cathedral—grand, tho' I may not compare it to Canterbury, as some do. Just as we came within sight of Salisb^y^ steeple, 3 or 4 miles off, we leave on the right Wilton, a town which gives name to the carpets made there, and at Salisbury, where is also a great manufactory of cutlery. We rode through Andover just after dark, and from thence to Whitchurch, where we lodged but tolerably.

15th.—We left Whitchurch just before 8. At Overton, 3 miles, we saw a very large brick building, a silk manufactory. Stopped at Basingstoke: next at Murral Green, where we passed by a pretty large wood belonging to Lord Northington: from thence to Bagshot, and 2 or 3 miles beyond is the most dreary heath I have seen in England. Before we came to Staines the country grew pleasant: The Pillar and a large Tower, built by the Duke of Cumberland meerly to help the prospect from Windsor Park, was some amusement to us. We

* This is the first intimation that Thomas Hutchinson, the Governor's father, had ever been in England.

† Blank. The river Willey. It joins the Avon at Salisbury.

reached London about four. I left a tooth at Whitchurch, which had given me so much trouble that I was glad to part with it, tho' with some additional pain; and I could not help a reflection as I was riding—that part of my body was gone, which I now felt no more affection for, than if it had been the tooth of a stranger.* I could easily imagine the case to be the same with a finger, a hand, an arm, and so on to every part of the body, even to the brain, my thinking part still existing, and perhaps assuming some other better form, or the same materials moulded anew. In this reverie I remained for some minutes, the more easily from my situation at this time of life, so unexpected to me, three thousand miles from my country and friends, so that every scene has the appearance of a dream, rather than a reality. Much rain, but warm, all the time we have been absent.

16th.—At Lord Dartmouth's, where I met Cap. Phipps in the antechamber, who I believe did not know me, though he seemed to know me by character in his speech in Parliam^{t}, which I hope I did not deserve. I shewed most of my letters to L^{d} Dartmouth, and afterwards I saw him at M^{r} Jn^{o} Pownall's, when M^{r} Pownall and Knox were present; but nothing very material passed.

17th.—I went into the city to Clements Lane. Upon my return M^{r} Ellis called upon me and spent some time in free conversation upon American affairs.

I dined with L^{d} Chancellor, as he said, *en famille*, but very elegantly. He was dissatisfied with Gen. Gage's not putting a stop to the military exercises in Fan. Hall,† and said they would not be suffered here. I begged his Lordship to consider whether a number of persons meeting in London, meerly to gain an acquaintance with the manual exercise, could be deemed an offence? He at first thought it would; but said it deserved consideration. He made much inquiry into other

* Whether you retain an aching tooth in your head, or whether you have it drawn, you suffer the same amount of pain—only, if you have it drawn, you get it all in one lump.

† Faneuil Hall was a gift to the city by Peter Faneuil, a Boston merchant. I sketched it many years ago. The great hall on the first floor is 76 feet square, and 28 high. Used for public meetings.—Midgley's 'Boston Guide,' p. 10.

matters, in which I gave him the best satisfaction I could. I sat him down, at his desire, at Lord Rochford's office, where there was a Cabinet. General Urmstone, [?] who married Lady Leonora, the Chancellor's sister, and who was of the company also, with Col. Baugh and M^r^ Southwell, a cousin of the Chancellor's dined with him and with Lady Apsley, and two young ladies, made the company.

Some of the proper names are very indistinctly written, owing apparently to haste. We need not wonder, however, at the haste, when we consider the multitude of letters that the exigencies of that critical period compelled the Governor to write. In vol. ii. of his Letter Books, and mostly entered by his own hand, there are several that are pressing for quotation at this moment. Some of them are more full and explicit than the Diary, and hence will occasionally inform us on certain points not noticed in the Diary. Writing, Jan. 9, from Bath to his son Thomas, he says :—

"My Dear child,

"Your letter dated the 15^th^ of September, was more than three months in its passage to me, for I did not receive it until the 4^th^ of this month in the evening, and had not time before I left London, to answer by the Packet. I had rec^d^ the acc^t^ of your mob before from other hands, tho' it moved me more to read it from yours. [Young Thomas's letter not preserved.] That such low rabble should behave with insolence whenever they can free themselves from the restraint of the laws is not strange, but that any grave, sober, sensible man or men should encourage or countenance them, is incredible. However, I recommend to you patience and prudence. Say but little, and hope for better times, which I believe are not far off.

"I long to return to you, which I say little about, and not only put on the best appearance, but take every method most likely to keep up my spirits, and chiefly for that purpose I made a journey here, [to Bath,] but I meet with no diversions or entertainments that are so agreeable to me as what I could find at home. Indeed, I had rather live in obscurity there, than in pomp and splendor here. I hope affairs will be settled this summer, and that the people will be convinced that their best friends are those who they have esteemed and treated as their greatest enemies. I hope the children will not forget me, or rather Peggy, for Tommy [b. 1772, d. 1837] was too small to have any lasting impressions. Peggy often wishes to see them. Nurse, I conclude, will remain with

one or other of you until I can make a more certain judgment about my return.

"Elisha and I intend to go to Bristol to-morrow, and the latter end of the week we all intend to go back to London. I had like to have said—to go home to London; but that I hope would have been a very improper expression.

"I shall be glad to hear of you by every vessel, and from you as often as you please. The Doctor [his son-in-law Doctor Peter Oliver] will consider my letters to you as letters to him also.

"I have so many letters to write in answer to what I have received, that I take a leisure hour here to write to you, lest I should be too much crowded with other business in London. I am not certain of any opportunity of sending to N. England.

"I hope and pray for the best of blessings upon you and yours, and am Y^r^ Affect. Father."

18th.—Being the Queen's Birthday I was at Court, which was crowded excessively. Peggy was carried by Lady Dartmouth. [Elisha, in his Diary, speaks of being there too: and in a letter to his wife written this day.] I mentioned to Jenkinson and Wedderburne at Court the mischievous effect of the Boston Port Bill, which brought a burden upon the friends of government, whilst those who it was intended to punish felt no ill, the people in the neighbouring Governments, by their large benefactions, supporting them in idleness. They both thought it deserved consideration.

Mauduit dined with me at six. Called upon M^r^ Wedderburne in the evening, who was from home.

19th.—M^r^ Hood called, from Portsmouth, Sir Jeffery Amherst. Visited M^r^ and M^rs^ Gambier. M^r^ Whately called and mentioned a fresh circumstance in the affair of the Letters:—that the person to whom T. said that he was to see M^r^ Whately's letters from Gov. H., had said that T. told him he had seen some, and one particularly which mentioned the "Abridgment of English liberties," and that he expected to see others which, if true, exculpates T. from taking them from Whately's files.

I went in the evening to M^r^ Wedderburne's (first calling upon L^d^ Mansfield, who was not in town). I talked with him upon the repeal of the Port Act; and tho' he was convinced of its inefficacy, he said it could not be repealed, but thought

a way might be found to admit persons well affected, by licence. He said some test would be necessary to evidence persons' principles in America; and that M^r^ Grenville thought there should be an express acknowledgment of the authority of Parliament. I told him that would make a great convulsion. He said, nothing could be more reasonable than that all concerned in Gov^t^ or in any office whatsoever, should declare they would submit to the Constitution as settled by Act of Parliament. We had much other conversation upon the nature of government, and that of the Colonies in particular; but I thought measures were not fully settled, or that he was not fully acquainted with them. He wished Gage had dispersed the mobs with his troops, and thought he ought to have secured the heads of the Congress. I wished the controversy settled without blood. He said the people in Scotland were better humoured ever since the bloodshed in the Rebellion [of 1745.] I asked what Gage could have done with the heads of the Congress? "Secured them," he said. He said he had thought, but did not determine, that a proper punishment for the members of the Congress would be to declare them aliens.

To Mr. Green, on January 10, he speaks thus of Bath:—

"A letter from Bath will be more of a rarity than a letter from London. Bath, perhaps the most elegant city in England, prodigiously improved within a few years, most of the buildings new, and of one sort of stone, not unlike the stone you have from Nova Scotia, but rather whiter: the streets paved like the new pavement in London, and after three or four days of rain, three or four hours of sun make them so perfectly dry, that you may walk about town in slippers. I am told there are ten thousand people in town who are not inhabitants; but nobody has the appearance of a stranger, and people who never saw one another before, are as familiar as those who have been intimately acquainted all their days. It has as fine a country round it as any town in England."

Alluding to the great topic of the day, he remarks:—

"Lord N. only says, the authority of Parl^t^ must be maintained. I could not help thinking that several parts of the late Act for regulating the government of Mass. Bay, might safely be altered without its appearing to be done in compliance with the principle that Parl^t^ had not authority to make the Act: and I was planning

a Bill; but when I mentioned to a Lord in Administration, who always attends to every healing motion, and who now owned that I was quite right in my opinion of the reasonableness of the Amendments, he nevertheless declared strongly against the least alteration at this time, lest it should be construed into a concession to the claim.

"I never met with anything which set the depravity of human nature in a more striking light, than the conduct of the Noblemen at the heads of the past Administration. Lord R., who was the father of the Declaratory Act, for the undivided authority of Parl[t] but against the exercise of it in taxation: Lord T., who protested against the repeal of the Stamp Act, and [yet] has been uniform upon all subsequent occasions with Lord Ch———: Lord C——n, and Sh——ne, who have all, at different times, declared that Parl[t] has no authority to tax the Colonies, have their meetings, of which their respective dependants make part, and are laying their heads together to distress the present Administration, though they know it must be at the expense of, if not fatal, to both Kingdom and Colonies. Their plan is, to propose nothing themselves, but to inflame the minds of the people against everything proposed by Administration: and they have lowered themselves so far as to consult *Junius* Lee, and some of them, even Quincy: and a gentleman in whose house Lee has lately taken a lodging, told me Lord T. was after him five times between Thursday and Sunday morning. F——n is stirring up a meeting of the Merchants in London, who profess not to trouble themselves about the political dispute, and only to pray in general for the care of their interest in America: and they chose what was called a good Committee, except the late Sheriff Lee, and one other person, who it is supposed will draw the rest farther than they intended. But the best judges say the Opposition cannot be numerous, though the partizans of every Administration in the present Reign should join. Our old friend Gov. Pownall lost his Election for Tregony. Lord North has let him into a Court Borough, vacated since the General Election, so that he must be with the Minister. He has published a second [vol. ?] to his administration of the Colonies. I have just looked into it, and find it above my capacity.

"I have not had a glimpse of Bollan since I have been in England. He writes against me, if a man may be called a writer, whose works nobody reads."

Further down, in the same letter, he says:—

"A gentleman well acquainted with American affairs said to

me, speaking of F——n, 'What has that man to answer for! If it had not been for that most wicked proceeding about your letters, England and the Colonies would now have been reconciled. He saw the probability of it, and therefore ruined his own character to prevent it.'

"I am told by gentlemen who are of the Royal Society, and who used to be of a Philosophical Club with him, that he has never shewn his head among them, nor in any other company that they could hear of, for a twelvemonth past, nor had he ever appeared at any public office, or on any public occasion, except when he went a little while ago to Lord Dartmouth with Bollan and Lee to deliver the Petition to the King."

Jan. 16, he writes to Chief Justice Peter Oliver, who by this time was shut up in "the City of Refuge":—

"My Dear Sir.

"I returned last night from Bath, a day at least sooner than I intended, before I heard of Col. Prescott's arrival with letters from N. England. A gentleman and Member of Parliament assured me at Bath, he had seen a letter from an officer in the Army at Boston, of the 10th December, advising that Mr Hancock lost the Governor's place by one vote only: that the *Asia* arrived a day or two after: immediately upon which Mr Adams, Hancock, and some others absconded. This, you know, when I came to town, I found was not true."

Near the end he adds:—

"I write nothing worth mentioning, and therefore don't mention it. I chuse not to be talked of."

A hasty P.S. of Jan. 21 says:—

"A motion to refer to the Com. of the whole House, appointed to act for America. The Petit. of the Lond. Merch. and Brist. Merch. has been twice rejected: and the Petit. of Bollan and others, that the majority in the H. is generally 250 to 80 odd. In the Lords 20 to 80, or more."

To some friend unnamed, of Jan. 11:—

"I assure you I had rather die in a little country farm house in N. England, than in the best Nobleman's seat in Old England; and have therefore given no ear to any proposal of settling here. I think the controversy must be settled this summer."

Jan. 18, to Lieut.-Governor Oliver, the second of that name:—

"Some of the chief say they had rather hear of an action. I

hope not, as the loss of lives may make a thoro' reconciliation more difficult. The least I think we can hope for now is, that this controversy, by some means or other, will now be settled."

He makes some reasonable remarks on the American demands, in a letter to his brother Foster of Jan. 18 :—

"Everything in reason could be obtained, if there was not an absurdity in applying for it :—for how can you ask Parl^{t} to repeal an Act which you assert was a nullity *ab initio*, and consequently to need no repeal? But I have been so used to absurdities that I would venture upon a repeal of the Boston Port Act, if I could get a prospect of success. I think it may be done upon the principle of inutility for the purpose for which it was enacted, and not affect the authority or dignity of Parl^{t}.

"Whilst the troops cannot be in the other parts to protect the property of importers, shutting that property out of Boston where it may be protected, is giving aid to the Association against importing, and a most impolitick measure. I have spoke with several ministers who seemed strongly impressed; but unless there should be another Bill, laying a more general, but conditional restraint upon your trade, which has been much talked of, I can give no great encouragement."

These sentiments show how very much Governor Hutchinson has hitherto been misrepresented by his American biographers. Addressing himself to Mr. Erving, Jan. 19, he says :—

"I have despaired of being instrumental in bringing about the relief of Boston ever since the refusal to pay for the tea." He goes on in this letter to lament the condition of the unfortunate inhabitants shut up in the devoted city : declares his conviction that the Port Bill has wholly failed to accomplish the objects it wes intended to effect; that it was meant to punish those who were hostile to the English Government; that, on the contrary, the friends of Government had become the greatest sufferers; that he was using all available opportunities for laying these facts before the King's ministers; and that, though he had been told that the Act could not be repealed, he hoped that some modification of it might be effected.

20th.—I called upon Com. Hood and Col. Barré, but missed them; and also Col. Prescott. Spent half an hour at L^{d} Dartmouth's office with M^{r} Pownall and Knox, who say matters

are determined in part only; that L^d North will open on Thursday. Mauduit called in the evening w^th M^r Gibbons, Member for St. Ives, who desired to see me on American affairs, and we are to dine with Mauduit next Monday.

21st.—Waited on the D. of Grafton for the first time. I like his candor and moderation in American affairs. He was very explicit: wished me to call often, and when [I] had any advices, to communicate them.

Afterwards upon L^d Hillsborough, who gave me a full account of Lord Chatham's motion yesterday, to move His Majesty to recall the troops from Boston; supported by Lord Shelburne, Camden, Rock^m, Richmond, [blank for more,] and opposed by L^d Suffolk, who, he said, spake admirably well; Lord Littleton, Gower, Townshend, Rochford, 18 votes and no prox. for the motion; and 68 and 9 prox. against it.

Col. Prescot and M^r Thomson called.

I lament my not being at the House of Lords yesterday, imagining, as there had been nothing said in the Commons, there would not in the Lords, until a day was assigned.

In quoting from a number of letters of nearly contemporary date, mostly dwelling on the same topics, sent in different directions for the information of many correspondents, it is difficult to avoid repetition. But as the object of this book is not so much to write a history of the rise of the American revolutionary war as to produce authentic scraps of original information, this evil, it is hoped, will be looked upon as of small consequence. Addressing himself to General Gage, on the 20th of this present month of January, 1775, he speaks of one of the Petitions:—

"Yesterday there was a debate in the Commons upon presenting the Petition from the Merch^ts of London, the motion being for referring it to the Com^e of the whole House upon the American papers; which was opposed and carried for a special Committee by 190 odd to 80 odd, some of the 80 most probably being such as upon the main question will be w^th Administration."

Writing to Dr. Murray, Jan. 21, he gives verbatim the words of Lord Chatham's motion for withdrawing the troops from Boston; and on the motion being rejected, he states the numbers as follows: Contents, 18; Proxies, 0; Non-Contents, 68; Proxies 9 = 77. Adolphus, II. 186, has Contents 18, and Non-Contents 68, but he does not notice the 9 Proxies.

The Americans had been greatly encouraged, by letters sent out to them by their agents in England, to cherish their extreme views of liberty, upon the ground that they had many friends and supporters in England. Mr. Hutchinson, when writing Jan. 27 to Mr. Sewall, combats this view, and declares it to be fallacious. He says:—

"The letters to Government by Col. Prescot, that came in my absence, [at Bath] have fixed those who were wavering: and although I doubt not that Franklin will still write, encouraging his deluded correspondents, that a strong party are in their favour, there certainly is no other party here than what is formed from opposition to the present Ministry; the removal of which, and Lord Chatham at the head of a new Ministry, would in my opinion shorten the controversy, but not in a way which the Sons of Liberty would approve of."

No doubt Lord Chatham in office would be a very different man, and would say and do many things very differently, from Lord Chatham out of office. Out of office, like many others out of office, he will tell you of all your errors and blunders, and how everything you have done is wrong; that all the difficulties which overwhelm you are only trifles, which could easily be removed if you would follow his advice, and yet, if by chance he should find himself in your place, all the world sees that he gets on no better than you did. Burke was very skilful in finding fault, but wholly impotent in applying the true remedies. Both these statesmen had ingratiated themselves with the Americans by pretending that they sympathised with them in all their wants; yet both of them had declared that the supremacy of Parliament over the Colonies could not be given up, which was now the last and only point for which the Americans were contending.

The Governor saw into things better when he came to England. He had opportunities for seeing further behind the scenes. In a letter of Jan. 20 to Mr. Secretary Flucker, he says:—

"I had not a right idea when in America of the state of Admin^{n}. In matters of such moment the Prime Min. is much less the factotum than I imagined. Such matters [some recent measures] come intire before the Cabinet, the K. himself being more his own Min. than any of his Predecessors [?] have been in the present century."

22nd.—At the Temple. D^{r} Morrill, upon—"If thine enemy hunger," &c.

By appointment visited L[d] Suffolk, who said a great deal on American affairs. He owned he looked upon an attempt to enforce internal taxation desperate: asked what effect an explicit declaration of Parliament would have, setting forth the reasonableness of the Americans contributing to the support of Government; and declaring that upon such contribution by the respective Assemblies, it was the determination the Acts, except such as regulated trade, should be repealed; and that the monies raised by such Acts as remained in force, should be applied to the support of the Government where it was raised? But he started objections: and particularly that of the Colonies taking advantage of such a declaration as a concession; and insisting more vigorously on the rest of their claims.

Dined at Lord Edgecumbe's: a M[r] Butt, Member for Lostwithiel, and young Sparhawk, with Lady E., and Peggy, made the company.

In the evening at D[r] Heberden's, with a very polite company: —the Dean of Salisbury, M[r] Harris of Salisbury, Member for Christchurch, M[r] Crofts, for Camb. Univ[y] [? blotted], Doctor Ross, Daniel Wray, M[r] Pottinger, and three or four more: the conversation in every part sensible, and the time well spent. All the party seem friends to Government. Went with Mauduit.

23rd.—Made a visit to Lord Gage: after which went with him to the House of Commons to hear the debate upon the Merch[ts] Petition. Alderman Hayley, after stating the purport, asked for leave to bring it up? w[ch] being obtained, he went to the Bar; brought it up in form, and laid it on the Table; and then moved that it might be referred to the Committee of the whole House, appointed to consider the American papers next Thursday,* and that the Merchants might be heard by themselves or their Agents. S[r] W[m] Meredith opposed the Motion, by moving for an Amendment, that it might be referred to *a* † Committee of the whole House, and gave his reasons, as it would lend delay, and leave America

* It was now Monday.
† The *a* is underlined.

in its present disorderly state.* Burke took him up and flowered away in an oratorical strain, with great verbosity: half his speech was aimed at L^d North, for suffering the Parl^t to go over so long, to eat his mince pyes: and S^r W^m Meredith, with a stick in his hand, a little funny, but fulsome. Sir Gilbert Eliot answered him: one great part of his objection being the Merchants exposing their affairs—one, by what he said at the Bar of the House, having ruined himself. He meant Reeve of Bristol; but the objection held against all Committees whatever. Tommy Townshend answered S^r Gilb^t Eliot: spake against hostile measures: and as he was for conciliatory, there would be no inconvenience from delay. He and Burke said political and commercial measures were inseparable. Lord Clare spake with warmth against mixing this Petition with the general affair.

Capt. Lutterell made a set formal speech: asserted the supremacy of Parliament, but was for conciliatory measures, and for Haley's motion: professed to be well acquainted with Mass. Bay, and knew them to be destitute of money; scarce a man could command 100£, whereas it is the most flush of money of any Province in America.

Lord Stanley went into the merits of the controversy between the Kingdom and the Colonies, and left the question.

S^r Geo. Maccartnay, of the same side, followed him, and did not speak ill, but he was not attended to.

Gov. Johnstone said little more than that it was better to reject the Petition at once. Assigning it to a Committee after the determination upon American affairs, would be like passing a Vote, and then assigning a time to debate upon it.

A M^r Innes, a new Member, made a short blundering speech. He said he was concerned in America a little: he thanked God it was no more: but he was not for petitioning: he knew some that signed that Petition had said they hoped it would not succeed: he desired to have it read: and when he heard their names, he would tell who they were. He kept the house in a

* "To-morrow the Merchants carry their Petition; which I suppose will be coolly received, since, if I hear true, the system is to cut off all traffic with America at present; as you know, we can revive it when we please. There! There is food for meditation."—Walpole's Letters.

roar by his odd manner, but concluded that he was for going on without delay to support Government, and did not wish this petition to be a hinderance. He said there was no law to recover debts in America: they must be coaxed to it: alluding probably to the design of the Petitioners, to please the Americans.

Charles Fox spake with fire, but nothing more than had been said, only he sqibbed more at L^d^ North than even Johnstone.

Lord North then gravely excused, as well as he could, the long adjournment, and wondered gent. who found so much fault with that, should be for a measure which must cause much longer delay. Lord Jn^o^ Cavendish answered Lord North briefly: and a new Member, M^r^ Adams, very properly brought the House back to the question which had been so much deviated from, when M^r^ Townshend, attempting to speak a second time, was interrupted, and the Question called for, when the House was cleared.

Burke, in the course of the Debate, would have spoke a second time, but was soon called to order; and S^r^ Gilbert Eliot, who had gone out, returned to explain himself.*

M^r^ Bacon of Norwich called upon me to-day.

24th.—Called upon S^r^ Jeffery Amherst, M^r^ Jenkinson, M^r^ Cornwall—all from home. M^r^ Whately called, and M^r^ Heald.

Dined with M^r^ Mauduit.† Master [of the Temple] Montagu, S^r^ Harry Houghton, and M^r^ Gibbons—the two last Members of Parliament, both for supporting the authority of Parl^t^, but ready to any reasonable concession: the first, a Dissenter, attends at the Old Jewry.

25th.—At Lord Dartmouth's Levée. Mentioned the arrears due to M^r^ Belcher for salary when L^t^ Governor: the case of

* At a period when debates in Parliament were rarely, or only irregularly reported, the above may be taken as a fair report of that day's debate.

† Israel Mauduit was son of a dissenting minister, and he was educated for the dissenting ministry, but quitted it and engaged in trade with his brother Jasper, and his son-in-law Wright. When secretary to a dissenting society for propagating the Gospel in America, he refused to pay the agents who had sided with the Rebel party. He wrote many pamphlets. He died unmarried, at Clements Inn, Lombard Street, June 14, 1787, aged 79, leaving an ample fortune.—See *Gent.'s Mag.* for June, 1787.

Richardson and Wilmot He intimated that measures were now determined with respect to America: he wished they could have been accompanied with other measures which he had proposed, particularly the appointment of Commissioners to go to America. I told his Lordship I had proposed that thing to M^r^ Pownall formerly. The difficulty now would be to steer so as to keep clear of affording them a pretence for triumph, as having gained one point which all the rest might as well follow. He thought that might be done: hoped something would yet be done, though he added, "when I proposed it, it was scouted at."

The evening at M^r^ Knox's, with Gen. Armstrong, Gov. Grant and M^r^ Pennant: the two last of the H. of Com., the Bishop of Norwich, and M^r^ [blank] besides ladies.

26th.—I called upon M^r^ Cornwall, who gave me a more full account of the plan of Admin^n^ than I had heard before. He says 3 Regim^s^ will go immediately from Ireland, besides one Regim^t^ of cavalry, and drafts of men, but I understand not horses from the cavalry, equal to another Regiment: 500 men in order to compleat the Regim^ts^ gone and going: 600 Marines, and 10 or 12 sloops of War, or small frigates. This he says is all it will be convenient to mention at present; but intimated that further force would go afterwards. He spoke of a plan of regulation of Government as being in embryo only.

Col. Prescot called upon me: also Col. Abercrombie from Scotland, who was in America with L^d^ Loudoun, Gen. Abercrombie, &c.

In the afternoon came on a debate in the H. of Commons, upon a new Petition from the London Merch. to have the order upon their first Petition expunged, and the Petition considered w^th^ the American papers; and another debate upon a Petition from Bollan, Franklin, and Lee, that they may be heard by Council upon the Petition from the Congress to the King. The first was rejected upon a division, by 250 against 89; the last [blank].

Adolphus, II., 194, fills this blank by giving the numbers 218 and 68. The day after this debate the Governor addressed a letter to General Gage, in which he makes the following remarks—

"Yesterday being the day appointed for reading the papers in the H. of Commons, a second Petition was presented from the Merch^{s} of much the same tenor with the former, w^{ch} was rejected by 250 to 89: and then another from Bollan, Franklin, and Lee, praying that the Petition from the Congress to the King might be then read; and this was rejected by 218 against 67. [Not 68.] These two Petitions took up till ten o'clock, so that the papers are not yet read, and there will be no plan opened until after Monday, and I conclude the mail will not be dispatched for the Falcon Sloop until after that day."

27th.—Called upon Lord Gage. M^{r} and M^{rs} Gambier, Col. Prescot, &c., dined with us. The papers began to be read, and went about half through in the House of Commons. Lord Loudoun called upon me: spake with great freedom of Gen. G. as not having courage sufficient: said Mackay had been desired to go to America. There is talk also of Gen. Preston.

28th.—In the morning to M^{r} John Pownall's, where found Governor Pownall. Talk of an embargo on vessels going to America, but not well founded. Ingersol, Clarke, Bliss, and Coffin, dined with us.

29th.—At the Old Jewry. M^{r} White, a good man, preached. Dined with M^{r} Gibbons, M^{r} Lethuellier,* Member for Andover, Mauduit, Clarke, &c., with a stranger, made the company. M^{r} Gibbons speaks of a design to attaint 14 or 15 of the Provincial Congress.

In the evening at Lord Mansfield's, where found the Duke of Montagu, Lord Besborough, S^{r} G. Eliot, M^{r} Phips, Paul Wentworth, &c.

30th.—At L^{d} Dartmouth's, who informed me that divers forms had been proposed to satisfy the Colonists of the intentions of Parliament; but all had been excepted to, as tending to encourage them in their claim of Independency by concession, of which they had always been ready to take advantage, and he read an Address w^{ch} seemed to be agreed, and contained no more of that sort than that Parliam^{t} would always be ready

* The name should be Lethieulier. Nov. 15, 1774, in this Diary, it is spelt Letheuitter, but the cross line to the tall letters looks like an inadvertence. In the *European Magazine* for 1787, there is an engraving of Israel Mauduit, from a painting in the possession of Benjn. Lethieulier, Esq., as the last word is there spelt.

to hear and redress everything grievous. I told him I thought Lord Suff. still supposed something of that sort might be done. He said L^d^ Suff. had been of that mind, but was altered. I mentioned also the Att. Gen. He asked if I had talked with him since the Resolutions of the Congress? I had not: and he intimated they had altered him. I never saw L^d^ Dundas more concerned.

From L^d^ D.'s I went to Lord Hardwicke's, who desired to see me, but had general conversation only. He observed that it was the most difficult time he had ever known.

I heard Bishop North preach at the Abbey, upon—"Let your moderation be known to all men;" * when he shewed that all parties failing had been the cause of their meeting to humble themselves at that time. The Bishop of London, and half a dozen more in lawn sleeves, were conspicuous. If any more Peers were there, I did not distinguish them. It being a windy day there was a draught across the Abbey, which makes it the most dangerous place that well can be, and I increased a cold which was upon me. I stopped at L^d^ D.'s office in my way home, where I first learnt that they had increased the force to America, and first heard the particulars of their plan for a restraint on trade, and for admitting certain persons, who should qualify themselves by an Oath or Subscription; and he said that the Fishery would be comprehended, which he understood was upon a suggestion from me. I remember in conversation to have said—When a restraint of trade was mentioned as a proper method of proceeding, that it must be the utter ruin of the town of Marblehead;† but did not know that what I said would be carried to the Ministry. He added that they had been extremely puzzled to find or agree upon the form of a test or declaration, and that the business is now in that unsettled state.

M^r^ Jenkinson called upon me.

31st.—I went into the city to Nicholas Lane: found by the packet from New York an account of the taking the powder out of the Fort at Newhampshire by a mob of several hundred

* Phil. iv. 5.

† A promontory and town on the coast between Boston and Salem.

people. This, with the Presentment of the authority of the Parliament of Great Britain, as a publick nuisance by a Grand Jury at South Carolina, it is said, will be laid before Parliament, in addition to the other papers. M^r^ Stuart Mackenzie called upon me for half an hour: also Colonel Cunningham, of Lord George Germaine's family, and who was Aide-du-camp in America to Gen. Abercrombie. Dined with M^r^ Jenkinson, with Peggy: and as he desired me to bring one of the Americans, I took Bliss. M^r^ Cornwall and lady, D^r^ Butler, a Prebend* of Winchester, M^r^ Williams, a Clergyman, and M^r^ Jenkinson's brother, a Member of Parliament.

S^r^ Francis Bernard came to town, and took his lodgings with me. Extream high [?] west wind to-day.

Feb. 1st.—Called in the morning upon M^r^ Cornwall, and had much discourse upon American affairs. He says they must expect abuse, but they are prepared; though, at the same time, he fears it will be long before they shall be able to agree upon a plan. Lord Chatham made an unexpected motion in the House of Lords, in order to introduce a strange Bill, more like a News-paper or Declamatory Speech, as I heard one of the Lords say, than like a Bill, in which the measures of late years were condemned—13 Acts, and among the rest the Declaratory Act, were suspended: a *legal* [underlined] Congress of all the Colonies was allowed to be held some day in May, when a recognition was to be made of the authority of Parl^t^: a large sum to be granted towards a revenue; which being done, the 13 Acts were to be repealed, and no Aid, Tax, or Tallage, was to be raised on the Colonies for the future, otherwise than by their respective Assemblies. The Question was whether the

* I was staying with my late cousin, the Rev. J. Hutchinson, Precentor and Canon of Lichfield (the same who edited the third volume of the Governor's 'Hist. of Mass.'), in October, 1864, when one day there was a meeting of clergy at his house in the Close. Among the different topics of conversation that arose, some mention was made of the prebendal stalls attached to the Cathedral, and of the persons who held them; and nobody seemed to be quite sure whether a clergyman who held one was called a prebend or a prebendary. This caused great merriment. At last it was decided that the benefice or office was a prebend, and that the person who held it was a prebendary. The Governor has made a mistake above. Dr. Butler was a Prebendary, who held a Prebend attached to Winchester Cathedral.—P. O. H.

Bill should be received, and after long debate, it was carried in the Negative—61 and 7 Proxies = 68, against 32.* The reason given for so large a minority was, that many Lords were of opinion the House ought not to refuse to receive the Bill offered by one of their own body, who were against the Bill itself, and upon the first reading in form, would have voted it out.

2nd.—In the morning waited on Lord Denbigh, on Mr Stuart's affair,† for whom his Lordship expressed friendship. Lord Loudoun came in, when they went over the Debate in the H. of Lords of yesterday. Lord Denbigh is a singular character, full of words, &c.

I got admittance to the H. of Comons by Sr Harry Houghton: but after having been there some time, the disturbce in the entry or Lobby was so great, that the Members were stopped coming in: and Lord George Cavendish not being able to introduce his friend, and being vexed to see so many in the Gallery, introduced by other Members, moved the House might be cleared; and it is a rule of the House, that upon any Members moving, the House shall be cleared without any question.

At ten o'clock I sent to enquire whether the House was up? and find by Members they are like to hold till three or four. While I was in the Lobby Doctor Franklin passed by, and seemed in great agitation, but returned without getting into the House. This is the only time I have seen him since I have been in England.

3rd.—I went to Mr Cooper's, Secretary to the Treasury, which is the first time I have been able to find him at home. After that with Sir F. B. to Lord Temple's, but did not see him.

Mr Keene called, and gave me a particular account of the debate yesterday. Lord North spake an hour and a half: opened the state of America: and for the present question, proposed an Address to the King, which, among other things,

* Adolphus, ii. 192, gives the numbers as 61 to 32, thus leaving out the proxies.

† Not explained what this affair was.

declares a Rebellion in Mass. Bay: which Address I had seen at Lord Dartmouth's the 9 Jan^{y} last.

M^{r} Dunning * then spake, and among other things, challenged any person to shew the Congress at Philad. to be unlawful, or that at Concord to be treasonable.

The Attorney General answered him by stating the facts, and declared, (as Keene says,) both to be treasonable.

Charles Fox was for—Right to tax, without the exercise of it: condemned all Parl. measures, and Grenville's particularly.

Gov. Grant for the Motion, gave his opinion of the Americans, as not used to fighting, &c.

Geo. Grenville, tho' not for the Motion, vindicated his father:—did not stay to divide with the House.

M^{r} Powis, Member for [blank] disapproved of the conduct of the Americans, but tho't the case very difficult, and would not divide.

M^{r} Cornwall went further than anybody in vindication of taxing the Colonies.

Cruger, for Bristol, the American, (as Keene says,) made a sad speech: resented what Grant said: was an American himself, and lived in Parl^{t} Street—which set the House into a laugh; and attempting to go on, could not be heard.

Lord Lumley is of the Rockingham party, and spake upon that system.

Lord Stanley spoke low, but was for the Motion.

M^{r} Burke said less than usual for him, and

M^{r} Wedderburne closed the debate, which continued till one o'clock. Tho' there were so few speakers, upon the Division 304 Yeas, 105 Nays: about 15 or 16, M^{r} Keene says, were near, but the Question being put suddenly, did not attend. This, with those who refused to divide, makes near 430 Members—as great a number as has been known to be present at the same time.†

* Eventually Lord Ashburton. He was born in 1731; son of an attorney-at-law at Ashburton, Devon; Middle Temple, 1752; Bar, 1756; Recorder of Bristol, 1766; Solicitor-General, 1768; M.P., 1768; married, 1780; Peerage, 1782; died, 1783.—See Biography of him by Mr. R. Dymond in 'Trans. Dev. Assoc.,' viii. 82.

† In this debate there were two divisions—one an amendment by Fox, as above, the numbers were 304 to 105, and on the original motion 296 to 106.—Adolph., ii. 195, note.

4th.—I called upon S^r^ Jeffery Amhurst, and M^r^ Gibbons, both from home: upon M^r^ Jenkinson: found him well pleased with affairs. He read to me the Address, which appeared stronger expressed than when read by Lord D.

Lord Temple called upon me, and spent an hour on the state of affairs: was unreserved: owned his principles different from L^d^ Chatham's, who he called his bosom friend in American disputes*: to argue that Parliament had no right of taxation, he said was absurd. He seemed nevertheless, at a loss what part to take when the Address comes on. How could he vote for measures which he knew the Ministry could not enforce? He had some idea of Parliament's treating with the Americans, and agreeing that for a certain sum given by the Assembly, Parliament should engage not to tax: and to such agreement he gave the name of *Pacta Conventa*. I told his Lordship I had no idea of *Pacta Conventa* between the supreme authority and the subjects. He seemed struck, as if he had mistaken, and said it was true: it could not well be: but thought the union with Scotland was something like it.

He gave me the history of his treaty with the King, about his coming into Administration, when his brother Geo. Grenville was removed: the reason of the present George Grenville, and his other nephews' conduct in the House—all of them having refused to divide: and I conjecture he will act the same part in the House of Lords.

M^r^ Clarke and Payne dined: Mauduit in the evening.

Lord Temple said he was sorry for a Motion L^d^ Lyttleton had made for taking a printer into custody: for he had just heard that one had been committed by Order, and afterwards discharged by the L^d^ Mayor—Wilkes,—which I hear nothing of from any other quarter, and may be a misinformation.

5th.—At the meeting in Princes Street. Doctor Keppy or Kipley, the Minister settled there, preached.

* "Alas! the great event was addled, or come to little. I had been told that Lord Chatham was commissioned by Dr. Franklin to offer the King £350,000 a year from America, if the offensive Bills were repealed. The Ministers thought he was to ask for an increase of force, so their intelligence was at least no better than mine."—Walpole's Letters, Jan., 1775.

At Court. First met Lord Drummond, General Howe, &c.

In the evening at D^r^ Heberden's. The Bishops of Carlisle and Lincoln, Dean of Salisbury, Doctor Ross, M^r^ Harris, Mauduit, and divers other gentlemen of the company.

M^r^ Gibbon called, and M^r^ Wedderburne.

The Dr. Keppy, or Kipley, was in reality the somewhat noted Dr. Kippis, already alluded to under date July 17, 1774, Note. The Governor got better acquainted with him afterwards. It was he who baptised the Governor's grandson Andrew (my father), son of Thomas, at Brompton, Nov. 6, 1777, after the family had removed to England. Thomas remained at Milton until the state of the surrounding country was becoming unpleasantly hostile, when he took his wife and two young children into Boston; but he left all the furniture, silver plate, and other valuables in the house at Milton, under the idea, probably, that he would be able to pass and repass between the two places at will, and remove what he might wish at pleasure. The event proved otherwise. The Chief Justice and his belongings, together with many others, had also withdrawn to the City of Refuge. Here they were shut up during the space of nearly eighteen months. In the beginning of March, 1776, the severities of winter still but partially mitigated, they withdrew from that place, when the Chief Justice got on board ship for Halifax, and Thomas with his family, and Dr. Peter Oliver with his family, embarked in the *Lord Hyde* packet for London. This was the 24th of March. The vessels fell down the Harbour to Nantasket Roads. Thomas's wife was daily expecting to increase her family, and this event occurred at this most inauspicious time, on board a small ship, crowded with sailors and passengers. At this period the Chief Justice commenced a Diary. He writes:—

"March 24, 1776.—A high N.W. wind, and very cold at night, so that the vessels' bows and cables were loaded with ice. [My father's birth-day.]

"25.—The first division sailed from Nantasket to Halifax, as also the *Lord Hyde* packet, Cap^n^ Jeffries, for London, with M^r^ Thomas Hutchinson, and my son Peter, and their families, as passengers."

But we must not further anticipate, for in reality we are only in February, 1775. Dr. Peter Oliver had just fled to Boston, and

there is a letter of his that is worth giving, where he laments over the state of the times. He writes:—

"Boston, Feb^{y} 18, 1775.

"Dear Elisha,

"I am at last drove here by the mob of Middleborough, a fortnight back, and left my wife and children.

"The times are got to be very serious. Great preparations on both sides for an engagement, and the sooner it comes the better—the sooner we shall get to be a peaceable people: such times as I never expected would come to pass in America. The Provincial Congress has just rose, as you will see by the papers, with their Resolves. I almost covet your happiness, so far distant from the din of Civil Warr, tho' I believe it to be very disagreeable to you to hear such accounts from us. Ere this reaches you the whole plan will be determined by Parliament.

"Your wife has been highly insulted by the mob at Plimouth lately; and I have just heard that the General has order'd troops there for the gentlemen and Ladies' protection.

"Our country people are determin'd to oppose the measures of Parliament at the risk of their all, but it is doubted whether they will fight long. Such an enthusiasm and madness of the people never was before in any part of the globe. I could almost fill a Folio in relating their mad pranks throughout this Province, but it is needless; you will have better accounts from another quarter.

"Give my love to Peggy, and let her know Sally has receiv'd the 2 gowns and 2 pair of slippers that came by Fellows. I heard from home a few days back: it is hard work, and such mortification as I never experienced before, to be depriv'd of my family. 'Whatever is, is right,' and I acquiesce.

"Remember me to all my old acquaintance—Blowers, Bliss, Jacky, Billy, &c. I am y^{rs} Affectionately,

"Peter Oliver, Jun^{r}."

"To Elisha Hutchinson, Esq., St. James's Street, London."

6th.—General Howe breakfasted with me, and spent an hour or two in conversation upon the state of America, where he with Gen. Clinton, and Burgoyne, all Members of Parliam^{t} are going. I knew Howe in America about 15 years ago, and Clinton in New York 26 years ago, son of the then Governor.

At Lord D^{s} office with Knox. Afterwards walked two or three turns with Sir Jeffery Amherst in the Park. Passed Lord Huntingdon, and the Duchess of Richmond, neither of

whom I had seen before. Lord Loudoun and Jn° Pownall called and left cards. In the evening I went to M^r^ Pownall's, and spent an hour alone with him. Find him exceeding anxious upon the event of American measures. I saw at M^r^ Pownall's the Virginia Laws; and was surprized to find three Laws after Bacon's Rebellion: one, an Act of Pardon and Indemnity: the other, an Act for a Revenue of 2/ p hhd. on all tobacco: a third, I think, an Act of Naturalization, carried over by Lord Culpeper the Gov., all signed by the King, then laid before the Council and Assembly, and signed by the Governor; and the stile [*sic*] is—"Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, with the advice and consent of the Assembly." It seems they passed the other Acts of that Session in the same stile, which is said to be by mistake; and they now stand—"By the Governor, Council, and Assembly."

I sent Lord Temple a set of my Speeches to the Assembly,* and their Answers, in Jan. 1773, and a collection of Mass. Papers, and a Collection to M^r^ Gibbons.

The Debate in the House of Comons was carried to-day on American affairs: the Comittee of the whole House having reported the Address: and upon a Motion to recommit the Address, 288 were against it, and 105 for it:† and it was ordered to be sent to the Lords for their concurrence.

7th.—Lord Denbigh called this morning. I carried Lord Loudoun, and Doctor Huck [?] in my coach to the H. of Lords, and his Lordship introduced me, where I stood five hours, and withdrew, being quite tired, and excessive hot. I was less entertained than I expected. A message was bro't from the Comons by a number of the Members, to propose a Conference, I suppose by Committees; for soon after, about half a score Lords were nominated and went out to meet a Committee of the Commons: and the Lords soon returned with the Address, which being read, L^d^ Dartmouth stood up, and Lord Rockingham at the same time, and the Chancellor, calling to Lord D., some Lords called Lord R. and some L^d^ D., and a debate arose

* Lord Temple's letter, acknowledging their receipt, dated Feb. 7, is in vol. i., blue leather-back Letter Books.

† Adolph., ii. 197, gives the same figures.

about the manner of proceeding, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Camden on one side, and Lord Mansfield on the other. At length the Chancellor put the question—whether L^d^ D. should speak? and a Division was called for; but after many had withdrawn, the Motion was withdrawn: and L^d^ D. moved the blank in the Address might be filled with the words—Spiritual and Temporal, and*: whereupon L^d^ Rockingham stood up and offered two Petitions, from the North America and West India Merchants; which being opposed, the Previous Question was moved for. L^d^ R. spake a considerable time, but ran into the merits of the controversy between the K^m^ and Col^s^, and more into a defence of his own Admin^n^, and at last to a *captandum populum*, by declaring that he had an ancestor who had espoused the cause of the people, but soon deserted it, and for promoting arbitrary power was deservedly bro't to the Block; and if he should ever desert the cause of the people, he should deserve the same fate. He is not a good speaker. This ancestor was the Earl of Strafford. The D. of Richmond of the same side, kept more to the Question.

Lord Camden went at large: condemned all former measures: and tho' he was part of the Admin. w^ch^ laid the Tea duty, &c., yet he never concerned himself:—indeed, it passed w^thout^ opposition. He denied Mass^ts^ being in rebellion: explained away all the facts: tho't it difficult to justify constructive treason, as levelling war against the K., and that the Judges had strained the law: that Hale seemed of a diff^t^ opinion, and he ought to have weight, unless his thinking that Parl^t^ had no power to tax Ireland should lessen it: alleged that to make war there should be guns, colours, or trumpets, or battle array, and there had been nothing of these.

Lord Shelburne had began of the same side when I came away.

On the other side, besides L^d^ Dartmouth, L^d^ Mansfield answered, L^d^ Camden, and professed there was a necessity of going into the merits. Great stress had been laid upon comerce, as the very Being of the K^m^. Why, these measures were to save commerce, not only by their combination for that

* Not filled up.

purpose, but from their denial of the authority of Parl^{t} in any case which would carry the comerce to other States. He went minutely into the proceed. of the Congress: shewed they denied the author' of Parl^{t} in every case: shewed that there was a rebell. in Massachu^{ts} by combinations, and by assuming the powers of Gov^{t} in order to resist, and by an actual violent resist. of law, w^{ch} he determined treason: and that sticks, clubs, &c., were warlike weapons for that purpose, as well as guns and swords, and mentioned late as well as former authorities. There might be rebellion in other parts as well as Mass^{ts} Bay, but he was not for extremes: it was with infinite reluctance he went so far as he did, but it could not be helped: They were reduced to this dilemma—either to give up the sup [reme] authority, w^{ch} was certain ruin, as they would not only be independent, but carry all their trade to a foreign State, or otherwise to use coercive measures, which he hoped however, would not proceed to actual hostilities. In short, both he and L^{d} Dartmouth discovered great doubts what would be the event of measures. This over precaution to guard against an imputation of blame in case of ill success, may bring on that ill success which they guard against, as it tends to give spirit to y^{e} Americans.

The Duke of Grafton spoke chiefly to vindicate his own Admin^{n} against L^{d} Camden and L^{d} Mansfield, the latter of whom declared the Duke misunderstood him, and that he did not intend the least blame upon any of his measures.

Besides these Lords, Lord Denbigh, Lord Coventry, Lord Pomfret, and L^{d} Gower had spoke, and some or all more than once before I left the House, at which time Lord Shelburne was speaking, who, I am informed, was answered by Lord Littleton; after which several of the Lords who had spoke before spoke again, particularly L^{d} Dartmouth expressly did, and he thought the measures could not be avoided. 91 and 14 proxies, or 105, divided against 29.* A second Division upon the main Question in near the proportion.

* Adolphus says 104 to 29. He has the following note at p. 201 of vol. ii. —"The Previous Question is—Whether the main question shall be now put? which was carried by 104 to 29; the division on the principal question was 87 to 27. The Protests were signed by 18 Peers."

8th.—I called this morning at Lord Hardwicke's to thank him for taking my son yesterday to the House of Lords, and found him very anxious about America, willing to renounce taxation, if a way could be found which would not give up the remaining authority. The real difficulty is, [that] Administration is tender, doubting, and undetermined: Opposition—or rather, Lord Chatham—daring, resolute, and determined: scruples not to say or do anything to carry his point.

9th.—I went into the city to Mauduit's, when Mr Montagu came. He says a late letter from Virginia assures him they will never abide by their non-importation scheme.

At Lord North's Levée, when he expressed his desire to provide for my son,* and that I should have Sir T. Mille's place of Receiver Gen. of Quebec, if agreeable; but the difficulty was to provide for Sir T. here.

I went in the evening to his house, and excepted to a Bill which was to be brought into the H. of Comons next day, for restraining the trade of the four New England Governments; there being, in my opinion, no room to distinguish those Colonies from the rest. He said he had no doubt, first or last, they would all be comprehended. Some of them had not yet signified their determination, and that led him to think of N.E. only at first. I spent near an hour in conversation. He seemed overborne with the weight of affairs; and tho' he evidently wished for something to take hold of to bring forward an accomodation, professed to be resolved never to concede to the prest claimes.

10th.—Mr Ellis called, and soon after Mr Jenkinson. I cautioned them against any measure which would make the people desperate. I know of no persons who seem more determined. I had called upon Mr Cornwall in the morning. All three think more forces should be sent. Mauduit called. He is for bringing all the fishermen to England, and confining the Fishery to the Kingdom.

Col. Goram also. He is seeking employ in the war against America. He says Gov. Pownall is to go to N. York in the

* This was Billy, who, however, died in *vita patris*.

room of Tryon. Lord Gower told Mauduit a new Governor was going, which I think must be Hay.

We, all but Billy, dined in the city with Charlton Palmer. D^r^ Solander* was of the company; and Omiah, the Otahitee was invited, but was seized last week with a fever, and has been in great danger. Two clergymen also, a D^r^ Polluck, who married Palmer's daughter, with his wife, and a D^r^ Bennet, who came in after dinner. M^r^ Palmer's sister, who I remember a gay girl in 1741,† is now a cheerful chatty old maid: several others who seemed to be of the same family.

11th.—We all dined at M^r^ Knox's. Sir Stanier Porten and lady, M^r^ Garth and lady, and Col. Stuart, the company. M^r^ Garth is Member for the Devises, and Agent for S. Carolina: has been in the Opposition, but speaks now in favour of American measures in Parliam^t^: gave an account of the proceedings in the House of Commons last night upon a Motion to bring in the Bill for restraining the trade of the N. Engl^d^ Colonies.—268 for, 85 against. Sir F. Norton, the Spkr, [Speaker], on the Committee of the whole House, answered Dunning, Burke, &c., with such irresistible force, as took away all room for an answer.

12th.—At the Temple Church, where Doctor Thurlow preached.

At Court, where heard great applause of D^r^ Porteous, one of the K.'s Chaplains, for a most excellent sermon, in which he very freely censured L^d^ Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, as tending to encourage irreligion and immorality. L^d^ Chancellor, L^d^ Presid^t^, L^d^ Sandwich, Denbigh, and Mansfield, all took notice of me: S^r^ Gilb^t^ Eliot, M^r^ Ellis, S^r^ James Porter, and many other gentlemen.

In the evening M^r^ Jenkinson called, and enquired into many facts in order to settle the Bill for restraining N. Eng^d^ trade, which he said he had corrected in many parts, and which was still attended with great difficulty.

* Dr. Solander, a Swede, a scientific man and great traveller. He and Mr. Bankes pursued their studies together, travelled half over the world, and brought back many rarities.—See *London Mag.* for portraits and accounts, June and July, 1772, pp. 291, 341.

† It may be perhaps recollected that Mr. Hutchinson was in England in that year.

13th.—I called upon M^r^ Jenkinson, where I met M^r^ Cooper, who brought the American Bill, to which M^r^ J. took many exceptions, but being under engagements, could spend no time upon it. Sir Gilbert Eliot called. In the evening I had a card from M^r^ J—— that L^d^ North would desire Lord D. or M^r^ Pownall to see me, and go over the several parts of the Bill.

14th.—Spent half an hour with M^r^ Ellis, Hanover Square. Called at Lord Barrington's, Cavendish Square. M^r^ Preston's, Charles Street, Berkly Squ. M^r^ Gibbon called when I was from home. After my return L^d^ Beauchamp, who made much enquiry about the Fishery, &c.: is against a general restraint of the Colonies, and for confining it to New England. Admiral Montagu called upon me, having brought his family from Portsmouth to Hampstead. Cap^n^ Hammond, of the Navy, called.

15th.*—At Lord D.'s Levée. I never saw him more dispirited. He asked me whether I thought no proposals could be made to satisfy the Americans?† I thought the danger lay in their taking the advantage of such proposals, to strengthen them in persisting in their claim to total Independency. Very lately I proposed to him altering parts of the Acts last Session, when he was against any concession. I saw Dalrymple after he had been at the Levée, who observed an unusual depression of spirits.

16th.—I walked early to Clemens [Clement's] Lane, and returned before noon. The rest of the day spent at home.

17th.—I visited Lord Barrington, and afterwards Lord Hillsborough, who kept me an hour: asked if I had seen the Bill? I said I had heard a little of it from M^r^ Jenkinson. He was surprised M^r^ Pownall had never consulted me upon it. He thought, as he was at the head of the Board of Trade in

* Elisha, in his Diary, speaks of being at Drury Lane on the 15th. The King and Queen were there.

† To those who have accompanied us thus far in the Diary, and have observed the sentiments scattered through the letters, or portions of letters that have been quoted, it will appear abundantly evident that the Ministry dreaded the thought of actual hostilities by military force, although they were sending out troops, and they were anxious to catch hold of any chance, or make any concession, consistent with the constitution of England, to bring about an amicable settlement.

1763, and afterwards Sec^{y} of State, something might have been said to him: that L^{d} North called upon him some days ago: talked about Almack's and the Pantheon, but not one word of America, though he had begged him even with tears to resign: said all the languor about America was owing to Lord North's aversion to business: nothing kept him from resigning but his love of money, and his father's desire that he would keep in till all his connexions were provided for, and they were numerous.* He is to bring the Bill into the House, says L^{d} H., to-day, and he was at that house over the way, at a Festino with young folks till two o'clock this morning. Lord Dartmouth, he said, had too much religion: was unfit for the office: wondered at his taking it. Pownall† was unsteddy [*sic*]; one day all fire, another, depressed and in despair. The K. himself (he said to me), thinks as you do; but always will leave his own sentiments, and conform to his Ministers, tho' he will argue with them, and very sensibly; but if they adhere to their own opinion, he will say—"Well: do you chuse [*sic*] it should be so? then let it be." And sometimes he has known him add—"You must take the blame upon yourself." I asked if the King was ever with the Cabinet? Never, he said, since King George the First came to the Crown, who, not understanding English, broke the practice.‡ I asked if he consulted others of the Council besides the Premier? He would talk with them sometimes upon affairs of their own immediate Departments.

It is certain that business is in a strange languid state, and the Prime Conductor seems to leave more to other persons than has been usual. If L^{d} Guilford should die, L^{d} North coming into the H. of Peers, would most probably quit his present place for one of less trouble.

I called at Lord Gower's and Sir Gilbert Eliot's: both from home.

* This was rather plain speaking on the part of Lord Hillsborough. Yet Lord North had no sinecure; whether he hated business or no, it is certain that at that particular time he had a great deal of hard work to go through.

† This was undoubtedly John Pownall, the Secretary of State.

‡ The practice of attending the Cabinet Councils, and of sitting at the head of the Council table.

The Bill for laying restraint on the trade of the N. England Colonies was brought into the House to-day, and ordered to be printed. I think it can never pass without great alterations. Mauduit called in the evening: says the Ministry are now agreed. Lord D. has drawn a different way from all the rest; and they have so far conceded to him, as that Parliam^{t} in some way or other should signify that if the several Assemblies will agree to comply with such requisitions as shall be judged fit, that then Parliament will dispense with its right of taxation.

This, I think the Assemblies will not do.

18th.—I called early upon M^{r} Gibbon, Bentinck Street. He laments the want of a more general plan: says that in all great affairs since Lord North's Administration this has been the case. Members who are independent, and not obliged to follow the Minister, are at a loss what part to take, for want of a more thorough knowledge of what is to be the next measure, &c.

I called at eleven at Lord President's, who first was not at home, but upon giving my name, the servant said his Lordship was up very late, and was not yet stirring, otherwise he believed [he] would be glad to see me. This is the dissipated way of life of most of our great men at present.*

Dined all of us at M^{r} Preston's, brother to M^{rs} Hutton, with M^{r} Heald and wife, S^{r} W^{m} Wake, Member for Bedford, in the Minority, M^{r} Powis,† for Northamptonshire, and two M^{r} Homes, and Nath. Coffin.

Lady Dartmouth called.

19th.—At Lincolns Inn Chapel. I heard Doctor Halifax upon Prophecy, being a course of sermons, which Warburton, Bishop of Glocester has encouraged by a donation. Lord Mansfield and other Judges were present. M^{r} Gibbon called at noon. In the evening at Lord Chancellor's, where were Dukes of Chandos, Queensbury, Earl of Marchmont, Lord

* Such were not the best sort of men to guide the destinies of a country well. The best are the sober, temperate, regular, and industrious.

† Elisha writes Powys under the same date. It is curious to observe that in the entries in Elisha's Diary he uses almost the same words in the same order as his father. Elisha records little more than the light occupations of the day, and evening visiting or going to the theatre, of which latter he seems to have been rather fond.

Cathcart; several gentlemen of Clergy and laity I did not know, and Gov. Pownall. Afterwards at D^r^ Heberden's: Bishop of Peterboro', Bishop and Dean of Salisbury, Dean Tucker, who enquired much about America: several other gentlemen, among the rest M^r^ Simonds, a brother to Capt. Simonds who was at Boston.*

20th.—I called early at L^d^ Marchmont's and Gen. Howe's: both from home. Afterwards at S^r^ Gilbert Elliot's [two letters 1 this time] where I first saw the Motion in writing for proposal to the Americans to make provision by their Assemblies for their proportion of public charge, and observed to him the ambiguity of proportion, and uncertainty to what it related; and he agreed with me, and L^d^ Hardwicke observed to me soon after, that he had made the same remark. In the afternoon L^d^ North made the Motion, to wit—That upon the Americans making such proposals, and their being accepted by the King and two Houses, taxes, except for regulating commerce, should cease: and what should be raised by them, should be applied as part of that proportion, or words to that effect. Great opposition was made in the House: and M^r^ Ellis, Sir L. Dundass, and other friends of government, spake against it as a concession. Burke was violent because it was no concession: and it was carried for the previous Question by 274 to 88.†

Letters from Gage to Government, and private letters from Boston to 18 Jan^y^. Nothing more unfavorable than the last advices. Some Associations forming to support government.

21st.—At Lord Dartmouth's, who I found in high spirits upon a letter from Gage, of 18 Jan. which he afterwards sent

* This was Sunday. The usual way of passing the Sunday at that period would rather shock the more quiet way of keeping it at the present time. It is not the custom now to visit at all on the Sunday. From some previous entries it may be inferred that they sometimes went to Court after coming from church; then went later to the Lord Chancellor's, or to some other Minister of State, or to Dr. Heberden's, and in that way wound up the evening.

† Cormick, the continuator of Hume and Smollet's Hist., does not notice these debates. Adolphus, ii. 205, gives the heads of this well-meant, and, if well taken, very important motion; and he agrees in his numbers with those given above.

me to read: but he was under concern for the effect of the Resolve of the House, and wished me to see Lord North, and propose to have it expressed in terms more precise.

I went to Lord North's, but he was so engaged I could not see him, tho' I sent in word I came from Lord Dartmouth.

Goram, Clarke, and Chandler dined with us.

In the evening I spent an hour at Mr Wedderburne's, where I found Mauduit. I wished to have found a way to open Boston Harbour by means of the Bill for shutting up all the rest: but though Mr W. approved of my plan himself, he said any, the least concession, to the demands of the Americans, would lose many of their present friends. [End of Vol. 2 of the Diary.]

It must be said that the Governor was extremely anxious to get relief to his fellow townsmen if possible. Having failed to get the Port Bill repealed when it stood alone, he now begs that Boston Harbour may be opened, if all the other harbours of the American coast are to be shut up. Even this small favour is denied him. No concession is to be made, for fear it should look like a weakness. Even the conciliatory proposition, as introduced into the House of Commons by Lord North, as we have seen above, by which the Americans were to be allowed to tax themselves, was received with anger by some of the supporters of the Ministry then in power, because it looked like concession; and with a storm of abuse from some of the pretended friends in America in opposition, because they had not originated it themselves, and it was good enough to be jealous of. Edmund Burke denounced it as no concession at all; but whilst that wily talker devoted all his eloquence to finding fault with everything not emanating from his own party, and condemned every measure as an error, he took good care to avoid suggesting remedies. It is easy to find fault, but hard to find a remedy, so he confined himself to the easiest part.

It may have been gathered from what has gone before, that the Tories, now represented by the term Conservatives, then held the reins, with Lord North, eldest son of the Earl of Guildford, as Prime Minister, supported by the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Suffolk, Lord Mansfield, Mr. Thurloe, Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Thurloe, Mr. Wedderburne, Solicitor-General, afterwards in the peerage, and a number of gentlemen of the House of Commons, with most of whose names

we have become familiar in the Diary. On the other hand, the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Rockingham headed the Whig or Liberal Opposition, in whose ranks appeared Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, Lord Ossory, Lord Bute, Burke, Fox, and many others. The third, or Radical, or Ultra, or dangerous party, exists in all ages of the world, and in all countries where there are bad men, whose low tastes, or want of principle, or vicious habits of life, with the common accompaniment of desperate fortunes, render them advocates for violent or extreme measures, subversive of all order, and regardless of all consequences, though treading even on the borders of rebellion and revolution. Those are the people who, unable to raise themselves to a status of respectability, desire to pull everything down to their own level. Those who have nothing to lose may catch hold of something in the scramble, when they can overturn all dignities and all law, and stir up confusion till chaos is come again. The strife of party is the war of many conflicting passions. It is astonishing how differently some men view a position, be they in office or be they out. In the one case they will argue strongly in favour of a measure; in the other they will argue equally strongly against the very same thing. This shows that, at all events for the occasion, they lay by their sober judgment, and are swayed only by views of self-interest or party considerations.

Of Burke, says Adolphus, ii., 170—"He was Lord Rockingham's confidential political adviser," and in the House of Commons he was the chief, because the most ready exponent of the damnatory arguments so freely hurled at Administration. Those who are out look with envy at those who are in, and are so soured by feelings of jealousy, that nothing short of general condemnation against every Ministerial proceeding can satisfy them; and the better the measure the greater the envy. Burke was not free from this weakness. The whole tissue of his speeches, and of his very long letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, mainly consisted of flowery denunciations against every proposition not originated by his own friends; and applying these arguments to the management of the affairs of America, he at different times in the heat of debate, but apparently with the studied view of courting popularity from the ultra Liberals on both sides of the Atlantic, recommended the removal of so many burdens from the Americans, and so many Acts of Parliament, one after another, as almost amounted in the aggregate to recommending them to absolute freedom. But it was not so many years before that the party to which he belonged had themselves guided the destinies of the State; and if they were

sincere in their doctrines of such extended freedom, why did they not apply them when they had the power? This inconsistency of moulding words to suit varying circumstances, is apparent in his not denying the right of the Mother Country over the Colonies; but he suggests "a taxation of America by grant, and not by imposition" [his speech of March 22, 1775, p. 67, Adol. ii., 209], and yet this is exactly what he denounced in Lord North's conciliatory motion mentioned above. He would hope such voluntary grants would be paid by the Americans; but if refused to be paid, how then? Strangely he must have neglected to inform himself on the rise and progress of liberty into the excesses of licentiousness during the growth of those dependencies, when he says this spirit took its rise in the south, when all history—as much American history as English history—uniformly gives the palm to Massachusetts, as foremost in irritation under restraint, and not the south: yet Burke says [*Ibid.* p. 30]:—"The fact is so; and the people of the southern Colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those to the northward." Few Americans would admit this. The English Government always found Boston and Massachusetts foremost in her disposition to rebellion. "This Province began it—I might say this town, for here the arch-rebels formed their scheme long ago." [Gage quoted in Frothingham's Hist., p. 234.] Again:—"Boston, above all, took the lead in such tumultuary proceedings." [Lord Mahon's Hist., ch. 45, p. 124. And Frothingham, p. 45, observes]:—"The Massachusetts patriots were never more determined to resist the new Acts of Parliament, and were never more confident of their ability to maintain their ground, than at the commencement of the new year 1775." These, and some other authorities to the same effect, have already been adduced near the beginning of this volume. And at another time Burke ventures on an assertion of a very extraordinary nature. He says—"that our Colonies were backward to enter into the present vexatious and ruinous controversy." [His speech of April 19, 1774, p. 51]. Considering what we have seen take place in Boston during the preceding ten years, this was rather a bold, and not a very cautious assertion on the part of Burke; and it shews that men will even venture their reputation for truth when they have a point to urge in party warfare.

The vital question of the Right of Taxation, or the Supremacy of Parliament he was afraid to approach, but slunk by it as dangerous to his popularity, or to the interests of his political associates, to meddle with. Addressing the House March 22, 1775

[Speech, p. 49], he said :—"I think you must perceive that I am resolved this day to have nothing at all to do with the question of the right of taxation. Some gentlemen startle—but it is true: I put it totally out of the question. It is less than nothing in my consideration." This was one way of getting rid of a difficulty, when all the while he knew that it was upon this very point that the whole of the controversy depended; and that if he had desired to have done a real or a substantial good to his country, he must have known that it was the very division of the subject to which he ought to have given his best attention.

There is so little of fixed principle to be traced in his speeches and his writings that, amid many contradictory remarks, it is hard to ascertain what his opinions really were. In his letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol [Fourth Edit., p. 48], he implies, speaking in the past tense, that he once was an advocate for the supremacy of Parliament, but that he had changed his views. He writes thus:—"I do assure you (and they who know me publickly and privately will bear witness to me), that if ever one man lived, more zealous than another, for the Supremacy of Parliament, and the rights of this Imperial Crown, it was myself." And here he leaves the point in a mystified and an uncertain state, slinking by it, in short, as he did above, in the matter of the right of taxation.

The cruelty and the injustice of levying war upon the Colonies receives his censure [*Ibid.* pp. 20–2], but he passes by the riots, the insults upon the Governor, assaults upon legally-appointed officers, destruction of property, acts of treason, and the open rebellion that brought the troops to Boston and hastened the catastrophe; so liable are most people, in every quarrel, to forget the origin of it (where, in reality, the blame most lies), and to dwell only on the cruelty of the punishment.

He talks of the blessings of liberty, which, with those who prate most about it, generally means the privilege of being as tyrannical and disagreeable as possible to everybody within reach, the different degrees of liberty—"the extreme of liberty" [*Ibid.* p. 57]; but having come to the superlative degree, he confesses that even liberty must have its limits.

And whatever his views really were at this period on the great constitutional question of the Supremacy of Parliament, he observes that this power really had existed at one time in all its force, though the Americans denied it, in order to try and justify their treason. "When I first came into a public trust," he writes [*Ibid.* p. 49], "I found your Parliament in possession of an un-

limited legislative power over the Colonies. I could not open the Statute Book without seeing the actual exercise of it, more or less, in all cases whatsoever." And at page 60 he says—"The Colonies were from the beginning subject to the legislature of Great Britain." This is plain enough; but as if it were too plain, for a man who was playing a double game between contending parties, he immediately goes about to dilute its strength by adding such qualifying expressions as, "on principles which they never examined," and "without asking how they agreed with that legislative authority."

"I wish, Sir," he said, addressing the Speaker, "to repeal the Boston Port Bill, because it was passed, as I apprehend, with less regularity, and on more partial principles, than it ought. The Corporation of Boston was not heard before it was condemned." As if it had not been heard rather too much! As if the treasonable violence of its debates had not become notorious on both sides of the Atlantic! And as if those debates, and the encouragement they gave to the mob, together with the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbour, had not originated the Boston Port Bill! In this instance Burke again passes by the causes that brought this Bill into existence. Neither people nor States are ever restrained by coercive measures until they go from liberty into license—that subdivision of liberty in the superlative degree indeed, which he denominated "the extreme of liberty," and with an amount of art that looks too much like artfulness, whilst he extols the spirit of liberty until he encourages the Americans to set no limit to their excesses, he adds—"I do not mean to commend either the spirit or the moral causes which produce it." All this is equivalent to encouraging with one hand and admonishing with the other.

When we hear an orator labour to condemn the measures of a Ministry, to analyse, censure, and pick to pieces all their acts and deeds one after another as he examines them, we naturally expect, when he has finished, that he will console his hearers by offering to suggest a few remedies. Burke is very fertile in condemnation, but when he discourses on the affairs of the Colonies, he shows himself to be either unwilling or unable to give that consolation, or to suggest any feasible remedies for the evils he so freely denounces. It needs no talent to find fault; the worst men do that best.

Let us not, however, be too hard upon him. None are all evil. None are all wrong. Let us give him the benefit of any reasonable or any redeeming sentiment recorded in his favour. At

page 60 of his letter to the Sheriffs, he commences a sketch of the early beginning and progress of those Plantations from infancy to maturity; and he plainly shows that as the times change, we perforce change with them; and that the treatment of the Mother Country to her children in infancy could not reasonably continue to be the same when they had attained to full age. "Nothing," he says, "in progression can rest on its original plan. We may as well think of rocking a grown man in the cradle of an infant." Those distant portions of the empire had advanced in strength, in wealth, in extent, and in power; and the motherly treatment that they had accepted with pleasure during the spring season of their adolescence, they would not be content with at the more advanced period of their manhood. At this period of time, he adds, "the Colonies were too proud to submit, too strong to be forced, too enlightened not to see all the consequences which must arise from such a system."

It was the error of England that she forgot the number of years that had passed by, and the great changes that had taken place; and it was the greater error of America that she denied that the English Parliament had any authority over her, which all men of any reading knew to be false; and still worse when she denied that she had ever been under its authority at all, for in so doing, she not only weakened her argument by going too far, but she sullied her name in the light of truth.

CHAPTER VIII.

BEGINNING OF THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE DIARY.

February 22nd, 1775.—I called early upon Lord Dartmouth. The alteration I had made in the Resolve of the House of Commons he said was extactly agreeable to what he had proposed in the Cabinet. He seemed apprehensive of the ill-effect it might have as it now stands. I proposed a further amendment, which he thought still better. I gave him my opinion that as it had met with opposition in the Committee, it might be best to let it go as it is, to prevent further trouble: but he took down my proposal, which was only a change of words to remove the great ambiguity of the word *proportion*, as it now stands, and said he should see Lord North to-day, and would try what could be done.

I called upon Mr Jackson, and afterwards saw him at Lincolns Inn Hall. He said he voted for the Resolve, because Mr Ellis and others, who were high against America, had excepted to it, as conceding too much. He had always disapproved of the conduct of the Americans, and so he had of the measures of Government. I don't remember to have heard him propose any plan himself.

It's certainly a poor performance, and dishonours Administration as it stands.

Governor Hutchinson was not in England for nothing, yet he was able to do but little for America. There is a passage in a letter to be quoted further on, where we learn that he had been asked to enter Parliament at the last election, where he would have had every opportunity for discussing the new Acts; but a variety of conflicting considerations rose up at the idea. He thought that the dispute with his country would not last long: he was new in England and unsettled in his plans; his heart was

in America, and he was impatient to return there; and it was not worth while to try and fix himself by any such engagements. He was content to advise only where he thought he could do any good. He considered it impossible that there should be a divided authority, but that in every empire, or parts of an empire, however distant those parts might be, there must be one acknowledged head. This is expressed in a letter written at this time to some friend whose name is not preserved. It is in vol. ii. of the old marble paper Letter Books. He says—

"And then, for the general question between the Kingdom and the Colonies—every day confirms me that there must be a Supreme over all the parts of every Empire; and that every attempt to fix an exemption of any part will be vain and fruitless: and such attempt naturally leads to all that disorder and confusion which is now so distressing to the Colonies: and I really think the nearest approach to a rational conduct, is that of the Philadelphia Congress, in denying all legislative power farther than what the Colonies themselves shall consent to. If it was possible to depart from this principle, I verily believe the present Administration would do it. No persons can be more disposed to any conciliatory terms which will consist with keeping the Kingdom and Colonies together," &c.

In the same letter, further down, a fallacy, industriously circulated for party purposes, is refuted; wherein it was intimated that if Lord Chatham were Prime Minister, he would grant the Colonies all they demanded. It runs thus—

"They have been without any grounds often assured by a person here, [who? Franklin?] that there would be great opposition made here, so as to overturn the present Administration, and to procure another in its stead more favorable. If there had been a change, it is agreed that L^{d} Chatham must have taken the lead. Everybody here agrees that he would have done as he did in the case of the German war; instead of 10,000 men, and 20 sail of men-of-war, he would immediately have ordered 20,000 men, and 40 sail of ships; and he would have made all to consist with his former declarations. Instead of taxing you, he would have made his requisitions, and enforced them as to internal taxes: and for external, by port duties, &c. He would have heard no objection or complaint against them. But there is not the least probability of a change: and if it was not for the remains of two or three former Administrations, who oppose every measure alike

which comes from Ministry, there would be no opposition in Parl^{t}, and the Petitions of the Merch^{ts} which have been presented and not considered as they moved, cause no visible discontent."

No doubt there were parties in England who tried to make the Americans believe that by a change of Ministry, with such men in power as Chatham, Rockingham, Camden, Burke, Fox, and a few more, they would obtain everything they asked for; but the speeches of those politicians betray, more or less clearly, that they never meant to give up the supremacy of Parliament. In the same letter the Governor says—

"I have often heard it said, that if we could be in the state we were before the Stamp Act, we should be content. If they who say this mean no more than that those Acts which lay duties or taxes since that time should be repealed, I have no doubt it may be obtained. If they mean that it should be done in such a manner as to infer a renunciation of the Legislative Authority, it is plain to me, that, be who will in Ministry, it cannot be obtained. I hear that Lord North said to M^{r} Quincy, such Ministers as should concede to it, would bring their heads to the Block."

Further down he writes—

"I am, and ever have been, for as great a share of legislation in the Assemblies of every Colony as can consist with a Supreme Authority over the whole. This is a system under which I was born, and had lived 50 years before I heard that anybody made any doubt of it. Not that I ever supposed the people of any Gov^{t} are under such moral obligations to any system, as that when the general safety requires it, they are not at liberty to depart from it. And in a remote Colony particularly, there is no doubt to be made that a time will come for a total separation from the original State. But as to us, I think it is not yet in our power, and it cannot be for our interest, to attain to such a separation."

Mr. Hutchinson thought that the time for such a separation had not come, though it was destined to come. On the subject or idea of his entering the English Parliament, he says—

"Upon the late Election I was advised to come into Parliament; but the part I should be obliged to take in all matters which relate to America, would have been so disagreeable, that I needed no other consideration to determine me against it."

The above passages have been taken from a letter in the hand-

writing of the Governor himself. If the reader is not wearied with these controversial discussions (which means that we are almost), there is a letter of Feb. 9, containing a new point, which ought to be quoted. It has been entered in the same Letter Book for his father, apparently by Elisha. The new point, however, is not new to those who have studied the progress of the struggle. The American leaders had been led to think that by firmness and perseverance they could gradually wring out of the English Government every point they contended for; and that by only asking for one at a time, they would, by a process of common addition, at last get all.

"The case of America," he says, "is not new. In such contests every concession from one party has caused fresh demands from the other, without the least tendency to peace or reconciliation. It has been said that if Parl[t] had repealed the Tea duty also, when the rest of the Act was repealed, everybody would have been easy: but I perfectly remember when, upon a report from England, that the Tea duty was taken off, our principle men declared—'we must not stop here: if we can obtain this, we can obtain more;' and from your Pensilvania Resolves, it is plain that nothing short of intire Independency can satisfy us. What does the Old Council say, now their Champion, the great Incendiary, declares there can be no line between absolute authority and absolute Independency? This is what they charge upon me, as a new doctrine, not to be supported. [See below.]

"Great pains have been taken through the Kingdom to procure Petitions in favour of America. The number of Petitions is surprisingly small: and it is the opinion of the best judges, that we have but a small proportion of the people who favour our cause, and I think our interest is lessening in Parl[t]. I was surprised to hear that one of the strongest advocates in Parliament, gave his opinion privately, out of doors, in favour of sending a larger force to subdue us.

"The Address to the King was carried by about three-fourths of the House of Commons, and rather more of the House of Lords. I think the speakers in both Houses inferior to those who were upon the stage thirty years ago."

See below. Well, in another letter of the same date, this is again alluded to, and still more clearly. He says—"My great crime with my countrymen was, my asserting that there could be no line between total subjection and total Independency. Surely, they will pardon me now, for Franklin, in the most express terms,

asserts the same thing. He infers the Colonies are therefore independent. I draw no inference, but—*utrum mavis elige?* I lay the stress on prudence only." Whether the sentiment originated with Hutchinson or with Franklin, there was reason in it.

Amongst contemplated changes, he says in the same letter—

"There is talk of bringing Conn[t] and Rhod. Island under a new form; but whether they are to remain distinct Governments, or to be annexed, part to the Mass. and part to N. York, I am not able to say."

23rd.—Col. Abercromby breakfasted with me this morning. Crossing the Park I met M[r] Stuart Mackenzie, who gave me an account of the debate in the House yesterday upon Wilke's Motion, to have all the proceedings of Parliament upon the Westminster Election expunged,—which was carried against him —230 to 170, which is a rather greater majority than last year.

At Lord Dartmouth's office. M[r] Knox gave me copy of a letter he had wrote to M[r] Blackburn, a Merchant in the city, in order to his sending it to his friends at New York. M[r] Knox proposes the Colony Assemblies should pass Acts for laying duties on all exports, and on all foreign imports, with a condition not to have force until Parliament repeals the Tax Acts, and to cease whenever they shall be renewed, or other duties or taxes laid. I thought such a condition unwarrantable in an Act of Assembly, and excepted to it: but upon explanation, I encouraged him. I would send a copy to my friends in New England; but consulting Mauduit, who called in the evening, I returned to my first thoughts, and am of opinion it would be a dangerous proposal, and intend to see Knox in the morning, and let him know my mind.

Billy was at L[d] North's Levée, who told him he hoped soon to pay his respects to him, &c.

24th.—I called at M[r] Knox's house before breakfast to let him know my opinion of the impracticability of his plan, and that, as Governor, I should not dare give my assent to an Act framed according to his proposal. He seemed himself to be less attached to it than yesterday. I went into the Borough to visit M[r] Bowden, Governor of St. Thomas's Hospital, where he lives, but he was from home.

Mauduit called upon me in the evening: says the Ministry look upon opposition as conquered; and that Lord North assured him American measures should now be prosecuted with vigor.

25th.—In the forenoon at Lord Gower's: had some conversation upon the Bill for restraining the N. England trade. At M^r^ Ambler's; he not at home. Called at the Bishop of Chester's in Bloomsbury Squ.: left my name. Col. Cunningham called upon me, and the rich Peter Taylor, besides M^r^ Chester and M^r^ Maseres, who called when I was from home. The Bill for restraining, &c., was read last evening a second time in the House, but there was no debate, which was referred till Tuesday, because Burke had a sore throat.

The warlike preparations making in England, with the evident prospect of drifting into open hostilities, filled the Governor with concern. He was full of confidence that the people would make no resistance to the King's troops, and he flattered himself that they would be guided by reason in what they did, instead of being hurried on by passion. Hence he wrote as follows, on Feb. 13, to Mr. James Putnam:—

"I cannot view these preparations without great anxiety. My hope is, that the thinking part of the people will see the madness of resistance, and that so many will separate and put themselves under the protection of the Royal Standard, as to discourage the rest. To effect this, great discretion will be necessary. I am glad the Gov. has so many good men in Boston to advise him upon so critical an occasion. I think I may even have to pledge myself for this encouragement, namely, that although the people should be compelled to submission, Government will nevertheless be exercised with every possible indulgence to the desires of the people, and particularly the fears of burdens from taxation, will be found entirely groundless."

Perhaps nearly enough has been said on the subject of the Bill for restraining the trade of the Colonies; but at the risk of redundancy and repetition, one extract from a letter of Feb. 22 to Mr. G. Erving, in the Governor's handwriting, which collects several points into one paragraph, may plead for a place here. It runs thus—

"There is a Bill in Parl^t^ for restraining the trade of the N.E. Colonies. I had prepared a plan for admitting the inhabit^s^ of

Boston, in common w^th^ the inhabit^s^ of the other towns, to a free trade, provided they renounce all share or part in unlawful combinations, &c.; and I met with leading Members who approved of it: but when I shewed it to M^r^ Wedderburne, who revised the Bill now before the House, after Pownall and Knox had drawn it, he put an end to all my expectations: for tho' he approved of it himself, he said he was sure that a proposal for repeal in any degree, would disgust the part of the House w^ch^ I distinguish as his [?] Agent, and weaken, if not break to pieces, the whole system for restoring America: and when only an amendment, that upon pay for the Tea, the Port might be opened without waiting for a special order from the K., he refused to consent because of the same danger."

It may be suspected that one of his motives for wishing to visit England may have been a feeling of uneasiness in respect to the retribution threatened by the English Government to be directed against his native town. His last effort to get the Port opened was unsuccessful, upon the ground that any concession, however small, might look like weakness or timidity. He flattered himself that personal interviews with the different members of the Government would do what correspondence could not; but he discovered that the time for concession had now passed. Yet, though he felt that a blow must inevitably be struck before long, he comforted himself with the promise that its unpleasant effects would soon be over, and that in a few months he would go out to Boston in the sunshine of peace and harmony. Read the following commencement of a letter to his son Thomas—

"St. James's Street, 22 Feb. 1775.

"My Dear Son,

"I hope peace and order will return to you before the summer is over, and that I shall return before winter,—I am not anxious in what station. If there is a prospect of my being serviceable, I would return in my publick character, which I have no doubt I may do if I chuse it. If the prejudices of the people continue, and my friends think it most advisable, I would endeavour to be content with a private station; and in such case, the more obscure the more eligible."

The remainder of the letter is made up of an unusual and painful subject, intended from its nature for his son only. The Governor observes that the project had been for several years on his mind, but that he had put it off from time to time. Some

parts of the letter are very much abbreviated, but the context shows what was intended. He wishes to have a new tomb built at Milton, and the remains of his late wife, now twenty-one years since her decease, removed to it, with space left, eventually for himself. He says: "a T. in the B. g. at M.," which can be no other than "a Tomb in the Burial ground at Milton." He directs where stone can be procured; and "a mason at B[oston] or in some other T[own] near:" and to "leave the wall, or any ornament or inscription till I return:" and "The sooner it's finished the better." He then goes on to say—"As soon as it's done, speak to Wolleston, the Sexton of the old N[orth], who had the care of the T[omb] in the North b[urial?] place:" and he desires that everything may be done in the evening, so as not to attract the idle curiosity of stragglers. It should seem from this that his wife had been interred in a burial-ground attached to the Old North Church, and this was not very far from his town house that the mob destroyed in August, 1765. It was to this church, in the earlier days of the Colony, that the Governor's father gave his private drinking vessel, a large silver tankard with handle and hinge cover, and an old example of the Hutchinson coat of arms engraved on the front of it, for the wine to be used at the celebration of the Holy Communion. We believe we are right in clubbing together the Old North Church and the "Second Church" as one and the same, but are not quite sure. In 1870 some city alterations were undertaken, and the church plate was offered for sale, when the Rev. W. P. H. Hutchinson bought it back into the family for 63·70 dollars, or £13 5*s.* 5*d.*, and it is now in England. The Governor is fully aware of the unusual nature of the commission with which he charges his son, and feels that some exception might be taken to it, so he says—

"I am sensible this fond fancy will not bear examining upon meer rational grounds; but it is not criminal, and I am countenanced by the like sort of fondness in the old Patriarchs."

He concludes this letter thus—

"I cannot write upon any other subject after writing upon this; and for news must refer you to what I have wrote M. T."

It is not likely that the Governor's wishes in this matter were ever carried out. Thomas had quitted Milton, and had withdrawn into Boston—"The City of Refuge." General Gage had fortified the Neck, whilst the Americans, on their side, were making hostile

preparations in the immediate neighbourhood, so that the country was not safe. Considering that it took from a month to six weeks in those days to transmit intelligence, Thomas could not have received his father's letter long before the Battle of Lexington, the commencement of open hostilities, after which there was no venturing outside the city; then followed the Battle of Bunker's Hill: the investment of the city by the American army under the command of Washington, when the country houses of the Loyalists were pillaged and confiscated—when the house of the Chief Justice, Peter Oliver, at Middleborough, was burnt—when Milton, with the house, furniture, plate, carriages, and everything on the premises were seized—when, according to common report, as the Governor has it in his Diary, "'tis said that Washington rides in my coach at Cambridge"—when his younger portrait, hanging in the house, was stabbed and injured by the soldiers' bayonets, and afterwards badly repaired, and eventually conveyed to the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where it still remains—when 1500 private letters were taken, and made such infamous use of by Bancroft in his so-called History—then, and at that time, men were only busied in making preparations for the commencement of a long and ruinous war; and as Thomas, with his belongings, remained shut up until March 24, 1776, when he set sail for England, and as his father never returned to America, there seems no reason to suppose that this project was ever accomplished.

But let us make excuses for the Americans. They had been taught to believe that they were a very ill-used people—that the English Parliament had no authority over them, and never had—that if they had submitted to it, the submission was only through inadvertence—that it was now time to correct this inadvertence, and consent to it no longer—that loyalty to the King of England was only "in theory"—that a country 3000 miles off was too far to be regarded, and might be forgotten—and that when this distant country exercised an administrative power within the limits of the Province, either by the authority of Acts of Parliament enacted in England, or by the instrumentality of Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and other officers, appointed to these functions, and receiving their salaries from the Crown, it would be no more than reasonable to look upon all this as interference; and if interference, it might be resisted as tyranny and oppression.

Cherishing such notions as these, and feeling that such notions commended themselves to their sympathies, people would not

trouble themselves much about further enquiry. Such beliefs, if sincerely held, will palliate the severe writings of local historians, and the impassioned harangues of local orators. They wrote and spoke vehemently, thinking they were right. If they were wrong, we lament the misinformation under which they were labouring, and would rather desire to see such zeal directed in another course.

It is time, however, that we should now return to the Diary, which goes on as follows:—

26th.—I attended at the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital, and heard D^r^ Thomas, Bishop of Rochester. Sat in the pew with the Bishop, S^r^ Charles Whitworth, &c., who, after sermon, during the Anthem, went into the Pulpit to the Bishop, and chatted with him for a quarter of an hour, and did not leave him until the Anthem was over, and the Bishop was standing up to give the Blessing. Not very decent.

I was at Court at the Drawing Room. The King asked if I did not use exercise this fine weather, &c. The Queen, among other things, asked if she did not see me at the Play?

Dined at Lord Chancellor's, in company with Lord Galloway, one of the Scotch Peers, which place he seemed to be pleased with; M^r^ Garth, Member for the Devises; M^r^ Scott, a lawyer; two Clergymen; D^r^ Pyne, and M^r^ Bathurst. Much discourse upon the affairs in Parliament relating to America; and Garth, tho' Agent for South Carolina, condemned the proceedings, and thought it necessary, by an Act, to declare the illegality of the Congress; and at least, to incapacitate all who should notwithstanding attend it, from all public offices, &c.

Talking of Lord Bathurst's longevity, I asked Lord Chancellor if there was any truth in the account of Fleetwood's Shepherd's being alive at the age of 121, as was published a year or two ago in the newspapers? "Not a word," he said. The late K. of France [Louis XV.?] used to be so pleased with hearing accounts of very long lives, that people were hired to put articles into the newspapers, of which this was known to be one.

In the evening at D^r^ Heberden's, in a large company:—the Bishops of Lincoln, Salisbury, Carlisle, Ely, Bath and Wells;

Deans of Salisbury and Glo'cester; General Parslow, M^r Harris, Burrill, and other Members of the House of Commons, and divers others I did not know.

There is an affectionate parental letter from Elisha in London to his infant daughter in Plymouth, Massachusetts, born after he left, and now only a few months old; but it is neither political nor historical enough to be transferred to this place. As the crisis approaches the letters become more numerous: they also become more interesting, but there is only room to quote the more prominent parts of them. Another—and this time from Judge Auchmuty—emanating from the beleaguered city, merits a place.

"Boston, March 3^rd, 1775.

"Dear Sir,

"Your very obliging favour of the 9^th of Decem^r last, I have had the honor of receiving. And sincerely wish it was in my power, consistent with truth, to give you a more agreeable account of this miserable Province, than my last contained. But I do not see any reason to expect peace and order, untill the fatal experiment of arms is tried. Such a strange infatuation prevails among us as scarcely can be credited, and never yet to be parellelled. No absurdity in politics, however gross, or impossible to be true, but meets with entire assent as soon as the same is propagated by the flagitious disturbers of American liberty and loyalty. No treatment is too bad for the known friends of government, except taking away their lives: and I very much suspect even the horrid crime of murder, by some will soon be deemed, and openly published, as a meritorious act. All the marks of war now surround us. On both sides large preparations are making. In short, everything here looks hostile. If a judgment was to be formed from appearances, the conclusion must be that the people intend a spirited and obstinate resistance. But I am of opinion, that should a proper force march against them, and in the first onset be exerted with vigour, the courage of our people will soon abate, and in a short time be totally extinguished. But on a supposition of the contrary, it is impossible they can long maintain the war. They are too ignorant, and distitute of the means of so doing.

"Upon the whole, view our situation in any possible light, bloodshed and desolation seem inevitable. I confess, when I coolly reflect, I am astonished how the monster Rebellion hath reared its head so high against the dictates of reason, gratitude, and interest. Surely Heaven hath been pleased to interfere: and all that can be said is—*Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*

"The General is universally applauded, but I believe begins to grow a little more warm. Many of the troops have died since they went into winter quarters, owing, I imagine, to the want of proper Barracks, and the too free use of our rum. From the remarkable good conduct of the General and his officers in general, we have hitherto enjoyed in this town a much greater degree of quietude than could reasonably have been expected, under our peculiar circumstances. Both parties are most impatiently waiting for news from Great Britain. I confess my situation becomes daily more and more irksome, from the great degree of uncertainty attending it.

"I am very glad to find that the malice of your enemies hath not deprived you wholly of peace," &c.

Governor Hutchinson now derived peace from finding that the calumnies of his enemies were not believed in England. Writing to Col. Worthington on March 6 [marble paper Letter Book, v. 2], he says—

"I am, it's true, out of their reach, for their abuse, by writing, or by the persons they employ, does me no sort of harm here. Their credit is gone entirely with men of all ranks and orders, and even *Junius Americanus* [Lee], was astonished when a gentleman assured him, that all the facts which he had been furnished with relating to me, were diabolical falsehoods: and I have reason to think that he thereupon laid down his pen, and has not taken it up since. But though I am free from abuse, and meet with more civilities than have been shewn to any of my countrymen, and have been offered titles, which I did not think it advisable to accept of, absence from home is nevertheless a punishment at my time of life, and the society of my old friends at home, is much more desirable than that of my new friends abroad."

One of the modes adopted for trying to injure him in the eyes of the public was to print alleged extracts from fictitious letters said to have been written by him, but which, in reality, were forgeries. It is hard to know how to punish such servants of the Evil One, or to know what punishment they deserve. A cause cannot be a very good one if it can only be promoted by falsehood. He writes, Nov. 12, 1774, "They print, as extracts of my letters, what I never wrote: don't suffer them to print what I do write."

Writing to Boston in March this year, he betrays how little he oresaw of the extent or the duration of the explosion that was

about to burst forth; else, how could he be so anxious about planting more gooseberry bushes? Read the following—

"St. J[ames's S[treet], March 2nd, 1775.

"My Dear Son,

"If I was to write you by every ship, it would be more than a letter a day. Hall and Lyde both talk of sailing to-morrow. I wrote last by the *Nautilus*. By this ship I send you a parcel of cuttings of much finer gooseberries than ever I saw in N. E. The vessels stay so long, and the spring is so forward here, that I am afraid they will be too late. The only way to save them will be to let them ly two or three hours in water, and keep them watered after they are set out. The [illegible] I forget the name—which should ly in water; and if you can find any stocks, some of them may take, tho' it will be late for grafting. I hope those heads of the pear trees wch were grafted in the garden last year and failed, you either have grafted, or will graft again from some of the heads which did not fail; and the trees will bear to have some of the old boughs taken off."

It is needless to say that these gardening operations could never have been carried out at Milton or anywhere else.

When I was in Boston both fruit and vegetables were very abundant; but the dried French white haricot beans were much in demand, stewed soft with meat, and eaten as a Sunday dish between the services; and many is the dinner of it I there enjoyed. I was told a story of one of the popular preachers in that city who made a calculation as to how many quarts of beans he preached to on Sunday afternoons when there was no charity sermon, and what was the gross value of his congregation, estimated at the then market price of beans.

This is too good a story to omit.

27th.—I called upon Mr Jenkinson, who gave me an account of the confusion of the Members upon Lord North's Motion on Monday. He observed that Governor Pownall soon after Lord North made the worst speech that ever he heard. He insinuated his being a principal hand in the measure: that it was a conciliatory plan, and consisted of various parts, the whole of which did not then appear. This account of the substance of the Speech I have from Mauduit: and that he alarmed all the landed men in the House, and inclined them to go against the Motion, until Sir Gilbert Eliot, and especially Mr Wedder-

burne, had spoke. Jenkinson added that he thought Lord North made a very bad speech. The Members were also alarmed by Lord North's giving notice to L^d^ Jn^o^ Cavendish, S^r^ George Saville, and others of the Rockinghams, that he had a Motion of importance to make, which they construed to proceed from timidity; it not being usual to notify any but the friends of Government on such occasions. Upon the whole, it's difficult to account for his bringing so important an affair into the House at such a crisis, without preparing more of his friends for it.

Admiral, M^rs^ and Miss Montagu called upon us, and Sir Charles Cotterell, Dormer.

28th.—In the morning called upon M^r^ Ellis, who informed me the Resolve upon Lord North's Motion passed the night before without a division: that Burke, Dunning, and some others were absent: that Lord North was explicit that if the Colonies, upon this offer, would not pass any Acts for raising money, he would continue the Tax Acts, &c.

General Clinton called when I was from home.

I attended at the Treasury Board to Sollicit the payment of the Comiss^rs^' accounts, who sat at Rhode Island. The packet from New York brought an account that the Assembly had declined taking into consideration the Philadelphia Congress, by a majority of 11 to 10.

We dined, except E., at M^r^ Heald's at Kensington Square. Col. Skene there—not the Skenesborough Colonel.

March 1st.—At Lord Dartmouth's Levée. Upon receiving a card from Lord North, I went to his house, where he informed me the Treasury Board had given £100 to each of the Rhode Island Comissioners, and a guinea a day for expenses, besides paying the Clerks. He asked the state of the Whale Fishery, and proposed a clause to exempt it from the general restraint —to which I had no objection. I urged the necessity of altering that part of the Bill which restrains the Governor from declaring the Bill to be no longer in force, unless it shall appear to him that Goods have been freely imported for a month from England, Ireland, and the English West Indies, because no goods will go there from England in 6 months, and

many of the best friends of Government will be greatly distressed: therefore I proposed everybody should be at liberty, upon relinquishing the Association; and Lord North seemed to hearken to it, but M^r^ Cooper, who was present, opposed it.

This Bill was giving the Governor as much anxiety and as much trouble to get some parts of it altered and mitigated, as ever the Port Bill had done, if not more so. There is a paragraph in a letter of the 10th of March, written to Mr. Erving, that may be appropriately quoted here. The Governor says:—

"I had rather no Bill had passed than such an one as this: and as soon as I knew of it, gave my opinion that it would distress more of the friends, than of the enemies to Gov^t^: but the Addresses from the Congress, and Franklin's Letter, wishing, or advising measures to distress or ruin the Kingdom, have irritated the Minist^y^ to that degree, that they don't now feel for the distresses of the Americans as they otherwise would do; and by some I am told that I feel too much for them myself. And I must own that I am unable to vindicate them from the charge of ingratitude, considering the amazing expense the Kingdom has been at for their protection, as well as the indulgence shewn them from the beginning, more perhaps than any other Colony ever experienced."

His love for his country, in spite of all her faults, and the absence of harsh or vindictive expressions towards those who had so grossly injured him, are not a little striking in the light of Christian forbearance. "*Gubernatorum vituperatio populo placet.*" This apt quotation from the Index to Melancthon's Letters, the Governor has written on the blank leaves at the end of the third volume of his Diary.

In the evening at Sir Sampson Gideon's, in a large company of Nobility and Gentry, but Paoli took up my attention, and I was much pleased with his sensible and polite conversation. He says the Americans have begun 50 years too soon, and by that means will have put themselves back 50 or 100 years, but in another century will become a great Empire. He advises to give Canada to the French, if they will take it—which he believes they will not. A Capt. Cordwell, M^r^ Hopkins, M^r^ Rider [*sic*], son to Sir Dudley, M^r^ Wilmot, Lord Drummond, Lord Montford, L^d^ Gage, and many persons unknown, made the company, besides Billy and Peggy. Music on a variety of

instruments in concert was playing all the evening. No cards. At ten, or soon after, I retired, and left most of the company to sup.

2nd.—In the morning I called upon General Clinton at his lodgings in Cork Street; and from thence walked to Clements Lane to Mauduit's: called upon Whately in Lombard Street. M[r] Welbore Ellis called, and spent half an hour with me. I endeavourod to bring him to some relaxation of the New England Bill, but to no purpose. General Evelyn called and left his name.

Took an airing to Chelsea, and walked in the Garden of the College, and afterwards in the Physick Garden. I had determined to give myself no further trouble about the Bill, it having passed yesterday in the Committee, but Mauduit pressed me to state my objections in a letter to Lord Dartmouth.

3rd.—General Evelyn, Gen[l] Clinton, with Lord Drummond, breakfasted with me. I went into the city to M[r] Lane's, in Nicholas Lane, and had some talk with him upon the New England Bill. He told me he would ship no goods to New England while affairs were so unsettled, &c.

4th.—In the morning met M[r] Cooper at his house in Parliament Street, to endeavour to pursuade him of the reasonableness of a Clause or Proviso in the New England Bill, to admit such persons as would renounce the Philad. Association, to carry on their business as usual; and he said he approved of the idea, and if the Bill had been framed in that manner at first, he would not have taken exception, but he feared it was too late: however [he] promised to lay it before Lord North. Afterwards I went into the city, and had some conversation with Lane and Fraser, Merchants, upon it; but I found they were of no consequence, and gave themselves but little trouble about it. The whole affair of the Merchants' Petition against it was managed by Lee, the late sheriff Baker, and one or two more, and was calculated merely to serve Opposition against the Ministry, and not to serve the Colonies.

5th.—At the Old Jewry, where M[r] White preached.

At Court. Lord Suffolk talked a long time with me upon America, and seemed perfectly satisfied with my proposal for

exempting all who would renounce the Association &c., out of the Bill. I thought they would discourage the friends of Government by bringing such a calamity upon them.

6th.—Went out in the coach as far as Hammersmith. The House of Commons passed the N. England Bill to be engrossed 215 to 61.

7th.—Young M^r^ Stanhope breakfasted with us. Called upon M^r^ Jenkinson, who was from home, as also M^r^ Ellis, and M^r^ Knox. Dined with M^r^ Bridgen, in the city. In the evening at Lady Hillsborough's Assembly: between two and three hundred Nobility and Gentry—Duke of Queensbury, Lord Denbigh, Northington, Sands, Lisburne, Balcarras, Middleton —cum multis aliis.

8th.—In the morning at Lord Dartmouth's. He acquainted me with the contents of a letter he rec^d^ the morning before from Gen. Gage, of the 27th Jan^y^, advising that he had sent 100 men to Marshfield and Scituate,* many of the inhabitants having petitioned for them, and that he was sending two Regiments to New Hampshire. I pressed an amendment upon the Bill in Parl^t^ least [lest] such as were now beginning to exert themselves should be discouraged and fall back, and he desired my proposal, of which I made several, and he said he would talk with Lord North. I saw M^r^ Pownall afterwards, who told me the exemption I proposed was what he wished for at first. In the afternoon I received a letter from my son of the 25th Jan.† with an account of the Marshfield ‡ peoples' having entered into Ruggles' Association, all but 6, and that the Gen. had sent 120 men at their request. I sent it in a letter to L^d^ D., and represented afresh the necessity of an alteration in the Bill, as Marshf^d^ and Scituate had much of their depend^e^ on the Mackerel fishery, which began in July, or about that time, and ended in October or Novemb.

The Bill passed in the Commons upon a third reading, a Rider to admit flour, &c., to be imported, having been rejected by 288 against 58.

* Scituate, a town 25 miles S.E. from Boston; Marshfield 30 miles.

† Letter not preserved.

‡ To his son, March 10—"The people of Marshfield have set an example that I hope will be followed."

In the evening we were at a small party of musick at Lord Gage's:—Sir John Griffin, Sir John Cotton, Sir Sampson Gideon, Major Rooke, several other Members and Gents. I had seen, and as many or more ladies.

9th.—I walked into the city and back, to Clements Lane. Mauduit expressed his astonishment and indignation at the Colony Agents' admission into the H. of Commons to hear the debate. Yesterday Lord Clare was so unguarded, as, in answer to the motion to allow of flour, &c., to say—"We must pinch them: they must be compelled to submit without delay. If they are able to hold out, we know that we are not. What's done must be done at once, or they will finally conquer:"—Franklin all the while in the Gallery, staring with his spectacles; and no doubt before this time, the relation of this speech is on its way to America.

I went to Lord North's Levée: said a few words to him upon my son's last advices to me from Boston: met with Bruce the Abyssinian at the Levée, who was reported some time ago to be dead.

Talked with S^{r} Tho. Mills upon my son's succeeding him at Quebec; and he promised to mention to L^{d} North the necessity of a speedy appointm^{t} on account of passage, &c.

10th.—After another walk into the city to Cheapside, I spent most of the day in writing letters to Boston. Went to the Treasury upon Flucker's business.* M^{r} Thompson called upon me, and Dalrymple.

11th.—I spent half an hour in the morning at M^{r} Cornwall's, in free conversation upon the state of America, as well as the state of Administration in England. He attributes the delays which attend business of all sorts, to Lord North's consulting so many persons, who are of very different opinions: and from this difference he remains undecided himself for some time, and after he appears decided, is apt to change. Others charge him with aversion to business in general, tho' when forced to engage, he shews himself exceeding capable.

12th.—At All Hallows Church, Thames Street. Heard a Charity Sermon by Doctor North, Bishop of Worcester.

* Mr. Flucker was made Secretary for the Colony, vice the late Andrew Oliver, made Lieut.-Governor. Mr. Flucker was still in America.

The Bishop of London called upon me: among other things mentioned Lord North's very favourable opinion of the conduct of Doctor Chandler of New Jersies in his publications. From eight to ten in the evening at M^r^ Jenkinson's, Parl^t^ Street.

13th.—Called at Lord Galloway's, who was from home. At Lord Dartmouth's and pointed out several inaccuracies and insensible expressions in the New England Bill. Proposed an Amendment by not making a necessary condition of restoring trade by Proclam^n^, the actual importation of goods for a month, but to leave it to the Gov[ernor,] whenever he is satisfied the combinations are at an end, &c., which he approved of, and s^d^ he would talk with the King's Ministers upon. Called at M^r^ Montagu's Chambers, who was not in town. Saw the Sollicitor General at Lincoln's Inn Hall. He had heard F. would go next week to America: tho't he ought to be stopped: something should be done to put a stop to the Congress. We talked of the impossibility of conviction in America: the difficulty of punishing without. I asked if he thought a Bill could be framed to answer the purpose? He said it could be done: advised me by a letter to put Lord North in mind of it. In the evening I wrote to L^d^ North: let him know Q. was gone, and F. going, and the mischief I apprehended they designed, &c.

Billy went to Bath about noon.*

14th.—At Lord Dartmouth's office. I met with Doctor Hinde, Secr'y to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, who was very inquisitive about M^r^ Peters, the Connecticut Missionary.†

Doctor Solander called upon me, who entertained me with the account of his voyage to Otahitee, and promised me a sight of Omiah, as soon as he came to town. Peter Taylor spent some time after Solander.

* "13.—Billy set out for Bath. In the evening of the 10^th^ at Drury Lane Theatre to hear the Oratorio of Judas Maccabæus: the King and Queen there."—Elisha's Diary.

† "Peters, the Tory Minister writes (September 28) that six regiments, with men-of-war are coming over; and as soon as they come, hanging work will go on, and that destruction will begin at the seaport towns, and that the lintel sprinkled on the side posts will preserve the faithful."—Quoted in Froth. Hist., p. 36.

I attended at the Treasury Board in behalf of Flucker. In the evening at the play, but did not stay to the entertainment.*

15th.—At the House of Lords, expecting a Debate on the New England Bill. I was there by permission of the Chancellor before Prayers, and had a good place. L^d^ Rockingham presented the Petition from the city of London, and another from the Merchants, both against the Bill. The Sheriffs of London were admitted, but had nothing to say in support of their Petition. Then L^d^ Rockingham desired the Merchants might produce their witness, which was allowed, but none were present. After some time spent, Lord Suffolk moved for the Bill to be read, to save time. The Duke of Richmond opposed it, as having been done with design to force on the question to-day, whether they should be ready or not. But L^d^ S. disclaiming it, the Bill was read: and after longer time the witnesses appeared. The D. of R. then moved that M^r^ Barclay, a Quaker, one of the Petitioners, might examine the witnesses. This was generally disapproved of, as irregular. Then, he said, he would examine them himself, urging that his motion was to save time; and to prove it, and to perplex the House, he first proposed every question to the Chancellor, and then caused him to repeat it to the witnesses, and if there was any variation in words, would repeat them again, to the apparent dislike of great part of the House. The first witness was Seth Jenkins, a ship-master of Nantucket, who was asked a great number of questions, most of them impertinent, and others improper—what he thought the people would do with their vessels if the whaling should be stopped, (which the Bill provides against), and whether the people would not be likely to go to Halifax, if they could not maintain themselves at Nantucket?—to which he answered, "No."—"Why not?"—"Because they did not like the government."—"Why did not they like it?"—"Because they had a notion of its being military, or something like it, as they had always troops there." Then Brook Watson, a Petitioner, gave an account of the Cod and Whale Fishery of N. England, as he collected it upon enquiry there in 1764,

* "14.—The Gov^r^ and Peggy at Drury Lane."—Elisha's Diary.

which was a rude computation without sufficient knowledge. Then Lord Sandwich called two Poole Merchants, Benj^{n} Lister. and — Davis, who gave a very particular account of the fishery carried on at Nf^{d}land, which exceeded my apprehension; and they agreed that between 7 & 80,000 quintals were exported every year, besides the oyl and seal oyl: that besides the Bankers, two thousand boats were employed in the shoar fishery, ten tons one wth another: that 20,000 men and upwards were employed. Comodores Shuldam and Palliser were examined to the same points, and agreed in their accounts. The chief design of these examinations was, to shew that if the New England Fishery was wholly stopped, they could increase the Nf^{d}land fishery in proportion for the supply of the foreign Markets, and that it would be incomparably more beneficial to the Kingdom, for they said there went out to Newfoundland every year 3000 Green or New-men, who were trained up to the sea, and the two Comadores said they often were greatly helped by them in manning their ships, and that this fishery, next to the Colliery, was the great nursery for seamen, whereas the New England fishermen never did come into the Navy, and they did not desire they should, for they did not like them. This was Palliser particularly.

Thus the time was spent unprofitably, from two o'clock till eight: but the D. of Richmond answered his purpose to keep off the debate till another day, and accordingly it was ordered for to-morrow.

I went from the H. of Lords to a Musick party at S^{r} Sampson Gideon's, where met with Paoli again:—Col. Leland, of the Guards, who was in N. England with General Howe, and told me he had dined at my house. I went without dinner or supper, except ½ pint of milk at going to bed.

16th.—Called upon General Eveling in St. James's Place: a house, he says, left him by his father. He has an estate in Surrey, and divides his time between the two. Upon General Burgoyne—but not up. Met Howe at his door. Went to the Board of Trade, and was informed by M^{r} Pownall that my proposal for an Amendment upon the New England Bill had been considered in the Cabinet, but not approved of.

Colonel Prescot called to give notice of his sailing for New England.

I went to the H. of Lords soon after two, and the Chancellor took me in before Prayers. Lord Dartmouth opened the debate very well, L^d^ Rockingham opposed the committing the N.E. Bill, as cruel, inhuman, &c., and boasted of his own steadiness from the beginning. L^d^ Carlisle (I took it for the first time) made a set speech, but had a general vote of approbation. L^d^ Gower, whose daughter he married, shewed great pleasure in his countenance; and L^d^ Camden, tho' of the other side, seemed to say—"Very well performed." D. of Manchester then spake, and took notice of its being left to Custom House Officers to open the Port. Lord Dartmouth then s^d^ he believed the noble Duke had not attended to that Clause in the Bill, and then read a Clause which leaves it to the Gov., but the Duke replied that the Noble Lord was mistaken, and read the next Clause, w^ch^ relates to R^d^ Island and Connecticut, and L^d^ D. then acknowledged his mistake, but said the provision was necessary because of the Charter Governors. Then Lord Dudley spoke, and complained of the combinations in 1768, when the Americans wrote over to the people of Birmingham, that if they did not get the tax Acts repealed, they should lose their debts. Then L^d^ Camden rose and spoke an hour and an half without the least hesitation. I never heard a greater flow of words, but my knowledge of facts in this controversy caused his misrepresentations and glosses to appear in a very strong light. He supposed a premeditated plan for settling the Colonies: that they were originally intended to be under a variety of constitutions, in order to prevent their union, and yet he [at] present justified the Congress as a lawful proper measure. He added, that Massachusets always had been a persecuting people, and that Connecticut and Rhode Island had Charters absolutely democratical, for the sake of enabling them the better to withstand the persecuting spirit; whereas Massachusetts claimed no sort of jurisdiction over them. They both had been above 20 years under a form of Government very near the same with their Charters, and so was Massachusetts under the same form; and K. Charles deemed it better they

should desire their authority from the Crown, than from their own power. He run from the Colonies to the Pamphlets—on *Taxation No Tyranny*, and he pretended he did not know the Author: * another also, by a certain Dean, he said; both which he condemned, for advancing that, in all governments, there must be an absolute unlimited power,† a doctrine to be detested, as, upon the contrary doctrine, the right of the present family to the Crown most certainly depended. Resistance must be justified in England, but the Americans, of all the world, must be singled out, and it must be denied to them. Here was a more shameful fallacy, which no Lord exposed. He then went upon his old doctrine—No Representation, no Taxation: then condemned the Bill as cruel and inhuman: the measure was neither just, practicable, nor necessary: expiated largely upon each: then enlarged upon the fluctuating measures of Administration—one day America was in rebellion; another day a conciliatory plan was proposed: then delivered a great eulogium upon Lord Chatham and his plan: condemned the rejecting of it in very strong terms: then upbraided the Ministry with being pleased with every appearance of concession from the Americans: a little town of Marshfield had desired soldiers from Gage; he thought it was an inland town, and that 100 men had marched 40 miles into the country without being destroyed: but, alas! it appears by the map to be a town upon the sea coast, to which the men were sent by water—a town which had six of M^r^ Hutchinson's Justices in it. Upon mentioning my name, most of the Bishops, and many Lords who sat with their backs to me, turned about and looked in my face. It happened that I never made a Justice in that town whilst I was in the Government.

Writing to Mr. Sewall, on March 18, that is to say, two days after this debate, the Governor does not allow the wild statements

* Commonly ascribed to Dr. Johnson.

† Quite wrong. The authors of those Pamphlets never implied absolute or unlimited power. They say a *Supreme Power*. The Americans wanted a supreme power in America independently of the supreme power of the English Parliament; but all the constitutional writers of that day explained that two supreme heads could not exist in the same empire. Absolute unlimited power is a very different thing from a Supreme Power. Let Lord Camden be accurate.

of Lord Camden to pass without comment. In his Letter Book, in his own hand-writing, he says:—

"L^d Camden made a speech of an hour and a half, w^ch I am inclined to think will be sent or carried to you by F., it being calculated to keep up the spirit of opposition in America; tho' he was forced to allow that the general cry of the Kingdom was against America, and obviated any improvement which might be made of this cry in favour of the Bill, by observing that it was well known a popular cry could be no argument in favour of any cause. Wilkes might have said this with almost as good a grace.

"I am a little angry w^th him for asserting that the departure of the little town of Marshfield from the confederacy was owing to M^r Hutchinson's having made six Justices there, w^ch brought the eyes of the Lords upon me, who, I doubt not, believed him, though it happens unluckily for him that I never made a Justice in that town. Our American patr[iots] hardly exceed him in boldly asserting, to say the least, what he knows not to be true (you may transpose *not* if you will) to support his cause. L^d Suffolk spake very well. L^d Mansf. was silent, but looked with sovereign contempt upon his adversary. Attending two or three debates in the H. of L. has lessened the high opinion I had formed of the dignity of it when I was in England before."

It is strange that a man in Lord Camden's position should descend to misstatements to try and strengthen his argument. This is an experiment that always fails. In a letter to the Chief Justice Oliver, then in Boston, the Governor says:—

"St. J. S^t 24 March '75.

"D^r S^r,

"The attempts of the Americ^n Lead[ers] to intimidate the Kingd^m have had the contrary effect. I was express[ing] my concern a few days ago to a person who is near the top, lest F——'s return to America should excite to still greater acts of revolt—'Give y^rself no concern,' says he, 'the grosser acts F. excites them to, the more he will hurt his own cause: the more sure [?] by and by must be the punishm^t of some of them. I know the state of the nation in every part. I never knew it more united—more determined in anything than in Americ[an] measures. These measures are not thro' Minist^l influence; you see in all other points Ministry has 100 votes: C^dn knows this perfectly well: it forced itself from him in the speech w^ch was concerted w^th F——n

to carry to America, and w^ch^ cannot make a single convert here:—whilst we continue the united—the farther y^e^ people go the better:—better for us, and better for you, because your reduction will be the more effectual: government and order will be more effectually established, and of longer duration.' *Thus he*: as in N.E. we sometimes close our pulpit quotations.

"But I must own to you I think you have gone far and ahead enough to convince you of the impracticability of obtaining what you aim at, Independency; and eno' to shew that you would be miserable if you could attain to it.

"F. never recovered his credit in the least degree. He never lost it w^th^ L^d^ C——m, and others like him in the Opposition, but I don't find that he ever appeared in any Philosoph. meeting, or in any of the comp^y^ he used to freq^t^ since his business with Whately.

"The N.E. Bill now lies for the Royal Assent. The Bill for the other Col. differs only in having no special provision for the Fishery, and has gone thro' the Com^s^ with only a slight skirmish, and no doubt of it will go thro' the L^ds^ with a still more slight, as the subject is quite exhausted. Surely the Col^s^ do not intend to persevere until their trade is totally ruined? Four ships are arrived from Virginia, and bring ord[ers] for goods. The Merch^ts^ say they will not ship them. The New England Houses have generally come into the same agreem^t^, and are very angry w^th^ Harris's House for shipping. What distress have y^r^ Patriots involved you in! They have put Gov^t^ upon stopping all your trade, except to and from Eng^d^, and the Merch^ts^ here have put a stop even to that. Are no Patriots a second time well stock^d^ w^th^ such goods, to make an advant^e^ of their neighb^s^ misfortunes? Change your state of anarchy, I beseech you, for a state of order and good Gov^t^. I wish it may not be too late already for your fishing towns, for I assure you the enquiry made into the great national advantages arising from the N.f^il^d^ [Newfoundland] Fishery, has determined a great part of the Parl^t^ to exclude America from all the Banks; and they are strengthened by the fresh Memb^s^, who are very numerous, and will endeavour to bring Ireland in, who, they say, are well intitled, by contributing so largely to the national charge, w^ch^ America refuses to bear any part of."

In concluding, he puts forth a wish that he may return to America, and to the society of many old friends, in the fall. Vain wishes!

Lord Sandwich, I think, spoke next, and chiefly upon the

advantages of the N.f^dland fishery to the Navy beyond that of New England, and reflected upon the N. Eng. men as cowards at Cape Breton, &c.

Lord Shelburne was very long, and his words flowed easily, but he kept to no point in the Bill.

Then Lord Suffolk defended the Bill with great propriety: answered what had been objected by one of the Lords, viz.— that the examination yesterday looked as if it were going to deprive the New England men of their Fishery for ever, by saying the Bill gave them the faith of Parl^t that when they returned to their obedience, the Fishery should be restored to the state it was in before. He answered Lord Camden's charge of fluctuating by alleging that he had always been steady; and that all our misfortunes were owing to the unsteadiness of Gov^t when they repealed the Stamp Act.

Lord Radnor, upon this, said he had, in all former debates upon America, been in doubt what part to take, and therefore had withdrawn before the division: but upon what L^d Suffolk had said, he was determined to divide with the Opposers of the Bill; for by the evidence yesterday, he was convinced the N.f^dland Fishery was of so much greater benefit than the N. England that he thought they ought to be excluded for ever.

Lord Suffolk explained himself that he intended no more than that when the Bill ceased to operate, they would be left in the same state they were before the Bill passed: but this would by no means restrain Parliam^t from assuming the subject again whenever they thought proper. But Lord Radnor was resolved not to be satisfied, and would give his voice against the Bill.

Lord Pomfret, I thought, spoke well for the Bill, but there was a constant buz in the House, and also below the Bar, and he was not attended to.

The Duke of Grafton, at the repeal of the Stamp Act, did what he thought was right; and if America would come in 1776, and in a proper way apply for the repeal of the present taxes, he would give his voice. By all the Excises and Taxes paid in England, the manufactures came to the Americans at

such an advanced price, that he thought it was tax enough for them to pay: but he thought, as they had determined to starve the Manufacturers in England, or throw them on the parishes to the distress of the Kingdom, he thought this a very lenient, as well as a very necessary Bill, &c.

Lord Abingdon, a disappointed man, vomited out such black stuff as I thought would not have been suffered. The Bill was called infernal, diabolical, &c., and the judgments of Heaven were denounced against all that had a hand in it.

Lord Camden made a short remark, and L^d^ Rockingham, and there was a general cry for the Question, which was put, and the Non-Contents divided the House—104 to 29, which is much the same as former Divisions. The Question was—Whether the Bill be committed? *

17th.—I called upon Alderman Ives of Norwich, at Low's Hotel, Covent Garden. M^r^ Knox and M^rs^ Knox called, and Col. Leland. A fine day: tempted to walk with my daughter to Gray's Inn Gardens, and home through Lincoln's Inn Gardens: and afterwards to ride towards Clapham in the coach for an airing.

We are informed the Minority Lords do not intend to go down to the House to-day, but to leave Administration to model, or rather amend, the Bill at pleasure; and when it comes to a Third Reading, to make fresh objections, in order to a Protest:—and the Bill passed [the Second Reading] accordingly, without [a] division. In the House of Commons the Bill for restraining the other Colonies was read a second time, and opposed, or rather exclaimed against by two or three, but no division, and passed to be committed.

18th.—I called upon M^r^ Ellis, who was gone to Twickenham, and upon L^d^ Drummond, and S^r^ Charles Cotterell, who were from home. Sir Eardley Wilmot called, and spent half an hour.

* At a time when reporting speeches in the Houses of Parliament was so little done, these reports by Mr. Hutchinson, who was present, brief as they are in detail, are not without their value. It is lamentable to see that the modern vice of making hap-hazard assertions in Parliament, to serve party purposes, whether true or not, is as old as the time of George III. And doubtless it is older if liars lived so long ago.

After dinner went with E. H. and M^r^ Clarke, to make a visit to M^r^ Bromfield * at Islington.

19th.—At the Old Jewry; M^r^ White preached.

At Court. Saw the Pope's nephew,† a most personable young man, richly dressed. Lord Suffolk mentioned F——'s going to America: said if he had the sole direction he would prevent it: and added, that he had it from good authority, that Lord Camden's speech was a concerted thing between him and Franklin, that he might carry it hot to the Congress.

Dined with M^r^ Jenkinson, in company with Mauduit and Sam^l^ Martin, who fought with Wilkes. Jenkinson said L^d^ Camden and Franklin, who were encouraging the Colonies to persevere, were the greatest enemies they had: the nation was never more united than in a determination to submit to any hardships rather than concede to the claims of the Colonies.

In the evening at Lord Mansfield's, where was but little company; afterwards at D^r^ Heberden's, where I saw Lord Hillsborough last. He said L^d^ Chatham was the most unaccountable man in the world. He could not believe he entertained a wish to come in to Administration again. Nobody could tell why he did not continue in when he was in; he was well enough upon all other occasions; but he, and his Lady and family, all gave out he could not bear to hear anything of business. For 6 or 8 months there was no Minister; the D. of Grafton declined to do anything without him; at length, from necessity, he ventured upon business which caused L^d^ Chatham to go abroad; and in a short time after he was at Court, when the King took no other notice of him than of any other at the Levée. But Mauduit says that one of the city Apothecaries assured him that another Apothecary attended him then as a mad man for several weeks under D^r^ Addington;‡ that the Apothecary is now employed at Bedlam Hospital; and that for a fortnight together he kept him in a strait waistcoat.

* Apparently Bromfield. Some of the proper names are indistinctly written.

† Prince Rezzonico.

‡ Dr. Addington was a well-known physician in London, who had come from Reading, in Berkshire. His son successfully pursued the profession of

20th.—Called upon Stuart Mackenzie, and left my name: upon L^d^ Galloway, who I found at home, and made a short visit. In the evening went to the Sollicitor General's, but lost my labour. In the House of Commons there was a battle or contest between the Stocking Weavers of Northampton, upon two Petitions; one praying for lenient measures with America: the other for supporting the authority of Parl^t^. The advocate for the first alleged that he employed from 10 to 1400 people: that business grew slack, and he must stop good part of his trade. The other brought a Member of the House, who is a Banker in Nottingham, to support them. He was asked what moneys usually went thro' his hands upon their draft? He answered, About 2000 pounds a week. He was then asked if there had been any abatem^t^ of late? He said—No: that ever since January his payments had been more than usual.

21st.—Walked as far as S^t^ Clement's Lane and back. Four ships arrived from Virginia: bring orders for goods—the non-importation notwithstanding—but the Merchants here don't incline to trust the goods at present.

After my return walked into Hyde Park, near as far as Kensington Gardens: met Sir Gilbert Eliot, who thinks they have got near through American business: wishes something could be done to suppress the Congress. Ingersol and Bliss called. The former says D^r^ Bancroft, a crony of F——n's, did not know he was determined to go at any particular time, but on inquiry at his house or lodgings after him, the 19^th^, was informed he went to Portsmouth the day before.

Intended to have been at the H. of Lords, and supposed they would have sat long; but they rose between 4 and 5, just as I arrived; and I lost hearing L^d^ Littleton, who spake in a sort

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the law; entered Parliament in 1784; succeeded Pitt as Prime Minister; Speaker in 1789; and was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Sidmouth in 1805. The family seat is at Up-Ottery near Honiton, and at about thirteen miles N. by E. from Sidmouth, the place from which he took his title, at that time the Torquay of South Devon—a fashionable watering place, whereto many of the nobility resorted—where Lord Gwydyr and Lord Le Despencer built houses—where the Duke and Duchess of Kent resided—where the Queen, then seven months old, was nursed, and where her father the Duke died; and, to speak it very softly, where this book was written.

of skirmish on the last reading of the American Bill, in order to divide and protest.

In the evening at M^r^ Jenyns', where were Lord Walpole, S^r^ Jn^o^ Cotton, S^r^ Sampson Gideon, the Bishop of Peterborough, M^r^ Shute [?], Lady Grey, and daughter, to whom I introduced Miss H., Lady Cornwallis, M^rs^ Pownall, &c.

The name of rout has given an unfavourable idea of these meetings among the people of N. England; but nothing can be more moderate, decent, and respectable; seldom meeting till near 8, and over soon after 10.*

22nd.—Called upon S^r^ Tho. Mills, who promised me to mention to Lord North the necessity of settling my son's appointment at Quebec very soon, on account of the season of the year: on L^d^ Geo. Germaine, and M^r^ Ellis—both abroad: the Bishop of Peterborough, who I found at home, and who seems to be the only Bishop who has interested himself in American affairs. He understands them, and spoke very sensibly in one of the debates. He enquired when I saw the D. of Grafton, which question I a little wondered at, but upon enquiry find he was Preceptor to the Duke, who, when he came into Administration, made him a Bishop; and the Duke coming in a very young Minister, his Tutor was one of the youngest Bishops.

At Lord Dartmouth's office. Knox read to me the Instructions to Gage, to apprehend the Leaders of the Congress, if they refuse, upon his Proclamation, to separate. This is the Provincial Congress; and he is directed to do it though a conflict with his troops should be like to be the consequence. These Instructions are dated the 28^th^ Jan., intended by the *Falcon*, who was under sailing orders about the 20^th^ of December. The *Falcon* was in Torbay the 12^th^ of March. Duplicate went by the *Nautilus*, who on the same 12^th^ of March, was at Ports-

* The name of *rout* for a quiet evening party survived for nearly a century after the period here spoken of, at all events in some parts of England. They were generally destined for middle-aged people and old women of both sexes who played whist and loo. No young person liked such parties, as there was no dancing or anything to enliven them; and the practice of singing and instrumental music, which has now become so usual at evening parties, had not been developed. Cards at evening parties are now comparatively rarely seen in England.

mouth: so that it's most likely both original and duplicate are yet within Scilly.

My daughter and I dined with Sir Jeffery Amherst—two, Col. Prescot, Col. Smith, and Cunningham, were the company; and Miss Lambert and Lady Amherst.

23rd.—Called at Lord Suffolk's, who was in the country: and at the Board of Trade: after they rose, saw L^{d} D. and M^{r} Gascoign, who had a new report of a most favourable turn in Mass. Bay, upon the arrival of the King's Speech: but I satisfied them that we could have no news from Boston since the ship to Glasgow: and it turns out to be the old account brought by M^{r} Selkrigg [?], a passenger, just now come up to London. In the Commons the amendments of the Lords upon the N. Engl^{d} Bill will not go down, they being, as L^{d} D. says, very awkward ones; for they have taken out a clause, which admits them to fish because they are obedient: and it's taken out because another Bill is in the Commons, which declares them disobedient: but then the Preamble and Title of the Bill is left, and corresponds with the clause they have taken out: the only way for the Comons, they say, is to non-concur the Amendment, and help it by provision in the new Bill.

24th.—At Lord Dartmouth's with my son,* and M^{r} Clarke to take his advice upon an application to Gov^{t} for their sufferings, &c., as Consignees, the E. India Comp^{y} alleging that their whole loss ought to be paid by Government.

In the evening at M^{r} Prince's in the city.

25th.—Called upon Col. Leland in Brook Street; the D. of Grafton, and L^{d} Gage,—who were abroad.

Col. Prescot and Bliss dined with us.

Mauduit in the evening.

26th.—At the King's Chapel at St. James's. Being crowded I met wth some difficulty at first in obtaining a seat, but was soon accomodated as were afterwards my daughter and son. Doctor Hurd,† the last created Bishop preached, it being the

* Doubtless Elisha, for he was one of the consignees.

† The author of "Dialogues of the Dead," and other celebrated writings.

first time before the King, to great acceptance from—"Never man spake," &c.*

L^d^ Presid., Chancellor, Sir Holk [?] Sandwich, &c., all talked with me at Court upon America. Duke of Qu^y^ very good. Saw the D. of Marlboro the first time, to know him.

I dined with the Earl of Galloway at his house in Charles Street, St. James's Sq. The Earl of Warwick, lately of the Board of Trade, as Lord Greville, whilst his father lived; Lord Balcarras, one of the 16 Scotch Peers, a young man who was silent; Sir Adolphus Oughton, K^t^ of the Bath, and Lady; Sir Adam Ferguson, and M^r^ Dundas,† Scotch Members, and M^r^ Stewart, brother to L^d^ Galloway, and a Member, with Lady Galloway—all Scotch except E. [of] Warwick—made the company: and the conversation turning much upon political and historical affairs, was more valuable than is at present common. I had opportunity of enquiring into the Scotch practice in cases of Divorce, and I find they divorce *a vinculo* for adultery, both male and female: but tho' M^r^ Dundas—I take to be Soll. Gen.—and is very sensible, yet he could not satisfy me whether they founded upon Civil or Canon Law: he was satisfied they had no statute, and thought it might be founded on our Saviour's authority as laid down in the New Testament, and added—"I can tell you in the morning." Their Court is substituted in the place of the Bishop's Commissorial Court; the Judges now appointed by the Crown; and an appeal lies to the H. of Lords, which, they agree, govern themselves by the Scotch Law, as practised in the Comissorial Court.

27th.—Called upon the Bishop of London, who mentioned [to] me the day before, at Court, L^d^ North's intention to settle 200£ p an. for life upon D^r^ Cooper of N. Y., and D^r^ Chandler of the Jersies, and asked my opinion of the same upon D^r^ Caner of Boston? I thought him as deserving as the others. But I asked him to-day whether 100£ would not answer every purpose, as there were many persons in America who laid claim to rewards. He said the sum was L^d^ North's own thought.

——Upon Lord Hardwicke.

* Gosp. St. John vii. 46.
† Written Dundass.

At the Board of Trade, where L^d^ D. acquainted me with his intelligence from Gen. Gage. Robson being arrived, and I found a letter from the Gov. and L^t^ Gov., and soon after other letters at my house, to the postage of 23/6, besides other letters by passengers, which came to hand in the evening. The confusions are increased beyond my apprehensions. An opinion prevailed that lenient measures would still be pursued in England: and by the long spell of westerly* winds, it is probable they are not yet undeceived. By this ship I have the melancholy news of the death of my dear sister Welsted, the 4^th^ [?] of February, after five days illness, from a pleuritick fever.† I hardly know whether I ought to minute, that the day before, overtaking an elderly woman in Spring Gardens, I looked round in her face, and was so struck with a strong resemblance to M^rs^ W. that I could not help taking notice of it to my children as soon as I came home.

28th.—Called upon M^r^ Jenkinson, and communicated what intelligence I had received from America. He laments nothing being done in Parliament to stop the proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia. Spent an hour with M^r^ Pownall and Knox at L^d^ D.'s office.

Took an airing as far as Kentish Town.

M^r^ Jenkinson mentioned a motion by M^r^ Hartley yesterday for repealing the Declaratory Act: says the Opposition are ashamed of and apologize for their conduct, tho' they wrangled about, yet they would not divide upon the Question.

29th.—At Lord Dartmouth's. He seems very apprehensive that the New England people will resist the King's troops, and does not know but some action between them will be best. I saw for the first time M^r^ Lee, the *Junius Americanus*. M^r^ Baker, who was candidate for the city, and Lee, were at L^d^ D.'s Levée.

In the evening at M^r^ Palmer's, in Devonshire Square. A large company: I knew nobody but M^r^ Wheeler, Chairman of the East India Directors.

* The word is blotted; but, from the sense, it can be no other than westerly.

† His eldest sister Sarah, born 1706, and since 1753 the widow of the Rev. Mr. Welsted. The day of her death is blotted and uncertain.

30th.—Lord D. desiring by a note to see me a minute, he asked my opinion of the King's conferring the honour of Knighthood on* wch he said was strongly desired, as it would give him weight in promoting the King's service. I gave my opinion, which his Lordship allowed was well founded.

General Burgoyne breakfasted, and spent an hour afterwards. He seems more anxious how to conduct [affairs] in case Martial Law should be declared in force, than how to withstand all the force the Americans can bring against him. He spoke freely of the present state of Administration: the want of one vigorous direction: the indecision in all the Councils: the aptness to procrastination: and tho' he expected to sail in 8 days, doubted whether any Instructions [had been prepared], and rather feared [he] should go without any: thought Haldimand, being an older Major-General in America, would cause a difficulty as he was a foreigner, in case the chief command should devolve on him.

Called on Lord Hillsborough, Mr Ellis, and Capt. Hamond—all abroad.

Dined, and also E. and P. with Sr Charles Cotterell Dormer. Besides his family we had the Warden of Winchester School, and young Burch.

31st.—I walked into the city, and back to St. James's Street. Called upon Sir Thomas Mills in the Adelphi. He says Lord North told him he hoped to settle his business by the first of May. At Mauduit's and Whately's. The latter gave me an account of his Bill in Chancery against Whately. Franklin's answer had been referred to a Master, according to custom, who reported the answer insufficient. The Questions were—"From whom did you receive the Letters?—To whom were they sent? Where are they at this time?" The Answers, as near as I remember, were—"I received them as Agent for the Province.—I sent them to my Constituents.—I know not where they now are." After the Master's Report, the practice of the Court is, to have an Argument before the Chancellor. This, Whately says, F——'s Counsel have kept off for several months,

* Here follow two or three words in shorthand, which have not as yet been deciphered.

and a few days after he sailed it was argued, and the Chancellor required a further answer. If the second Answer is judged insufficient, the Respondent is taken into custody. Whately says he consulted the Sollicitor Gen. about seeing out a Writ of *Ne exeat*, and the S. G. consulted the Att. Gen., who did not think it advisable, as it would be said to be a contrivance of Ministry to stop Franklin.

Mr Ellis called while I was abroad.

April 1.—I called upon the Attorney General: saw him afterwards at Lincoln's Inn Hall, and he appointed to see me at Court to-morrow. Went in the coach with Peggy to take a view of St. John's Gate, and came home thro' the New Road and Marybone.

Mr Livius, Bliss, Coffin, Barritt [?], and Oliver dined with us. In the evening Mauduit read a paragraph from Hallowell, which says the Marblehead people had dismissed their Committees of Correspondence, and had determined they would not be bound by Congresses. I hear of no other letter which mentions it.

2nd.—At the Meeting in Silver Street. Dr Fordyce preached, or rather expounded, the Chapter in John of Lazarus's death, and restoration to life.* His prayer was florid—poetical: great part of it had too much the air of an Address to the people, or what is called "a Preaching Prayer:" the exposition in good language and sentiment, but flowery. He took it for granted that Lazarus quitted a state of happiness to return to the troubles of life; and to make the miracle appear stronger, supposed a putrefaction began, which does not appear in the Text, and is only the conjecture I think, of Mary, from the time he had been buried. In reading the Chapter, when he came to—"By this time—," he very gracefully went on—"The next words had been better translated 'he smelleth offensively.'" A very small congregation in a decent house.

But few persons known to me at Court. The Tho. Walpole concerned in the Ohio Grant, I saw the first time. He seemed rather to like the report that the Boulah from N. York was coming back with her goods. Mr Jones, formerly a Chief

* John ch. xi.

Justice at the Jerseys, now an old paralitick man, spoke to me, and complained of hard usage in being superseded by Morris. No Ministers but L^d^ Sandwich and Rochford.

In the evening at D^r^ Heberden's. S^r^ Edward Blackit [?] I had not seen there before, and D^r^ Bernard, Master of Eaton, Bishops of Carlisle, Lincoln, and Lichfield, D^r^ Ross, and Douglas.

D^r^ Heberden gave an odd account of I think, a Nostrum or Quack Doctor, whose wife died two months ago, when he employed D^r^ Hunter to embalm her, and by injecting spirits of terpentine, camphore, &c., into all the vessels, the legs, arms, and those parts exposed to view, continued without alteration. The face had something horrid: he saw her a day or two ago. Her husband kept her in a box, and sat by her at work.*

3rd.—Called upon M^r^ Ellis: talked with him upon the Law Martial, but was interrupted by company: and upon L^d^ Hillsborough—not well: Gov. Tryon—from home. In the Park—an airing to Paddington and Hide Park.

Dined at Lord Dartmouth's, w^th^ L^d^ Chancellor, L^d^ President, L^d^ Sandwich, Hardwicke, Townshend, Barrington, Howe, Gen. Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, Col. Prescot, Grant, and Jn^o^ Pownall.

4th.—At M^r^ Pownall's office: with him upon the subject of Law Martial. The first Comission with that authority was to L^d^ Willoughby, Gov. of Barbadoes in 1663, and it seems to have been generally continued in the Comiss^n^, and of course came into the Mass. Charter, which is little more than a standing Comission or rule for the Governor to exercise the powers of Government.

M^r^ Stewart [sometimes Stuart] Mackenzie called, and spent half an hour. Took an airing in the Kensington Road, by Biscoe's Buildings, among the Gardens, where I had not been before.

M^r^ Mauduit in the evening.

* "D^r^ Heberden (as every Physician, to make himself talked of, will set up some new hypothesis), pretends that a damp house, and even damp sheets, which have ever been reckoned fatal, are wholesome: to prove his faith, he went into his own new house totally unaired, and survived it." A footnote adds—"D^r^ William Heberden, the distinguished Physician and medical writer, who died on the 7^th^ of March 1801, at the age of ninety-one."—Walpole's Letters, vi. 220.

5th.—From nine till eleven this evening at Mr Wedderburne's, chiefly in discourse upon Law Martial: and upon the whole, found his sentiments very agreeable to my own, which I had wrote the day before to the Attorney General at Boston. He added this—That if Martial Law should be declared, he thought it advisable to avoid trials and sentences in capital cases, as far as the safety of a state will admit; and rather to reserve or secure offenders for trials at Common Law, whenever it shall again have its course.

6th.—Walked to Clements Lane and back. At Lord North's Levée. Had some conversation upon the appointment of a Sollicr to the Comiss. of the Customs. Reminded him of his promise for my son, to which he answered—"As fast as we can." Mauduit in the evening.

7th.—Called upon Lord Suffolk. The servant let me know he was rid out, but added—"My Lord has ordered whenever you call to admit you; and I believe he will return in half an hour." I called a second time, and found his Lordship at home. I communicated the Att. Gen. Sewall's letter to him. He expressed his concern lest any blood should be spilt in the contest: spoke in the highest terms of my services, and declared his opinion that I had been neglected; and added, that he knew the King thought very favourably of me, &c.

Dined at Lord Dartms with his own family, Pepperell, Lady Oughton, and Mrs Brudenell, Lord D.'s sister, and Peggy.

The mail from N. York brings advice that the Assembly refused to appoint Deputies for the Congress—17 to 9; and that a Provincial Congress would be formed to appoint them: that a ship with goods from England was ordered away; but that she would not return to England, and was gone to Halifax. This looks like a breach between the Colonies, which F—— will endeavour to close when he arrives.

8th.—Walked to Gines & Co. Bankers in Lombd Street, and back.

Dined with Mr Jenkinson: no company except Sr Lucius O'Brien, who appears to be much of a gentleman—mild, good natured and polite, and Sr John Blaquiere, Kt of the Bath.*

* See back, August 3, 1774.

They give a more particular acc^{t} of Lord Clive's death than I had heard before.* The whole story of laudanum was a fiction. He had been giving directions to his maid about writing a card a few minutes before his death: left her to go into his room, and she soon heard him fall, and went in, and found him dead, his throat being cut, or terribly hacked with a knife used for erasing writings: and in two or three hours his body was moved out of the county, to avoid the Coroner and an Inquisition.

9th.—At the Temple Church, where the Reader preached.

10th.—In the morning at L^{d} Hardwicke's by desire, who gave me the Bill for restraining the trade of the Southern Colonies, and desired I would send it back to him with remarks.

11th.—At the Board of Trade. Had some discourse with Lord Dartmouth and M^{r} Pownall upon Law Martial. Pownall was greatly alarmed at discovering that Gen. Gage had signed an Act for issuing Treasurer's Notes for four days more than two years, the time limited by Act of Parliament, by which he was for ever disqualified from holding any place in Governm^{t}. I thought it best to say nothing about it, and added that I did not believe the Obligation given by the Treasurer could be considered, as the Bills of Credit intended by that Act: for tho' they were assignable, they passed as money between man and man, as in the Paper Money Colonies.

12th.—In the morning walked into the city to Nicholas Lane and back. In the afternoon at the House of Lords. Expected a Debate on the Bill restraining Trade of the South^{n} Colonies, but it passed without a word of debate. The House divided notwthstanding—73 to 20. This probably for the sake of a Protest.

Before this question, which was the Order of the day, Lord Sandwich acquainted the House that a Committee, which was appointed to consider of a Bill for Inclosure [?] before the House, and to report, had met—considered the Bill: the majority of one disapproved of it: but instead of reporting, as they were ordered, had adjourned the Committee for two

* See back, November 24, 1774.

months; before which [time] Parl^{t} would be up: and in this way the Comittee had determined the fate of the Bill without the voice of the House: and moved that the Committee should be directed to report. One would have thought there could not be a more reasonable motion, but the Bishop of Peterboro', L^{d} Abercorn, Cathcart, and others, opposed it, and only urged that the proceeding was warranted by precedent. Camden, Shelburne, Littleton, Dudley, Radnor,—supported L^{d} Sandwich, and urged that the practice of Comittees never ought to be urged as precedents, against a Motion founded upon the highest reason. This was the only specimen I have heard of L^{d} Littleton's celebrated oratory. The House divided:—forty odd to twenty odd. Many would not vote any way.

Lord Suffolk delivered a message from the King concerning Buckingham House, for a settlement on the Queen, instead of Somerset House, and moved for the Address in answer. Somerset House is to be turned into public offices.

Billy returned from Bath in the evening.

The unanimity of the English people against the demands of the leaders of the American faction, was fully manifested in the large majorities constantly given in support of all measures proposed for checking the growing spirit of rebellion. This was discernible by the divisions in both Houses of Parliament. The demands of the Americans had now become so exorbitant as to have passed reason, and the arguments employed to urge them had passed the bounds of truth. The beginning of a dispute is like the letting out of water. The Americans placed this beginning at the period immediately succeeding the Canadian war, when the French were subdued, and all apprehensions in respect to their proximity had been removed, and this was in 1763. Manifestations of impatience under the superintending power of England began to be openly expressed, though the rights of the Mother Country, by way of counterpoise, were fully acknowledged. Mr. Otis, in his pamphlet of 1765 wrote—"It is certain that the Parliament of Great Britain hath a just, clear, equitable, and constitutional right, power, and authority to bind the Colonies in all Acts wherein they are named. Every lawyer, [he was a lawyer] nay, every tyro, knows this." But, alas, for the stability of human nature; he soon after eat his own words, and became one of the most active leaders of the disaffected party. But if this admission

of an individual is not enough, the following is the declaration of the Assembly of Massachusetts in their Address to Governor Pownall in 1757—"The authority of all Acts of Parliament which concern the Colonies and extend to them, is ever acknowledged in all the Courts of law, and made the rule of all judicial proceedings in the Province. There is not a Member of the General Court, and we know no inhabitant within the bounds of the Government, that ever questioned this authority." How is it possible to reconcile these loyal sentiments with the denial of the supremacy of Parliament that followed so soon after? By the year 1774 they had declared that the English Parliament had no legal power over them: and before the year 1775 they had gone a step further, and declared that it *never had*. Neither language nor untruth could go beyond this: and from that time they lost all hold upon the sympathies of every thinking and every educated man in England. By this assertion they went too far, and thereby weakened all their subsequent arguments so much that no one paid any attention to them afterwards. There were a few in Parliament who, for party purposes, discoursed in favour of the American cause to a certain extent, and by this course they did a great deal to encourage the rebellion; but even such men as Lord Camden, Lord Chatham, and Edmund Burke, never allowed that the Americans could be absolved from the supremacy of Parliament. To give up that was virtually to give up the Colonies entirely. It has been before observed, that a feeling of solicitude for the safety, and consequently welfare of the Colonies, prevented England, among other considerations, from thinking of a separation. She thought that the unprotected young States would be immediately pounced upon by the French, the Spaniards, or the Dutch. Governor Hutchinson, in his Address to the Assembly of Jan. 6, 1773, particularly alludes to this, and warns them how much better off they are under the mild sway of England, than they would be under the rule of either of those nations. The other objection entertained by England consisted in her fear lest, in case of a separation, she should lose all trade with the American states; but there is no doubt that on both these points she was mistaken. She meant well to the Colonies, without forgetting her own interests: but the event has shewn that the Americans could take care of themselves without leading-strings, and time has proved that trade with us in that quarter has increased.

By the beginning of 1775 everything on both sides of the Atlantic was tending to the *ultima ratio regum*. All arguments

had been exhausted: honour, honesty, and truth had been tried, and had failed: sophistry and falsehood had been tried, and rather too freely, but they had failed also: nothing remained but the bayonet and the bullet.

There is a letter from London of April 8, 1775, from Mr. Hutchinson to the Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts, in which the following remarks on the critical position of affairs occur:—

"I hope your opinion, that the people will not resist the King's troops is well founded for I do not wish for the loss of a drop of blood. I find you are not all of the same opinion, and that many think there will be a very powerful resistance. It must be irrational, for nothing can be gained, and everything may be lost.

"The three Major Generals have most amiable characters. They will be able to tell you everything, and I believe, by their good judgment in civil as well as military affairs, they will prove a very important acquisition; and that it will appear a wiser measure than what some people strove for, the appearance of a General Officer, higher in rank than your present Governor. How much does it behove every friend to the country at so critical a season, to cultivate, as far as his sphere will admit, the most perfect concord and harmony among the King's servants.

"I beg you would make my compliments to M^r^ Lee, [?] Col. Vassall, M^r^ Lechmere, M^r^ Borland, M^r^ Inman, [?] your old Cambridge neighbours and friends. When they can return and live quiet in Cambridge, I shall hope that I may be as quiet at Milton."

Elisha continues to flatter himself that he may soon take his passage and return to America. He says, *inter alia*, to his wife April 9, 1775—"I have all along been pleasing myself with the thoughts of returning to you in the spring, and had determined in my own mind, to take passage in *Daverson*, but when I came to mention it, a few days ago, so far from finding any of my friends consenting to it, they all advised against it, and my letters by Robson discourage it, and tell me that I may think myself fortunate in being here at this time."

April 13 he writes, "I consider myself at present a prisoner here, with my heart and affections in New England."

In the same, speaking of the King's appearance—

"I have just come in from the House of Lords, where I saw the King give his assent to one of the American Bills, and a number of others. I wish you could have gone with me. The King is

such a figure of a man, that, seated on his throne in his Royal Robes, there is nothing here that affords such a feast to my eyes."

Two anxious questions were occupying men's minds at this time in England. One was—whether the Americans would resist the King's troops: and the other, the application of the Law Martial. Governor H. has something to say on both. In a letter to Thomas, his son, he says, April 10—

"I cannot yet believe M^r^ Adams will be able to persuade our people to so irrational a step as to form themselves into a body to oppose the King's troops. Before this reaches you it will be determined."

To the American Attorney-General he observes—"I do not believe our countrymen will fight the K. troops. I do not doubt their courage, but they are not so distracted."

And on Martial Law he says to the same person—

"I have this general idea of it, that, upon the law of the land no longer existing, by force of a Rebellion, the King, by virtue of his prerogative, as Captain General, declares Martial Law to be in force. From that time every subject is considered in the predicament of a soldier to certain intents and purposes: one of the first and most conspicuous is the preventing his bearing arms under any other authority than that of his General. Others may depend much upon circumstances of time and place, and may be settled or determined by Rules or Articles of War, as is the case with the King's Forces."

13th.—Called upon Generals Howe and Burgoyne—both from home.

Took an airing with Peggy a new road four or five miles towards Harrow-on-the-Hill.

Dined at D^r^ Heberden's in comp^y^ with the Bishops of Peterborough and Lichfield, Dean of Salisbury, D^r^ Ross, Halifax, and Douglass, and M^r^ Mauduit.

Mention was made in conversation of a trial made a few days ago, in how hot an air animals could live. A person had a room for chymical preparations, which may be called a large oven, the heat whereof was raised to 260 degrees. A beefstake [*sic*] was sufficiently dressed in it in ten minutes. D^r^ Solander, M^r^ Bankes and several other persons, who perspired freely, continued there twelve minutes without hurt or great difficulty:

several others, who did not perspire freely, could not bear it above five minutes. A dog was there the whole time without any hurt. The only inconvenience to the men was, the heat of the floor to their feet; and such as had metal buttons, or chains to their watches, or any other metal, burnt themselves if they hapned to touch it. I thought it strange that beef should be sufficiently dressed, and yet the hands and face of the men not scorched. It was said to be owing to the life in one which the other was destitute of: and D^r^ Heberden observed, that if a man could keep his hand in the paunch or stomach of an animal it would neither putrefy, nor in any degree digest; whereas, a dead hand would be digested in a short time.

Upon something said of the present taste with many of the Nobility and gentry, to appear in a morning in a very mean dress, I asked how long it had prevailed? It was answered that it had been general but a few years. The Nobility in some instances had formerly affected it: that the D. of Grafton's grandfather, who I remember to have seen coming from hunting, went once into a gentleman's house so meanly dressed, that the maid, looking surly, told him to stay in the entry, till she could know whether her master was at leisure. The Duke was pleased with the maid's mistake, and clapped himself down upon the servants' bench whilst the maid went in and told her master there was a man in the entry who wanted to speak with him: she saw something white upon his coat, and believed he was a Ticket Porter. The gentleman went into the entry, and found the Duke of Grafton, with his star upon an old shabby coat, sitting like one of the servants. And the present Lord Chancellor, in a shabby coat and shabby person, lately met with much the same treatment from another gentleman's servant maid.

14th.—Being Good Friday I went to Lincoln's Inn Chapel, where Doctor More preached, being a substitute to Doctor Hurd, the Bishop of Lichfield, who seldom preaches except in Term time. The Churches were all open, and probably as full as on Sundays, but no shops shut; nor was there so much appearance of external observation as there is in Boston, for the shops of Episcopalians are shut there.

Generals Howe and Clinton called to take leave. They were at a loss what was Gage's power, by virtue of his Commission over Rhode Island Militia. M^r^ Pownall, or Gov. P., I am not certain which, assured them it was unlimited. I assured them mine was limited to such cases when the Militia, on occasion of both Colonies, were joined, and then I had the command.

After dinner an airing to Kensington.

15th.—Lord Gage called upon me.

M^r^ Livius, Green, and Palfry dined with us. I called upon General Burgoyne, who, by a card, had excused his not taking leave. The three Major Generals set out in the afternoon for Portsmouth.

16th.—Easter Sunday: at the Old Jewry, when M^r^ White preached a very well adapted discourse. In the evening at the Asylum, where the Chaplain, Doctor Maxwell, preached to a very full Chapel.

Spent an hour at the conversation with the usual polite and learned company.

17th.—Called upon Lord Howe—who was in the country: and afterwards upon M^r^ Harrison. Easter Monday is observed here as a holiday among the lower sort of people, much more than it is among the same rank of people in New England, though professedly of the Church of England.

Took an airing four or five miles from Tyburn Turnpike, in a more private road than I thought there could be near London, leaving Paddington on the right and going towards Harrow-on-the-Hill. We scarce met a carriage, and the appear^ce^ of the country.* We went part of the same road Thursday the 13^th^.

18th.—London appears as empty as in the middle of the summer, when Parliament is over, and everybody withdrawn to the country. This may be attributed in some measure to the remarkably fine season, and very forward spring, everything being at least a month forwarder than in New England. Called upon Lady Gage.

19th.—Upon Gov. Tryon with Brooke Watson:—from home. An airing towards Kilburn Wells. The Ordnance Transport from Boston, with letters to the 4^th^ of March. Confusions still

* Something wanting.

increasing. Mr John Pownall called twice while I was abroad. Mauduit in the evening.

The Governor to Mr. Fitch, April 6, says—"Perhaps at this distance I have observed more distinctly than you who are upon the spot, that your affairs, step by step, have been constantly growing worse and worse ever since I left you."

He complains of the slowness with which public business was managed.

To Mr. Paxton, April 9, he writes—

"I had no idea of the procrastination in all sorts of business here. It is peculiarly the character of the present time. Besides this, there never was more attention to securing parliamentary interest; and what does not tend to this, is no more than a business by the by. I am treated as civilly as any body; but I think I shall be thoroughly tired of Levées and Court attendance before I shall be able to return to America."

The next day, April 10, he informs General Gage that opposition is withdrawn, and that the country is resolved to proceed vigorously against America. His words in his marble paper-cover Letter Book are—

"Opposition is at an end. Lord Camden well observed that Court and Country were both against him. What expectations can America have from resistance? I dined two days ago with Mr Jenkinson, where there were some Irish Members—I mean of the Irish Parliament—in company, and though they are apt to consider America more favourably, as somewhat similar to their own subordinate Government, yet one of them observed, that the greatest misfortune which could happen to the Americans would be their resisting and conquering the British troops now in America, as it would bring upon them the boundless rage and fury of the whole British nation, which I hope in mercy to them they will never feel."

The assertions made to the effect that the trade with America would be lost, and the merchants ruined, did not create much alarm, and we are told that the petitions for redress were not very sincere. Writing at this time to his brother Foster, the Governor says:—

"The loss of the American trade seems to have lost all its terror: and if it was an event really approaching, people are laying

schemes for a substitute or succedanium. The American Merchants in London have been acting a part meerly to please their correspondents; the Petition to the Commons, the Lords, and then the King, being a meer piece of form, and I have been told that one of the three Merchants who carried up the latter, after he had delivered it, said to the other—'I am glad I am clear of it,' so loud that the Queen heard what he said."

20th.—At Lord Darmouth's office. M^r^ Pownall communicated the dispatches from General Gage, the principal part of which is a narrative from a person whose name he does not mention, of the proceedings of the Provincial Congress, which they have not published; which is all that is material in his letter, except a short account of his sending Col. Leslie to seize some cannon which he had an account of in this paper of the proceedings, &c.; but it proved an erroneous information, and they were a parcel of old guns belonged to a ship, which they removed, probably to make a noise, and increase appearances of preparation. The *Cerberus* sailed to-day from Spithead.

21st.—Airing to Fulham, the day being exceeding pleasant. M^r^ Preston and lady, M^r^ Heald and family, Col. Gorham, and M^r^ Harrison the Collector, dined with us. There's a mystery in Harrison's coming over. He says he received an order of leave from M^r^ Cooper, to his surprise, without any sollicitation on his part. M^r^ Harrison the father, was private secretary I think, to Lord Rockingham, and Cooper Under Secretary of State. The Order is for six months. I supposed that might easily be prolonged. He made no answer.

22nd.—Went to Fulham to the Bishop of London's Palace, who had been gone to London about ½ an hour. In the evening M. Mauduit brought M^r^ Parker of the city, and a friend of Doctor Calet [or Calef] of Ipswich. Parker shewed me Petitions from the people of Fox Islands, Deer Islands, and I think another settlement or two, praying the King to take their case into consideration, and in some way or other to quiet them in their possessions: and also a letter from Calef [?] to Lord Dartmouth, in which he denies in behalf, or as the Agent of the people in the eastern parts of Massachusetts Bay, that they may be made a separate and distinct Government. I

advised M^r^ Parker to lay them all before L^d^ Dartmouth, and take his directions.

23rd.—At Salter's Hall. M^r^ Spilsbury, an aged serious man, preached to a congregation of people of much the same, or rather lower rank, than those at the Old Jewry.

At Court. Saw the Primate of Ireland, the Bishops of Salisbury and of Chichester, who I had not seen before.

Dined at M^r^ Knox's with M^r^ Fielding, in some official Court, and a Lieutenant in the Navy, who went home in the Halifax scooner [*sic*] after Preston's trial. In the evening at D^r^ Heberden's, where were the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dean of Salisbury, and several clergymen I had not seen before, besides other usual company.

24th.—Called in the morning upon Lord Suffolk, and upon M^r^ Jenkinson:—both in the country. Saw M^r^ Pownall a short time at L^d^ D.'s office. Walked to M^r^ Palmer's in Devonshire Square. Called upon M^r^ Watson at Garlick Hill, and took leave of him, bound in the Packet to America. After dinner in the coach to Fulham, with my daughter and two sons.

25th.—At M^r^ Ellis's, and Bishop of Peterborough's:—from home. M^r^ Jenkinson and M^r^ Ellis called upon me. Lord Hardwicke desired to see me; where I spent half an hour. He is very anxious about the state of affairs in America. Mauduit called in the evening. Took leave of Governor Tyron to-day, intending to set out in five or six days for New York.

26th.—Col. Pickman of Salem came in just after breakfast, having left Salem the 11^th^ of March, and arrived at Bristol in 36 days. He gives this reason for his coming—that the new chosen Militia officers, three days before he came away, posted up Advertisements requiring all persons liable by law to bear arms, to appear the 14th at the place of Parade: that he was in doubt whether to remove to some other town, or to come to England; but determined on the latter, this vessel being ready: that Col. Fry removed to Ipswich, and others to Boston. I went with him to Lord Dartmouth's, and to M^r^ Pownall's, but did not see the latter.

M^r^ Haley tells me Governor Pownall has letters from Boston which advise him we shall hear of very interesting news in a

few days, or Pownall infers it from the letters. At Philadelphia, by a vessel the middle of March, they were in high spirits, the January mail being arrived, encouraged them they would have everything they wished for from England.

I spent an hour in the House of Lords expecting a trial to come on, but was disappointed.

All orders of men in England were on the tiptoe of expectation in respect to the next news from America. The Bishop of London, as shepherd of a large flock, seems to have been particularly anxious. Writing to Mr. Walter, April 11, Governor Hutchinson says:—

"Your troubles have been great. The Bishop of London takes part in them. I see him sometimes at his house, and once he has called on me; but I meet him every week at Court, and he never fails enquiring what I hear of his American children. I hope your deliverance draws near. D^r^ F— is gone out to deceive the Colonies, and some say to gather them together in battell: but the more general opinion is, that he intends no more than to keep them from complying with any conciliatory proposals by an assurance that if they can hold out another year, the Kingdom will be so distressed that it must concede to every demand of the Colonies. Never was there a more distracted scheme."

Further down in the same letter he adds:—"Absence from a country which I love above all others, is rendered less painful by the very kind notice taken of me by people of the first rank; so that I am seldom at a loss how to employ my time in a manner agreeable to me. One evening in the week I generally spend at a Conversation, where are commonly half a dozen Bishops, and as many dignified clergymen of inferior rank, several Members of Parliament, and gentlemen of distinguished characters in different branches of science."

27th.—Called upon M^r^ Cornwall. He advises me to think nothing of a return to New England until next summer. Paul Wentworth called; gave me a long history of his connection w^th^ M^r^ Lee (*Junius Americ.*), of his endeavour to stop him from further writing, and of his persuading him to go abroad next summer, and furnishing him with 300£, which he would consider as borrowed—wished his brother in Virginia might be of the Council there, and that Lee himself might have the

Ministry's countenance, or at least their connivance, for a place in the city [of London], so as to be fair for succeeding Glyn when he dies, in the Recorder's place. He then acquainted me with his appearance in behalf of the New Hampshire Grantees, and the state of that affair before the Board of Trade.

Peggy and I dined at Lord Hardwicke's, with General Parslow and his daughter, and grand-daughter, and Mauduit. Lord Hardwicke's Lady, the Marchioness Grey, her daughter Lady Mary, and one more, made the company.

The Philadelphia papers represent the great encouragement the people there, and at N. York have taken from letters from England, triumphing in the King's receiving the Petition of the Congress—Lord North's being panic struck—and assuring them, if they will be firm, they will still carry their point.

28th.—At Lord D.'s office with M^r^ John Pownall in the morning. At the House of Lords, and heard the Sollicitor General and M^r^ Forester, upon Lord Ely's insanity. In the evening at Ranelagh, and M^r^ and M^rs^ Preston, in M^r^ Preston's coach. A prodigious crowd. We came away at ten, but sat above half an hour in the coach before we could get clear.

29th.—Walked into the city and back, and called upon M^r^ Symes in Bucklersbury.

Col. Pickman, Blowers, Hughes, and S. Oliver, dined with us. Pickman mentions the soldiers having tarred and feathered a countryman for tampering with one of the troops, to sell his gun in Boston two days before Pickman sailed, but were stopped in their progress by the General's order.

30th.—At the Old Jewry: a Minister [blank for name] preached in the room of M^r^ White, and let the congregation know he was going to leave his native land.

The last three or four days have been remarkably hot, equal, I think, to the weather in June in New England. Lord Gage called, and told me he remembered my prediction of the consequence of adjourning Parliament so long over the holidays, and that it is now verified.

May 1st.—Sir F. Bernard came to us from Ailesbury. I called upon Governor Grant, who is going to America, and is to be stationed at Albany: find him very moderate with

respect to the Americans; and says he knows nothing of measures intended. He is Member for [blank] in Scotland.

2nd.—Called on M^r^ Jenkinson, and M^r^ Cooper, but saw neither. Afterwards upon L^d^ Hardwicke. He is much distressed about America: thinks Gage is not active enough. New York Assembly have passed a set of Resolves not very different from those of the Congress. Advices received there, and at Philadelphia, of the gracious reception the Petition from the Congress to the King met with, and the letters they received from F— &c., had given fresh spirits to the Opposition. The transports from Ireland had put out 3 or 4 times, and put back by the violence of W. Winds. It's said they lost a fine wind waiting for the Agent for the transports.

T. Bernard and young Pownall dined with us.

3rd.—Lord North opened his Budget in the H. of Commons, where no opposition remains. Out of doors every artifice is used to keep up a spirit against the Minister for American measures; and a report has been current to-day that there has been a battle, and that Gage had lost 1000 men, &c.*

4th.—Called upon M^r^ Knox, who sets out for Spaw next week, and upon M^r^ Ellis: upon Doctor Douglass in Half Moon Street, and left my name.

Dined with Lord Gage, with Billy and Peggy. The company, besides Lady Gage, were M^r^ Hanbury, Member for [blank] his lady and sister, M^r^ Jones, and an officer I did not know. The April mail arrived to-day from New York. Letters to the Secretary of State from Gage of March 28. The Congress had been sitting 6 days, and he sends one of their Resolves: tells the story of the countryman tarred and feathered by the soldiers: thinks government cannot be restored without a grand convulsion.

Mr. Hutchinson had now been ten months in England: he began to see that the dispute with America was assuming serious proportions; that there was no prospect of a speedy settlement; but, on the contrary, the advices brought by every ship shewed

* Curious pressentiment in the public mind. Only twelve days since the Battle of Lexington was fought, the first battle of the war, and there was no means then of bringing intelligence in less than double that space of time.

that things were becoming worse and worse, and, in short, that a great crisis was impending. His son Thomas, with his wife and children, had removed for safety to Boston, leaving the land and buildings at Milton to the tender mercies of the Republicans, who soon laid their hands upon them. First the Chief Justice, and then his son, Dr. Peter Oliver, with his wife Sarah, the Governor's eldest daughter, with their young family, had left Middleborough, and had also fled to "The City of Refuge." All business and all sources of income were broken up and destroyed; Elisha, Billy, and Peggy were in London with their father, doing nothing in the way of relieving him of the expense of keeping them; and although the Government had amply provided for him, the increasing expenses of thus unexpectedly finding his children falling from necessity upon his resources, urged him to write the subjoined letter to the Earl of Dartmouth:—

"S^{t} J[ames's] S[treet], May 3, 1775.

"My Lord,

"The distress w^{ch} I feel from the pres^{t} state of my family will I hope excuse my repeated applicat^{n} to y^{r} L^{d}ship. My eldest children have each of them 3 young children, & were wth their families when I left Boston, peaceably settled in the country; but some that were in such danger from the rage of the people, that their friends advised them to quit their houses and estates, and shelter themselves and families under the protection of the troops; and my estate there, w^{ch} otherwise would have contributed to their support, is rendered of little or no value by the Boston Port Act. My other three children are with me in London, but wish to return, except my youngest son, whose wish has been to settle in England, & he has flattered himself, and has been encouraged, that on his father's account, he should obtain an appointment here, which would contribute to his support, & to his settlement in the world. I know there were so many expect^{ts} of places in Eng^{d} whose pretences were superior to mine, that I despaired of any appointm^{t} for him here; and being informed that S^{r} Tho. Milles had determined to quit his place of Rec. Gen., I begged of L^{d} North that appointm^{t} for my son, & his L^{d}ship encouraged me that he would comply with my request as soon as S^{r} T. M. could be provided for in England. I am now informed that a new Comiss. is making out for Sir T., w^{ch} leaves but little hopes of my son's succeeding him until next spring, for after July there is no probability of ships going out for Quebec.

"If one of my children could be provided for, it would be a

great relief. I gratefully acknowledge the provis. which has been made for me, in conformity to the assurances given me before I left my Gov^t^ but the charge of living is so much greater in Eng^d^ than in America, that altho' I avoid every unnecessary expense, I find it to exceed what I am to receive, several hund^d^ pounds, the charge of removing my family, and necessaries provided for house keeping included. I should be ashamed to mention this to y^r^ L^d^ship if it was not meerly to shew that it is not an avaricious or accumulating view which induces this application.

"I remember, my Lord, that I applied for a discretionary [?] leave to come to Eng^d^, but I never would have availed myself of it from any personal consid. so long as it could be a prejudice to the publick service. After the death of the L. G. I laid aside all tho'ts of it, and had anticipated every difficulty & hazard to w^ch^ I must have been exposed, if no forces had been sent to the prov. for its protection. If I had known that addit. force would be ordered, I should have tho't myself more secure than I had been for the last year I was in the Prov., & better able vigorously to have opposed all attempts upon the Constitution.

"I pray y^r^ L^d^ship's consideration of my case in all its circumstances, and am very respectfully,

"My L^d^ y^r^ L^d^ships &c.

"R^t^ Hon. E. of Dartm."

The above is a hurried copy in the Governor's own hand, inserted in the marble paper Letter Book, but we have no means of knowing what effect it may have had on the Minister. All the family refugees, as they came to England, saddled themselves upon him. From his Diary it appears that by June 18, 1776, he had 25 under his roof.

5th.—Called upon M^r^ Jenkinson: saw a Boston newspaper of March 30^th^ and an account of Judge Oliver's lady's death. [She was Mary Clarke. Died Mar. 25.] They had news from London to the middle of January, and several articles to intimate that no more forces would be sent. Just at that time Hood said to me—"Not one man more will be sent to America."

I called upon Lord Hillsboro'—from home.

The *Publick Advertiser* of to-day says that Fahrenheit's thermometer stood last Friday in the shade at 80°; and in Canterbury and in York at 84°, and in the sun at York at 96°.

News of Joshua Winslow's death at Boston, after three days illness.

6th.—Called upon Mr Keene, and Mr Preston, Mr Hawkins Browne in Great Russell Street, who was from home.

Dined with Mr Gibbon in Bentinck Street. Sr Edward Worsley, his brother, Mr Harris, of Salisbury, Mr Cornwall, and Mr Barne, all Members of Parliament, and Sir Stanyan [?] Porter: have seldom met with a more agreeable party, or more profitable subjects of conversation.

It seemed generally agreed that the American affairs made not the least disturbance in any part of the Kingdom.

A great degree of zeal against bribery, and in support of the Grenville Act, as it is called, has carried the House rather beyond bounds. When persons are proved before a Committee Bills have passed to disqualify them from being Electors. This is not only contrary to the general rule of law, not to establish penalties after a fact, but a great part of the Judges are in the same condemnation, and the only distinction is, that the persons punished have been less adroit than those who inflict the punishment. Burke said in a debate, that he had been long sensible of the vitious proceedings in the House of Commons, and had long declaimed against them; but he was now made sensible that the virtue of the House was more exceptionable, and more intolerable than the vice.

7th.—At Lincoln's Inn Chapel. Bishop of Lichfield preached a good sermon from "Knowledge puffeth up," &c. [1 Cor. viii. 1.]

At Court. The K. and Q. made their remarks upon the weather here and in America. After speaking to me, who was in mourning, with a very serious air to the Lady to whom she spake next, she remarked what a great number of people were in mourning. Indeed, in every part of her deportment there appears something the reverse of levity, vanity, and other fashionable foibles.

In the evening at Dr Heberden's. The cause of near one half of the Court's being in mourning, is the death of the Dutchess of Montagu last week, and one or two others of the Nobility lately, it being now the custom for every distant

relation to go into full mourning, and continue in mourning a very short time, perhaps a week, and so in proportion longer as the relation is nearer. The D. and Dutchess of Montagu had lived without any marks of affection, or in other words, very fashionably, for ten years after they were married; but ever since, for a great number of years, have been remarkably happy, and he is now the most disconsolate widower. Lord Milton, whose Lady was sister to L[d] George Germaine, is another instance of remarkable attachment; and upon the death of his Lady some weeks ago, shut himself up and refuses to see any company.

8th.—In the forenoon to Blackheath to the Review by the King, of General Mostyn's Regiment of Horse:* but saw it only at a distance from my coach, not having made any previous acquaintance with any of the officers.

In the evening with Peggy to see two Elephants called the Queen's, in a stable at some distance behind Buckingham House: a curiosity which I am very glad I did not omit seeing. The one has been here, as the keeper informed me, 16, the other 10 years. They are not the heighth which they are commonly described, 14 or 15 feet. The foreparts, where a horse is measured, I thought, by comparing with my own heighth, exceeded it about two feet, which makes them eight feet.† They seem nearly of the same size. The use they make of their trunk in feeding themselves and taking anything up was very pleasing. They are fed with hay in winter, and in summer chiefly with grass and herbs out of the Queen's Gardens, just by the Stables.

Sir F. B. returned to town. Coming from the Review in the coach, had a glance of M[r] Bollan in Parl[t] Street. My son knew him. I should not.

9th.—Went into the city to M[r] Mathias's to meet Francis Dalby, upon an arbitration concerning an old acc[t] of Ship *Goodhope* in 1743.‡

* Elisha's Diary says—"8.—At the Review of Gen[l] Mostyn's Regiment by the King on Blackheath."

† From this it is implied that Mr. Hutchinson was six feet high.

‡ This affair gave the Governor some annoyance, as Dalby was disposed to be litigious. There are several letters about it in his Letter Book, but they have no general interest.

Mr Ellis left his name.

In the evening with Sir F. B. at the opera—*La Marchesa Giardiniera,* in the Hay Market: the first time, and I have no inclination to repeat it, the play being bad, and the singing over the parts of the comic operas not pleasing.

10th.—Mr Jenkinson called upon me, and seems to be without apprehensions of much further difficulty with America: says he is astonished at the unanimity of the nation: has not his dependance on the Ministry: is sure the people will not be satisfied unless some of the heads of the disorderly people are called to account.

At Ld Dartmouth's. Had some conversation with him upon the right of the Crown to Fort Hill in Boston. I let him know Lord Hillsborough had wrote to me upon the subject.

Sollicited him in behalf of my son. He assured me he had pressed Ld North very importunately, &c.

Mr Bliss dined with us, and took an airing until sun-down thro' Battersea, and home through Hide Park. The weather has been so very fine for a month past that we have seldom missed taking an airing every day either before or after dinner.

There is an interesting letter on Fort Hill in the marble paper Letter Book, rather long, but it must be given. Hutchinson Street and Oliver Street led up to Fort Hill. The former is now called Pearl Street. Since those days the houses have very much encroached on its flanks, so that when I was there, much of its military character had been removed. The letter is the following:—

"St. J. S., 18 May, 1775.

"My Lord,

"Having received your Lordship's commands to lay before you a state of the facts relative to the King's title to the piece of ground within the limits of the town of Boston called Fort Hill, I shall most readily obey them as well as I am able without those materials with which I was furnished when I was in the Province.

"Fort Hill has been known by that name more than an hundred years. It is situated in the south and east part of the town: rises directly from the sea or Harbour to a very considerable heighth: has a large flat of an acre or two on the top: the ascent on every part is steep. At the foot of the Hill towards the sea, there has

been a Platform, and a number of cannon—twenty, perhaps, or upwards—for a great number of years, and it has been known by the name of Boston South Battery. I remember that fifty years ago there was a breast-work of earth, and a turffed Glacis, over which the guns were mounted. It is now entirely gone, but the guns remain on carriages; and there is also a small brick building, which serves as a Magazine or Store House, with a Flagstaff upon it. The King's colours are still hoisted, and the guns are fired upon publick occasions. There are also a Captain, Lieutenant, and other officers under the appointment of the Governor, and commissioned by him, with a Company of 60 men, destined to the service of this Battery, and exempt from other military duties: and I doubt not there has been such a Company, though not always alike in number, ever since, and probably many years before, the present Charter.

"In the year 1672, upon apprehensions of danger from the Dutch, a wall or wharffe was begun, and the greatest part of it finished, which was to extend from two points at the south and ncrth parts of the town, within which sea wall, as it was called, was a large cove or basin, which would contain all their navigation. [All this is indicated by the dotted lines, and the words "Old Wharf," in Page's plan of Boston of 1775, at the beginning of Frothingham's Hist. of the Siege.] The south point was said to be the Sconce, which was this South Battery, so that it was a known fortification at that time. Edward Randolph, in 1676, in a Narrative to the Lord's Committee for Trade and Plantations, says it was a small Brick Fort, with two tier of 6 guns each, without officers or men, and that it was lately built, which I suppose was a rebuilding in 1672. I remember about fifty years past, there was, upon the top of the Hill, a parcell of small wooden buildings, in which poor people lived, and which, as I received it, were appendages to a Fort there: and I have heard the officers who were in the expedition to Canada in 1711, speak of the buildings upon Fort Hill, and I have always received it that the Fort in which Sir Edmund Andros was besieged or surrounded, and which he surrendered to the people, was on the top of the Hill, and that the Battery below was called the Platform, and that they were said to go down from the Fort to the Platform. The surface of the ground upon the top of the Hill still carries with it the marks of an ancient Fort or building; and the four Bastions or angles are plainly to be distinguished.

"In the year 1737, and for some years after, I was one of the Select men of the town of Boston: some of the inhabitants had

encroached upon this Hill: had erected buildings on some parts: fenced in or enclosed other parts. I know we then considered it as destined for the King's service as part of the fortification ground: and although the original property was in the town, and the Select men considered themselves as having so far the care and charge of it, as to prevent encroachments upon it, yet a special property in the King for a Fortress was always allowed: and this I take to be the sole reason why the Hill and the environs have not been sold, or built upon by the town, as other parts of Common ground have been: and to the same cause may in some measure be attributed the facility of making encroachments by particular inhabitants, the town not being so active in preventing or removing them as it would have been if the property might have been conveyed. The Governors have not attempted [?] in a course of law to eject the intruders. They probably imagined that Juries would be very favourably disposed towards the possessors. I know that in the administration of Governor Belcher these encroachments were complained of; and I have reason to think all succeeding Governors have considered this Hill as appropriated for the purpose of a Fortress. After I came to the administration of government, I was informed of a design to make sale of the Hill, in order to render more difficult the making use of any part of it for the purpose of fortifying. I acquainted the Secretary of State with my information, and received directions carefully to observe any motions of this sort, and to do everything in my power to hinder their taking effect. A Committee of the town was afterwards appointed, but they had not made any further progress when I left the Province. Since that, General Gage, as I am informed, encamped one of his Regiments upon the top of this Hill.

"By the Charter of Charles I., the Corporation is authorised, by all fitting ways and means whatsoever, to repel and resist by force of arms, all such persons as shall at any time attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of the Plantation or inhabitants.

"Under this authority the Fortifications upon or near this Hill, were erected by the Corporation; and the Hill, during the continuance of this Charter, or at any time since, never became the property of any private person.

"After the Charter of Charles I. was vacated, the Commanders in Chief, under Commissions from the Crown, took the possession of these Fortifications, and of the Hill in particular. Upon the Revolution, the people resumed the form of government, as

exercised under that Charter, which by a judgment, the force of which is not denied, had been expressly vacated, and afterwards by an authority under the Sign Manual of King William, the exercise of the powers of government were tolerated during pleasure.

"Soon after the inhabitants were again incorporated by the Charter of W^m^ & Mary. By this Charter all Military authority is placed in the Governor, appointed and commissioned by the Crown, and he is expressly authorised to erect Forts, and fortify any place or places within the Province, and to demolish such Forts at his pleasure. The first Governor after this Charter accordingly, became, as I conceive, possessed of the Fortress upon and below the Hill, and all the ground destined or suffered to be, and remain for the use and purpose of fortification: and all succeeding Governors, for aught I have ever seen to the contrary, had the same right with the first Governor: and having possessed themselves of the Fortress, or of the lands for the purpose of fortifying, I know of no right or title in any other person or persons sufficient to dispossess them.

"It is worth observing, that in a plan of the town of Boston, published between the years of 1730 & 1740, the buildings of the Fort on the top of the Hill are there described: and no doubt were either then in part remaining, or were fresh in the remembrance of the publisher. I have the honour to be, my Lord," &c.

The above letter is interesting, from its containing the elements of a brief history of Fort Hill.

11th.—Called upon Florentio Vassall in Queen Ann Street. He showed me a long anonymous letter w^ch^ he said came from one of the first men in N. York, which indicates a disposition to separate from the N. Eng^d^ Colonies, and a willingness in the southern, to submit to all instances of Parliam^y^ authority, except taxation.

Called upon M^r^ Pownall at the Board of Trade. Drank tea at Doctor Tarpley's, with a room full of Scotch people of fashion.

12th.—Called upon Dalrymple. Upon Lord Hillsborough, who finds fault with measures: thinks L^d^ D. has too much humanity—too much religion: L^d^ N. indolent: hates business: in important affairs not governed by others. L^d^ H. laments the danger of a change, because nobody in the H. of Commons

to fill his place: but L^d^ Guilford is very old, and upon his death L^d^ N. must go to the Lords: and L^d^ N. himself is not long lived—corpulent, &c.: asked whether I saw him often? No:—nor Lord Dartmouth? Seldom; but as I go to his Levée: says Lord D. is for receiving the N. York Remonstr^ce^: that L^d^ North was rather inclined, but upon a meeting of the principal Members of the H. of Commons the night before last, it was determined to reject it, because it expressly denies the right of taxing: that the Attorney and Sollicitor [General] in particular, were very strong against receiving it. It is to be wished, however, that some way may be found to save the honour of Parliament, and yet avoid rejecting it, but it seems impracticable.

T. Bernard dined with us, and Sir F.

Doctor Hind, Secr^y^ to the Society, &c., called to see Sir F. B., and drank coffee. Mauduit in the evening, brought the Resolves of the Virginia Congress, who have established a Convention instead of the Assembly.

13th.—At M^r^ Mathias's in the forenoon, upon my dispute with Dalby, in whose favour the Arbitratory incline to determine, I think, to my wrong. To Kensington with Sir F. B. in the coach.

Livius, Blowers, Ingersoll, Oliver, and Billy Bernard, with Sir F., dined with us. Wrote to my brother and son by Folger to send me Dalby's acc^t^ attested.

14th.—At the Temple with Sir Francis Bernard. Doctor Thurloe preached. Comissioner Gambier, from Portsmouth, called upon me about noon: says Tryon did not sail till Wednesday, the 10^th^ instant.

15th.—The Remonstrance from N. York to the House of Commons came on to-day. Lord North said there had been no precedent of any Petition being received by the Commons, where their Right was denied; but spake favourably of many parts of the Petition: and it is past doubt, that it must be rejected. It was rejected by 180 odd against 60 odd.* Mauduit tells me that a speech delivered by Woolridge at the Bar of the H. of Commons when the Merchants' Petition was settled

* 186 to 67, according to Adolphus, ii. 220.

by Burke and Franklin, and that Woolridge, who gained applause, was nothing more than the reader of it.

I hinted to M^r^ Jenkinson a day or two ago the expediency of pointing out the cause of rejecting the Petition, as the Americans always complained of their not being heard; and he said if any thing could be done he should be glad: and L^d^ North moved for an amendment upon the Motion for rejecting; it being derogatory to the supreme authority of Parliament—which was carried. It is now said Lord Chatham is to be at the H. of Lords the 17^th^, when a Petition for a repeal or amendment of the Quebec Act is to be bro't on. Masieres, who is Cursitor Baron, vexed because all the pains he had taken about the forming a Gov^t^ for Canada had no greater success; is become Agent for the English there—is plodding, and has dined with Lord Shelburne, and Camden, &c., and is giving them all his sense to enable them to support their opposition and distress Government.

16th.—Called upon M^r^ Robinson of the Treasury, the first time since my arrival, he having been sick in the country. Upon M. Garnier, and left my name.

Lord Say and Seale called upon me, and spent a quarter of an hour.*

17th.—In the city as far as Spitallfields, and returned before breakfast.

M^r^ Blackborne, Judge of the Marshalsea Court, a friend and cotemporary of Sir F. Bernard, called upon me.

I was in the H. of Lords from two till after six, hearing the debate upon Lord Camden's motion for a Bill to repeal the Quebec Act, which seems to have been a dying effort of Opposition, which could muster but 20 in 100. I expected L^d^ Chatham would have been down, or I should not have attended.

In the evening at Foote's Theatre to see two foolish Comedies, or rather, to shew ourselves to the K. and Q. who were present, and had never been at that Playhouse before.

* It may be remembered that Lord Say and Sele, an ancestor of this said Peer, was one of the promoters of the Colony of Massachusetts in the time of Charles I.

M^r^ Ellis called, and invited my daughter and me to spend a night or two at Twickenham.

18th.—In the morning at L^d^ Dartmouth's, who desired to know from me the state of Fort Hill, and what the objections were to the King's title to it, as having been appropriated for a Fortress.

Mons. Garnier called upon me, and related the particulars of a great riot at Paris: and we both observed that a dissatisfaction w^th^ Governm^t^ was not confined to America, nor the English dominions, but rather the general temper of the Age, at least, in Europe as well as in America.

At Lord North's Levée, where nothing passed but the common compliments.

S^r^ F. B. and I dined very genteelly with M^r^ Blackborne, one of Sir F——'s cotemporaries at the Temple,* now Judge of the Marshalsea Court, who has a good house in Marg^t^ Street, Cavend^sh^ Square, and a large fortune, and what is more, a man of great learning, as well as natural good sense.

Mauduit sent me a note that he hears my son's affair is in a good way.

19th.—A rainy day after a long series of fine fair weather, but I have seen no steddy [*sic*] rain like the American rainy days since my arrival; and on this day the rain ceased near half the time, gentle showers succeeding one another, tho' there was no sun-shine. I called upon Lord Gage, who was dressing for the Levée; but the news of the death of the K.'s sister, the Queen of Denmark, at Zell, which came by express the day before, stopped the King from coming to town.

20th.—A rumour prevails thro' the town that the Q. of Denmark was poisoned, and that several ladies of her attendants are dead in the same way. This is followed with another story —that she made away with herself. We have clear weather to-day, but as cold as many days in February:† and we are glad to revive our fires in all our rooms where we sit. M^r^ Livius and Miss Julia Bernard dined w^th^ us.

* Sir Francis Bernard appears to have been educated a barrister.

† Those who watch the weather closely say there are two cold periods in May, of a few days each; one in the first half of the month, and the other in the last. This, then, was the second cold period.

21st.—At the Temple Church with S^r^ F. B. Doctor Porteous, one of the K.'s Chaplains, preached a much applauded sermon from James, of offending in one point, and being guilty of all.* Great part of his discourse was pointed at Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, which encourage him to dissimulation, debauchery, &c.; and I suppose to be the same Sermon he preached six or eight weeks before at the K.'s Chapel, which was then well spoken of.

Dined with M^r^ Pownall at Vanbrugh Fields; S^r^ F. B., Mauduit, and a M^r^ Hagan, neighbour to M^r^ P., and Peggy. In the evening at the Conversation: the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Lichfield; Deans of Salisbury, and Glocester; Hawkins, Browne, Mauduit, &c.

22nd.—The destination of the Spanish Armament is the subject of conversation, and many apprehend it must be designed against some part of the British dominions. It's certain there has not been less sea or land force in readiness to oppose it these twenty years, so much of both being sent to America without any new forces raised in their stead.

I called upon M^r^ Jenkinson, but was a few minutes too late: wished to have talked with him upon my son's business. Went in the afternoon with Sir F. B. to take another look at the Elephants. He thanked me for urging him to go, as he found himself under great surprise at the first sight of them, and his curiosity was much gratified.

23rd.—Called upon M^r^ Jenkinson, and asked him the state of the Bill for encouraging the Newf^d^land Fishery, which he tells me is gone through the Commons, and he supposed would pass the Lords to-day. He says the 12^d^ ℔ gallon on all Rum from the Continent is to encourage our own W. India Islands. I told him it would be smuggled. *Valeat quantum valere potest*, was his answer. He thinks the Spanish Armament is against the Moors; but if it brought on a war, he says it will have no effect. The Kingdom would raise 20 millions a year rather than concede to American claims. He says Lord North shewed him, or rather in concert with him, settled a letter to the several Governors, to accompany the Conciliatory Resolve,

* Gen. Epist. of James, ii. 10.

and intimated a difficulty in bringing Lord Dartmouth to consent to it.

Capt. Caldwell called and left his name.

Sir F. Bernard left us this morning, and went home to Ailesbury.

24th.—At Lord Dartmouth's Levée. He mentioned an account of Connecticut Assembly having refused a motion to raise men to assist the Massachusetts, and M^r^ Jackson afterwards confirms it from a letter of M^r^ Ingersoll's, Judge of the Admiralty at Philad. to his son in London, which adds, that his father, from the quiet state of Conn^t^ had determined to spend the summer at N. Haven, which he before intended to have spent at Philadelphia. I called upon M^r^ Jackson at Southampt. Buildings, but missing him there, saw him at Westminster Hall.

At Lord Hardwicke's, by desire, who wishes my daughter and I would make him a visit in the country this summer.

25th.—Saw Lord Dartmouth by appointment at the Board of Trade, who informed me he had spoke with Lord North concerning the Secretary's place in the Excise for my son, and he was informed that it had been offered to a gentleman, M^r^ Agar, and if he did not take it, L^d^ D. gave me some encouragement to hope for it. I called upon M^r^ Burrell, one of the Commissioners, to inquire about the business of the place, but he was from home. Called upon Caldwell in Cockspur Street, and left my name. And upon the Dean of Gloucester in Panton Square, who, after reading my Controversy with the Assembly, highly applauded it, and signified that he thought it remarkable that, at such a distance, we should so exactly agree in sentiment. I do not agree with him in the expedience of separating the Colonies from the Kingdom, and making them wholly independent.*

26th.—Parliament rose to-day. It was said the Queen would go to the H. of Lords, and give her thanks for the Settlement of Buckingham House, but it was a false report. As I had seen the ceremony of the Speaker's Address, and

* The Governor's reasons for shrinking from this view have been before given. They were well intentioned, at all events.

other forms upon Parliam^ts^ rising, I avoided a crowd upon this occasion.

Dalrymple, Caldwell, and Steward the Cashier, called upon me, and Graham.

Col. Dalrymple was on the eve of leaving England for America, and the Governor, unconscious that hostilities had already commenced, commissioned him to take out a few trifles for him to the Rev. Dr. Eliot, at Harvard University. He writes thus:—

"London, St. Jam. St. 26 May, 1775.

"Sir,—

"I have desired Col. Dalrymple to take w^th^ him two folio and one quarto vols., all which cont^n^ 4 diff^t^ translations of the Old Test. and five of the New, into the Latin tongue. I have desired him to deliver them to you for the Coll. Library, hoping they may be acceptable and useful. I have seen two or three other translations w^ch^ I believe I can obtain.

"I send likewise, for the Museum, a small box cont^s^ a fish converted into chalk, w^ch^ I bro't from under a chalk cliff in Sussex, and was perfect, but by handling, the tail is broke off. It is a sole, or fish well known here for its delicate taste. There is also part of another, which being dug into, the belly discovers the grain of the fish. To some persons they will be curious. In the same box there are two small pieces of cloth made by the Otahitee Indians from the rind or inner bark of a tree, and a long string of braided hair, which they work into ornaments for their foreheads. Omiah, a Native, now in England, gave them to me. I wish it may be in my power to evidence my attachm^t^ to the College by something of greater value.—I am," &c.

The Governor was evidently no geologist; but as nobody else was so in that day, he was not behind his neighbours. When I was in the Library, I saw his History; but not having read the above letter at that time, I did not enquire for the things mentioned in it. I should like to have seen the Testaments. Considering the state of the country, it is not likely the articles ever reached their destination. He still harped upon going out. Writing to Chief Justice Oliver, May 25, he says:—

"I see my contemporaries dying away so fast, that I am more anxious than ever to hasten home, lest I should die here, which I dread above all things. I make no pretence to Scipio's merit,

and consequently cannot complain of the like ingratitude, but if I could I should not say '*nec ossa habebis*,' as he did."

But in spite of his desire, it was ordered that he should die in England. The only known contemporary and authentic account of his death is on two loose leaves of the diary of his son Elisha, come to pieces by damp, who, with his son-in-law, Dr. Peter Oliver, witnessed it. When Mr. Robbins of Boston—one of the old nobility and aristocracy of Massachusetts, who, like Winthrop Oliver and a few more, still survive in the male line—was in my house in England, in 1871, he had an opportunity of examining these loose leaves, and he had a copy of the writing. This is not the right place to quote the writing; the right place is at the end of the Governor's diary, and at the end of any subsequent volume or volumes of this work that may be compiled, but as the compiler of this first volume knows the uncertainty of things mundane, and how easily the two loose leaves might be lost, he is strongly tempted to transfer and secure them here at once, now we are upon the subject. Well, the two loose leaves, or four pages, contain the following, and from the preliminary remarks it is plain that the Governor's health had been for some time declining:

"[G]overnor slept tolerably well, as he had done for several nights past; arose as usual at 8 o'clock, shaved himself, and eat his breakfast, and we all told him that his countenance [ha]d a more healthy appearance, and if he was not better, we had no reason to conclude that he had lost ground. He conversed well and freely upon the riot in London the day before [Gordon riots], and upon different subjects, 'till the time for going out in the coach; at intervals however, expressing his expectations of dying very soon, repeating texts of Scripture, with short ejaculations to Heaven. He called for a shirt, telling Ryley his servant, that he must die clean. I usually walked down the stairs before him, but he got up suddenly from his chair, and walked out of the room, leaving the Doctor [Peter Oliver, his son-in-law] and I behind. We went into the room next the road; saw him whilst he was walking from the steps of the door to the coach, (a few yds. distance), hold out his hands to Ryley, and caught hold of him, to whom he said 'Help me!' and appeared to be fainting. I went down with the Doctor. The other servants had come to support him from falling, and had got him to the door of the house. They lifted him into a chair in the Servants' Hall or entrance into the house, but his head had fell, and his [end of

first page] his hands and f[eet?], his eyes diste[nded?] rolled up. The Doctor could feel no pulse: he applied volatiles to his nostrils, which seemed to have little or no effect: a be[d?] in the mean time was bro't, and put on the floor, on which he was laid, after which, with one or two gaspes, he resigned his Soul to God who gave it. I was unhappy in being so near. The scene was too affecting, and I could scarce support myself from falling. I pray God it may having [have] a proper influence on my future conduct in life, and with great sincerity can say, that the summit of all my wishes and prayers to Heaven, is contained in one short petition—May I die like him! My brother came in soon after. We then consulted how we should communicate to M^rs^ O. [the Governor's daughter Sarah, who died soon after] this distressing account, in her weak and low condition. It was determined to send for D^r^ Chandler, to whom the Doctor went, and returned with him, who made it known in the easiest and best manner possible, and then went to prayer with us. After dinner D^r^ Ch. went home. I went with Tommy to his house, where we opened the Gov.'s Will, of which there was . . [end of second page] . . last A--t--ed [?] . . . . . after directing that --s funeral charges should . . . . [blank] . . . gave his whole estate in the following manner . . [blank] . . I came back to the house to tea, and wrote to M^rs^ H., acquainting her with the melancholy event to us, but easy and happy departure of the Governor.

4th.

4th. [Twice repeated. This date shews that his father died on the third.] I went to bed, but my nerves were so affected, and my thoughts disturbed, that I could get no sleep, or next to none, the whole night. At eight o'clock I took what papers, money, and small matters of value were in the house, and went in the coach to Tommy's, where I left them, and went to Charter House Square to acquaint D^r^ Apthorpe, [then Vicar of Croydon, but whom they had before known in America,] with what had happened, the Governor having expressly desired him to reserve a place near my syster [Peggy, who died before her father,] in the church at Croydon. He promised everything should be in proper order on [Fr]iday next, the day which we have proposed [for] the funeral. I then went [to] M^r^ Lynn, Walb . . . [?] Street, and engaged him to provide and conduct the funeral: from thence to the Bull and Mouth Inn, in B. and M. Street, and paid for a place in the . . . . t coach for Birmingham, which sets out [end of the third page] from thence at 5 o'clock in [the] evening. I returned to my brother's, where M^r^ Ly[nn] came, and went with me to

Brompton Park [where he died]. M^rs O. has bore the shock [less] than we feared: slept well with an opiate, but seems to be bewildered, her mind weak, and takes less notice of what happens than she did. Her disorder seems to be increasing, and in all human probability, must soon put a period to her life. Thus we are perhaps one [of] the most distressed families upon earth. Whilst earthly comforts are swiftly failing, may we desire solid comfort from Heavenly fountains which never can fail us. After dinner called in the coach on Tommy, and from thence to the Green Man and Still in Oxford St., from whence about ½ past 5 o'clock, I set [out] in [the] Post Coach for Birmingham, in company [with] a M^r Taylor of Wolverhampton, and a M^r Campbell going to Ireland, and a young G[ent] in a Clergyman's grey [?] going to Oxford. [We] changed horses at . . . [blank] . . . and at Uxbridge, and got to Hywiecomb [High Wycombe] at ½ past nine, where the rest of the company went in."

And thus ends the fourth page. Words, or parts of words, that are worn out or lost, have been replaced within square brackets. The Croydon register shows that he was buried on the ninth. But it is time to hark back to the place at which we started, and resume the narrative under its proper date in the diary. It is the month of May, 1775, and the details of the battle of Lexington —very important, as being the first bloodshed of the war—not fully come to hand in England.

[26th.]—Dined with M^r P. Wentworth, Poland Street. S^r Jn^o Lindsay, K^t of the Bath, and Lady; S^r W^m Maine [?] and Lady; M^r Nesbitt, Member for Winchelsea, and Lady; another Nesbitt; S^r George Colebrooke, Lady, and daughter. Nesbitt talks like an Opposition man. S^r W^m Maine seems to be neither one thing [more] than another: he condemns the principles and practice of the Colonies, and he is considered as generally of the Court side, but is very free in giving disadvantageous characters to persons in Administration.

The Dean of Glocester called upon me: discovered his fondness for his singular scheme of giving up the Colonies: says the Swiss Cantons have no Colonies, but are a most flourishing state. Hartley, the great speaker in the House in favour of Americans, he says, is brought in and supported by S^r George Saville, and is not worth a Groat. S^r George told the Dean some years ago, that his estate brought in ten thous^d

pounds a year more than he could spend; but the Dean believes now, that he finds a use for the whole in supporting Opposition. The M. of Rockingham he says, has an immense estate, and yet is greatly in debt, and under embarrassment from the same cause. So is Lord Shelburne. Burke's qualification for Bristol was by some grant or conveyance from Lord Rockingham.

In the evening at M^r^ Jenkinson's. He is in great expectation of a favourable turn in America: laments the state of affairs in England: speaks of the Minister as not having the influence of S^r^ R. Walpole. And that he has no assurance of the success of any measure until it is tried: that a failure upon any question would have been fatal to S^r^ R. W. because he governed by party, (which is little other than bribery or corruption), but Lord N. may lose three or four questions in a Session, and not affect him. He says there are 150 Members, a sort of Flying Squadron, that you don't know where they will be in a new question. This may enfeeble the executive powers of Gov^t^ from the uncertainty of support from the legislative power; but it may be questioned whether this state is not to be preferred to the former.

27th.—I called upon M^r^ Blowers in Craven Street. I wrote to Lord Dartmouth at Blackheath, upon the case of my son.

Col. Gorham dined with us, and took leave, being bound to Boston. S. Oliver also.

28th.—At the Old Jewry: M^r^ White.

At Court. M^r^ Whitworth, a Member of Parliament, mentioned to me his project for discovering the passage from the country of the Lakes, into the Straits of Anian [?] or parts of the Pacific Ocean near to those Straights, [Straits]; and he is treating with Rogers, Carver [?] and others, to go upon the discovery. I cautioned him against giving the command to either of those persons, which, he says, he does not intend.

At the Magdalen Hospital Chapel in the evening, when Doctor Dodd preached. The body of the Chapel contained perhaps three or four hundred people, who looked mostly like middling tradesmen and their families, and perhaps 20 or 30 by tickets, and placed with the Governors. The preacher had

a good delivery, and preached a serious practical sermon, and made a very pathetick address to the Magdalens. The collection, which is every Sunday, I thought by the silver in the plates, must be from five to ten pounds.

In the evening at Doct. Heberden's, where was only the Dean of Salisbury, M^r^ Harris, Doctor Douglass, Mauduit, and D^r^ Heberden. I suppose the season is now over for this company.

29th.—Cap^n^ Darby came to town last evening. He is sent by the Prov. Congress in a vessel in ballast, to publish here their account of an action between the troops and the inhabit^ts^ on the 19^th^ of April. A vessel which sailed four days before with dispatches from Gage, is not arrived. The Opposition here rejoice that the Americans fight, after it had been generally said they would not. The conduct of the Boston leaders is much the same as it was after the inhabit^s^ were killed the 5 March 1770. They hurry away a vessel that their partial accounts may make the first impression. I think Gage's will be different. The inhabitants, after this Action, collected together, and have formed an army at Cambridge, under Ward, their General: stop'd all communication between country and town, and Gage suffers none of the town to go out. I am greatly anxious for my family and friends.

I carried the news to Lord Dartmouth, who was much struck with it.

The first accounts were very unfavourable, it not being known that they all came from one side. The alarm abated before night, and we wait with a greater degree of calmness for the accounts from the other side.

General Harvey called to inquire: Lord Gage: S^r^ Sampson Gideon, &c. This vessel brings advice of Quincy's death the night after he landed. Hancock, the Adamses, Cushing, and Paine, set out for Philad. the day after the Action. Darby sailed from Salem the 29^th^ of April. Callahan arrived at Salem the 19, in 29 or 30 days' passage.

The first intimation of the battle, as published by Capt. Darby, was looked upon with suspicion by the Ministry, and probably

exaggerated, as coming from the Congress. The Diary of Elisha, in London, has the following entry:—

"May 29, 1775.—Cap. Darby arrived in town from Salem, which place he left the 29th of April, and brings advice of an Action between the King's troops and the inhabitants of Lexington, on the 19th of the same month."

The Governor, in writing to his son Thomas, speaks thus:—

"London, St. James's Street, 31 May, 1775.

"My Dear Son,—

"Cap. Darby, in ballast, arrived at Southampton from Marblehead the 27, and came to London the next evening. I am greatly distressed for you. Darby's own accounts confirm many material parts of the narrative from the Congress, and they that know him say he deserves credit, and that he has a good character: but I think those people would not have been at the expense of a vessel from Marblehead or Salem to England for the sake of telling the truth. I am sometimes inclined to wish myself with you, rather than to be at this distance in a state of uncertainty concerning you. Government waits impatiently for the arrival of Brown, who is said to have the despatches from the General [Gage]. I have secret hopes that they will be more auspicious. I pray God to keep you all in safety, and am your Affectionate Father."

On the same day, to General Gage, he writes:—

"St. James's Street, 31 May, 1775.

"Dear Sir,—

"The arrival of Cap. Darby from Salem on the 28th with dispatches from the Congress at Watertown, immediately published in the papers, has caused a general anxiety in the minds of all who wish the happiness of Britain and her Colonies. I have known the former interesting events have been partially represented; I therefore believe with discretion the representation now received. It is unfortunate to have the first impression made from that quarter. I am informed that this manœuvre was conducted so privately that the ship's crew did not know they vere bound to England until they were on the Newfoundland Banks. It is said your dispatches are on board Cap. Brown, who sailed some days before Darby. I hope they are at hand, and will afford us some relief. Three or four store ships have left London, but Grant, Dalrymple, L[d] Drummond, and other passengers, do not set out

until they hear the ships are at Portsmouth, where they touch to take them in. Ministry is profoundly silent, and will be till they hear from you.—I am," &c.

At this time the Chief Justice, Peter Oliver, was shut up in Boston, and he makes the following remarks on the then state of affairs, in an original letter in the first volume of the blue leather back series, directing his remarks to Elisha's wife, who was at her father's house at Plymouth, Mass. As thus :—

"Boston, May 26, 1775.

"My Dear Polly,—

"The only satisfaction that absent friends can receive from each other is by intercourse in an epistolary way : this intercourse hath been interrupted by the Sons of Anarchy, and is like to be a short time to come, but I have great reason to think, not much longer, for yesterday arrived three approved Generals—Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, who are to be followed (and who are expected in a few days) by 5 or 6000 troops from Ireland, with a Regiment of Horse ; so that we shall have here 13 or 14000 well-disciplined troops, when the campaign will be opened by 5 as fine General officers as perhaps are in the King's service. They expected in England that we were in a much better situation than we are, or more would have been sent : but I can assure you from the best and undoubted authority, that the English nation were never more united than they are now against the Americans ; and that force of ships, men, and mony [*sic*] are now devoted to support the dignity of Great Britain : and I have good reason to think that when the news of the late Battle arrives, which I suppose is now arrived in England, that we shall have this summer 20 or 30 thousand over, and somebody must pay for them. What miseries must attend a conquest or no conquest ! They plunder the properties of all the friends of Government, and the public must pay for them. They boast of their numbers, but their numbers grow tired : they say their leaders have deceived them, and they are uneasy. A person who hath been active for years past in the defection, sent to me to-day to intercede for him, and is almost distracted ; another of the like stamp sent to me to get his house excepted from the ravages of the troops when they go out, but he is fled himself out of the Province.

"I feel the miseries which impend over my country : may Heaven avert them by the people's being convinced of the horrid crime of Rebellion, before it is too late. The God of Order may punish a community for a time with their own disorders : but it is

incompatible with the rectitude of the Divine Nature, to suffer anarchy to prevail. Observe, my dear, the course of Providence: the first, and grand incendiary, is now marked out as a madman: Molineaux is supposad to have died an unnatural death: M^r^ Bowdoin is not far from dying: Pitts is not likely to continue long: Denny, it is said, is ill with a mortification in his leg: Hancock is tho't to be ruined in his large fortune: Lee, of Marblehead, is dead; and after the Battle, was frighted, and continued so 'till he died: I am informed that Hawley has guards about him to prevent his injuring himself.

"All this is striking. I am not fond of dispensing judgments, but such instances cannot pass unnoticed.

"General Thomas, of Kingston, wrote to a gentleman in town, that your father voluntarily offered and advanced mony to support their cause. I am sorry for it.

"M^rs^ Copely [so spelt. She was daughter of R. Clarke, Esq., and mother of Lord Lyndhurst] and 3 of her children, left us 2 days since, to embark for London. Miss Lucy sends her love, and wishes you in Boston. I expect your husband soon. I send a letter from him to you, which I have had some time. [Probably dated Ap. 9 or 13, both quoted. See back, Ap. 12, Note.]

"My dear, I wish much to see you and my family, but I wait Heaven's time: if you can let me hear from you and them, I must ask you to do it, but you can't write by land: you can send a verbal message of your health.—My love to all. To Heaven I commend you, Yours Affectionately,

"Peter Oliver.

"M^rs^ Hutchinson."

Polly seems to have been a general favourite in the family. The next is worth reading, as being very energetic and pronounced in style, and it is from Dr. Peter Oliver, the Chief Justice's son, to his brother-in-law Elisha. It describes the state of Boston and his perturbed feelings in lively colours.

"Boston, June 1^st^ 1775.

"Dear Brother,—

"We learn by the *Cerberus* Man-of-War, which arrived last Thursday the 25^th^ of May, that you have done with the thoughts of coming to Boston at present, which rejoices your friends.

"I received yours dated at Bath, and am mnch obliged to you.

"Our situation here, without any exaggeration, is beyond description almost; it is such as eye has not seen nor ear heard,

nor hath it ever entered into the heart of man to conceive Boston ever to arrive at.

"We are besieged this moment with 10 or 15000 men, from Roxbury to Cambridge; their rebell sentrys within call of the troops' sentrys on the Neck. We are every hour expecting an attack by land or water. All marketing from the country stopt ever since the Battle. Fire and slaughter hourly threatened, and not out of danger from some of the inhabitants within, of setting the town of [on] fire. All the interest the Judge and I ound [owned] in Middleborough exposed to the ravage of a set of robbers, M^r^ Conant at the head of them. [The house was burnt.] Poor Jenny and Phœbe, and children, we can't hear of, or get any word to, whether they are all living or not, or whether the works and buildings are left standing is rather a doubt with me, for we have heard since the Battle, that a number set out to destroy and burn our interest, but that the Selectmen interposed and saved them.

"You seem in England to be entirely ignorant of the temper of our people. They are as much determined from Florida to Hallifax to oppose you at home, do what you will, as I hear the Ministry are determined to pursue their plan. I am in no doubt but you will be able to conquer America at last, but a horrid bloody scene will be opened here, as never was in New England before. What comfort or satisfaction do you think we take now, or can take, when the dreadful scene opens?

"Your wife is in Plymouth, yet we can't get any intelligence of her, good or bad.

"It is said by the rebels at Roxbury that Col. Watson has given his quota to support the people.

"Good God! Do thou avert the impending calamity that threatens this former happy land, and turn the hearts of those deluded wretches from the power of sin and Satan to thy unerring precepts, and then, and then only, shall we be once more a happy people favour'd of Heaven.

"By the time this reaches you havvock will begin, and whether we shall ever see one another in this world, I am not clear in, but hope we shall meet in another quite different from this, free from storms, from Battles, from fire and famine, from *Rebellion*, the worst of *crimes*, where all serenity, peace, and concord prevails, where parents and children will be of one mind and one heart.

"I should have wrote you by Callahan, but suppos'd you on your passage.

"Remember me to all my New England friends, Bliss and

Blowers in particular. Rufus Chandler speaks of you in a very friendly manner.

"7th Instant.

"Yesterday Major Dunbar, who has been prisoner at Cambridge, and other officers, with 6 Marines, who all were prisoners, were exchanged at Charlstown. Major Dunbar was Town Major at Quebeck, and was sent by Governor Carlton express to General Gage soon after the Battle; not knowing of any difficulty happening, was by land seiz'd by the country people [at the] back of Cambridge and remained with them ever since.

"We daily expect the Irish fleet, and all are impatient for a battle.

"James Bowdoin, Esq., is very ill in health, and has desir'd leave of the Judge to live in his house, and improve his land till he shall want it himself. *What consummate impudence!* It is more than I would consent to, but the Judge will consent to it.

"10th Instant.—Yesterday I heard from Plymouth: all well at present: can't send your letters.

"The rebells, I hear, have put out our Farm, to take the profits themselves: they have serv'd every friend to government in that way.

"*O tempora! O mores!* Y^rs as usual,

"PETER OLIVER, Jun^r."

30th.—I called this morning upon M^r Cornwall, Jenkinson, Lord Suffolk, Lord Loudoun, Lord Geo. Germaine, Lady Gage; found them all at home: and upon Lord Hillsborough, who was in the country; and upon M^r Keene.

The alarm of yesterday much abated. Great expectation of Gage's account.

Drank tea at the Bishop of London's Palace at Fulham, my sons and daughter: no other company besides the Bishop and his lady.

31st.—A report in the morning that Gage's dispatches were arrived—but ill founded. Lord D. desired to see me, but had nothing particular. He read me a card from L^d N., which says the beginning of action in America was rather inauspicious; but hopes the account in the Mass^s Gazette was exaggerated. There appeared a degree of that apathy which I think Lord N. has a great deal of. He gave but little encouragement of my succeeding for my son.

Lord Drummond, who I saw at Lord D.'s, and afterwards told me Robertson of New York was of opinion the N. Yorkers would not take arms, unless it was in support of Government. At Lord D.'s office. Pownall has a scheme of putting Connecticut and Rhode Island into Gage's commission. Extending that authority would not add to the power.

I called upon General Harvey, where I found Grant and Dalrymple. Harvey swore, and reproached them — chiefly Dalrymple, because he wanted more forces—with this expression, "How often have I heard you American Colonels boast that with four batallions you would march through America; and now you think Gage with 3000 men and 40 pieces of cannon, mayn't venture out of Boston!" He was much heated in talking of the last advices from Boston. Grant asked if the Americans were not in rebellion, and whether notice ought not to be taken of a man sent over in a vessel on purpose to bring and publish papers giving an account of, and vindicating their rebellious doings?

We walked an hour before dinner in Kensington Gardens.

We have now arrived at a crisis. The first blow of a long and a desolating war has been struck. Thomas, with his wife Sarah Oliver, and their children, were likewise in "The City of Refuge," and he also wrote to Elisha, on the same day as the preceding. His letter is of a graver character in tone, but not much brighter in prospect:—

"Boston, June 1, 1775.

"Dear Brother,—

"I am glad, for your sake, you had determined not to come out this spring. You can have no idea of the state we have been in ever since the 19th of April. The fears and apprehensions of what might be the consequence of that skirmish, before the arrival of the Irish fleet, has occasioned people to fly to all quarters for safety. Everything that has hapned has afforded matter of triumph to the people, and I believe them to be ripe for any undertaking: they appear to be desperate and determined throughout the continent. I should have come to England myself, but for the difficulty of removing such a family as I now have. What the arrival of the troops may effect is uncertain; but I am far from thinking they will be able to settle matters: if we are protected by

them, it will be well. I would not have you think I am more uneasie or distressed than others. I am not; for I know that Providence, that has protected us in our lesser dangers, can as easily do it in greater, if it be best. I really think your wife and child as well off, or perhaps better, than if they were in town. 'Tis reported they intend the destruction of it by some means or other. I hope this will not be in their power, if attempted, tho' they are numerous enough; and have already destroyed the buildings on Noddles and other Islands in view of the King's Flagg. I hear Milton House is a Barracks for passing troops.—I am, Your Affectionate Brother,

"Tho. Hutchinson, Jr.

"Mr Lyde and wife have taken passage for Halifax.

"June 16th.—Judge Oliver read me a letter he recd from your wife a few days agoe, when she was well."

The above are original letters, bound up in Vol. I. of the blue leather-back Letter Books. The inside of Boston was already in a deplorable state, at this, the commencement of an eleven months' siege. No doubt Dr Oliver was right in saying, "You seem in England to be entirely ignorant of the temper of our people." The apathy of Lord North, and his inaptitude for business, seems generally to have been acquiesced in among his colleagues in England; yet Horace Walpole, vol. v., p. 225, writing of him Feb. 2, 1772, said—"Lord North has very good parts, quickness, great knowledge, and what is much wanted, activity." The English nation made the too common mistake of despising their enemy: they did not believe in their power to make resistance: and even those who were writing from the seat of war, whilst they saw that fighting was inevitable, felt certain that the Americans must soon be beaten and put down by the royal troops. The Mother Country was almost unanimous in its determination to prosecute the war with vigour. This has been clearly revealed by the Representatives of the people in Parliament, where large majorities have carried every measure in that direction. Walpole writes [vi. 208], May 7, 1775—"I have not only done with politics, but politics have done with themselves. They depend on Opposition as a private dispute does—and there is scarce any such thing —I mean in these islands." The five generals, of whom Judge Oliver spoke so confidently, did not all of them satisfy their country. We learn that the Governor's house at Milton had been taken possession of, and converted into barracks for the soldiers.

It was at this time that his private papers and letters were taken, of which Bancroft afterwards made such very great use. James Bowdoin had better have had Judge Oliver's house, as that might have protected it from being burnt, a fate to which it soon arrived.

People in England looked upon the Americans as being as blind and as mad as Samson, who were bent on pulling the edifice down upon their own heads to perish in the ruins. Amongst two or three Latin quotations jotted down by the Governor at the end of the third volume of his Diary, there is one that conveys this idea; and perhaps he was inclined to apply it to the proceedings of the Americans at that time :—"Ex trabibus decidentium templorum, infelicia confirmarent patibula, ex quibus ipsi templorum fabri, cultoresque, penderent."—Strada, v., i., p. 278.

In common parlance in the present day they say—"Give them rope enough, and they will hang themselves."

June 1st.—A new report that the despatches were arrived. Called upon Gen. Harvey: Pownall; met Lord Dartmouth, who had received no intelligence: upon Lord North, who was gone to the Board.

2nd.—At Lord North's, where saw Lord Portmore, Loudoun, and Digby. Mentioned to the latter Judge Lynde being of his family. He remembered, he said, to have received a letter from him, and his Pedigree. Lord North thought I need not trouble myself about my son's affair, as Lord D. had mentioned the case fully to him, and he had it under consideration. I wrote afterwards to Lord Dartmouth, who renewed his promise of doing all in his power.

M^r^ Jenkinson called upon me.

Called upon M^rs^ Grant; but being in her chamber, not very well, sent in to wish her a good voyage.

Dined with M^r^ Jackson, in company with M^r^ Skinner, King's Counsel, M^r^ Woodcock, E. and P. [Elisha and Peggy].

Great variety of opinions upon the news by Darby. The General's dispatches not yet arrived.

In the evening at Ranelagh, with E. and P., and Mauduit.

3rd.—Went into the city to M^r^ Lane's Counting House. Found that Cap^t^ Darby had not been seen since the first instant, that he had a Letter of Credit from Lane on some

House in Spain. Afterwards I saw M^r^ Pownall at Lord D.'s office, where I carried Col. Pickman, and Pownall was of opinion Darby was gone to Spain to purchase ammunition, arms, &c.

We are still in a state of uncertainty concerning the action in Massachusetts. Vessels are arrived at Bristol which met with other vessels on their passage, and received as news, that there had been a battle, but could tell no particulars.

An airing to Fulham, Col. Pickman with us: and afterwards dined w^th^ Gorham, Bliss, and S. Oliver.

4th.—At the Temple Church. Doctor, the Assist^t^ to D^r^ Thurlow, preached, being Whitsunday, from—"And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost" [Acts. ii. 4]. After the Communion I asked a gentleman in the pew the reason why a book was carried about to be signed by such as had received the Sacrament? He informed me that all of the Societies gave bond to receive the Sacrament, and this was a way to evidence that they had done it.

M^r^ Keene called, and seems much affected with the American news. He gave a hint about the Hessian and Hanoverian troops, but seemed to suppose them to serve as a suppletory for troops to go from home, rather than to be sent to America themselves.

Wind still easterly, and no intelligence.

It is said that Darby left his lodgings the 1^st^ instant, and is supposed to have sailed. M^r^ Pownall sent to Southampton to inquire, and the Collector knew of no such vessel there. It is supposed he left in some small harbour or inlet, and came in his boat to Southampton. Many people began to complain of the publication, and wondered he had not been taken up and examined. He took a Letter of Credit, Col. Pickman intimated, for Spain. He has said to some, that he had a vessel gone or going to Spain with a cargo of fish: to others, that he was going for a load of mules.*

* Frothingham, 85, speaks of him as Captain Derby, and the Hon. Richard Derby, of Salem. He also gives a copy of the Commission on which he acted. The Americans on many occasions betrayed great anxiety, both before and after the war, to circulate their own story of their own doings in their own way, in England. Those who hurry to justify themselves generally throw

5th.—Monday in Whitsun week, observed here pretty generally as a holiday; tradesmen—as bricklayers, carpenters, &c. —abstaining from work, and the Public Offices shut.

Mons[r] Garnier called upon me to-day, and afterwards S[r] Jeffery Amherst, with his Aide-du-Camp, Cap[n] Davis.

In our airing to-day we went so far towards Harrow, as to have a good view of the steeple, and the town upon the hill. The E. wind still continues, and our anxiety with it. I hear *Junius Americanus* (Lee), who received the dispatches from the Congress, says we shall soon see Gen[l] Gage in England.

6th.—I called upon M[r] Fraser, but could get no further intelligence, he assuring me he had no letter by Darby. M[r] Blackburne tells me betts of 100 guineas are offered in the Coffee House, that I have letters, and conceal them. The wind still at east.

An airing towards Blackheath: the roads full of holiday people: Whit Tuesday.

7th.—At Lord Dartmouth's, and had half an hour's conversation upon America. No Levée, but he leaves general orders to admit me. He promised to see L[d] North to-day in behalf of my son. Called upon M[r] Jenkinson: find him anxious to have the American news made certain. A report to-day that a Cap[n] Campbell was arrived from Rhode Island at Liverpool, and came to town: that he left Newport the 20[th]: had heard of the skirmish: that 50 of the troops were killed, &c.: but all is still uncertain.

8th.—In the city at Lane and Frazer's. Wind changes to-day, and if it continues, we may soon hear of vessels from America. Called upon Dalrymple. Lord Gage called, who professes to believe nothing that is unfavourable, but appears very anxious notwithstanding.

Dined at Mauduit's with M[r] Jenkinson, M[r] Pownall, D[r] Huck, M[r] Astill [?] and M[r] Blackburne.

Campbell, who came from Newport to Liverpool, had been

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themselves open to suspicion. Even some of the modern popular histories, circulated in England, where the dispute is alluded to, show by the tenor of the arguments that the same American influence has been at work. Hence they have not escaped the French proverb—*Qui s'excuse s'accuse.*

examined by M^r^ Pownall. He sailed the 21^st^ in the morning: heard the day before of an engagement between the troops and the inhabitants at Lexington, but knew no particulars. Frank Dana, a passenger in the same vessel, Campbell says, was ashore the morning they sailed, but had heard nothing further. The inhabitants of Newport were marching out to the assistance of Massachusetts.

9th.—The wind has returned to the east, but we hope a vessel may have got in to some out port.

10th.—A Lieutenant in the navy arrived about noon at L^d^ Dartmouth's office. M^r^ Pownall gave me notice, knowing my anxiety: but though relieved from suspense, yet received but little comfort, from the accounts themselves being much the same with what Darby brought. The material difference is the declaration by Smith, who was the Commander of the first party, tho' not present at the first action,—that the inhabitants fired first: and tho' by the returns, only 63 were killed outright, yet 157 were wounded, and 24 missing; which, upon the whole, is a greater number than Darby reported, but not so many killed.* I assured many gentlemen who would give no credit to Darby's account, that it would prove near the truth; and now they are more struck than if they had not been so sanguine before. Lord Gower, M^r^ Eden, M^r^ Jenkinson, and M^r^ Bromhall came in to the office. The Ministers in general are in the country. M^r^ Nat Taylor, M^r^ Head, and M^r^ Payne, (who went from hence the 19^th^ of March in Callahan, and never went into Boston, but came away again in Brown, ready to sail), are passengers. The prospect is dark and discouraging. An advertisement in the Publick Advert. of yesterday, mentions a collection of £100, by some of the Constit. Society, "for the widows, orphans, &c., of the brave Americans inhumanly murdered by the K's troops at Lexington, April 19^th^ 1775, because they preferred death to slavery,"

* Adolphus, ii. 228, says the force that went to Lexington was about 1800 men; 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 27 missing. That the Americans had 50 killed, and 38 wounded. Stedman, i. 119, says that the English had 65 killed, 136 wounded, and 49 missing; and that the Americans lost 60, of whom two-thirds were killed. Frothingham, p. 82, slightly varies these numbers.

was taken notice of by L^d^ Gower, &c., and it seemed to be their determination to order a prosecution. When there was talk of a Warrant, it was said it had better go from some other authority, and not L^d^ D., because of the exception which had been taken to a third Secretary of State.

Blowers and S. O. [Sylvester Oliver] dined with us. M^r^ Keene called in the evening: is as much affected with this news as any person. He has much depending on the continuance of the present Ministry.

11th.—At the Old Jewry. Peggy went and dined with M^rs^ Knox at Chelsea. M^r^ Jenyns called, and afterwards Sir Gilbert Eliot, and then Lord Townshend with M^r^ Bevor. Sir Gilbert gave me the first news of the arrival of the N. York packet, with news of the people having taken the powers of government upon them, and the L^t^ Governor and Council having left the city, and all without any violence, but on the contrary, an Association formed, acknowledging submission to their Provincial Congress first, and then to the Continental Congress. Col. Mansell came in the Packet. He says Gage had disarmed the inhabitants of Boston. About six in the afternoon M^r^ Taylor came in with my letters. M^r^ Nath. Taylor was reported to be on board, but is not. M^r^ Head, Knight, and Payne were in the coach with Taylor. M^r^ Jenkinson calling about the same time, I communicated my last letter from the Chief Justice, and M^r^ Sewall, and then sent them to Lord Dartmouth at Blackheath.*

12th.—At Lord D.'s office, or rather Board of Trade's Chamber. Saw the Advice of the Council of N. York to the L^t^ Gov. to write to Gage, that if he continued his military operations, it would render vain any expectation of success to the conciliating plan which was received the day after they had the news of the skirmish at Lexington. M^r^ Pownall tho't some extraordinary measures should be taken. Lord Dartmouth was for putting the most favor^ble^ construction upon it. I mentioned a Proclamation, with a general pardon to all who

* Allowing from a month to six weeks for their transmission from Boston to England, these letters were dated at the latter end of April, or the beginning of May; but no such letters are in the collection.

should return to their allegiance. Lord D. said he was for having it done long ago, but thought there should be some exceptions. Lord North has not been in town since the news. P. said he had sum̄oned a Cabinet Council this evening. Lord D. said he was sorry for it: had rather delay it till he saw Lord N.: and M^r^ Pollock was sent for, and directed to recall the Messengers. None of the Ministry are in town, except Lord President, and Lord D., the latter came from Blackheath, intending to return before dinner.

Caldwell called: and Pickman. An airing to Highgate.

Two days ago, but in America instead of England, the Chief Justice, from the now beleaguered city, sent the following to Elisha. The eminent lawyer was still justly and reasonably suffering in mind from the cruel wrongs that had been heaped upon him: chief among which were his impeachment, accompanied by a long course of persecution, because he received his salary from the King, and was consequently not under the thumbs of his persecutors; and lastly, he had been driven from his house and home, which was threatened with fire and destruction, and had taken refuge within the fortifications of Boston. The bitterness which he here and there displays, however, is generally accompanied by a great deal of wit. It is the original letter, bound up in the blue leather backs, and runs thus:—

"Boston, June 10, 1775.

"Dear Sir,

"I have received yours of 10^th^ and 13^th^ April, and shall pursue your directions about the inclosed; but fear shall not be able to forward to Polly soon. All the avenues of the country are guarded, and all letters are opened. I had not heard from my family for above 2 months till yesterday, when I received a kind letter from Polly, in a private manner by water. She informs me that she had been at Middlebro', and coz^n^ Jenny was lately to see her, and that all were well. She asks my advice about coming to Boston, expecting your arrival here, but I should have been at a loss how to have given it; for in the first place, the rebels will not give Passes to the friends of government, but upon the greatest emergencies, and hardly then; and when General Artemus Ward, General John Thomas, or Major Thomas Chase, have issued them, perhaps the next Guard will damn the Generals and Major, and send them back. Further—we are daily threatened here with an attack by fire-rafts, whale boats, and what-not; and should I

advise a friend to come to Boston, and they should be knocked on the head by a ball or tomahawk, they would blame me for it afterwards. Further more—should a friend get to town, and be starved here, they would be sorry that they had left their plenty at home.

"You who riot in pleasure in London, know nothing of the distress in Boston: you can regale upon delicacies, whilst we are in the rotations of salt beef and salt pork one day, and the next, chewing upon salt pork and salt beef. The very rats are grown so familiar that they ask you to eat them, for they say that they have ate up the sills already, and they must now go upon the clapboards. Indeed, now [and] then a hog swims across the water, and thinks it more honorable to be cut up in town, and ate at a shilling L. M. here per pound, than wasted out of town at 4 pence p^{r} pound. Butter is sold at Charlestown at 5^{d} when it would fetch 1/. here. Major Vose of Milton, they say, hath drove off all the sheep from the Islands. Two or three officers were fishing to-day between Barton's Point and Cambridge side: the rebels fired upon them: they jumped over and swam to the Glasgow Man-of-War, which lies off the Point: shot were exchanged for an hour: the Glasgow's side, they say, looks like an hony comb with musket balls: nobody killed. It is said that the Navy Orders are generally, not to return the fire till you are killed, or at least wounded.

"The Army at Cambridge damn the Congress Orders, and the Congress are afraid of the Army, and Putnam will manage them all. Cromwell, with his long faced enthusiasts could manage a House of Commons. I think there will and must be bloodshed, and that matters will not be settled without it. G. Britain hath no idea of our situation. I sent the Gov^{r} the Connecticut Letter to Gen. Gage: and while the Ambassadors were here on conciliatory measures, Connecticut sent off a party to take Ticonderoga. Such is the baseness of the general conduct: and they kept D^{r} Johnson at Cambridge 3 days, before they would liberate him.

"M^{r} Hamilton, of the 64th Regiment, was taken prisoner 6 or 7 weeks ago, going to the Castle, and was liberated this week; as was also Major Dunbar, who came on a visit from Quebec, and has been a prisoner 4 or 5 weeks. I will not add, it doth not signify: I cannot convey to you an idea of the public distress. May the God of Armies send us better times! Y^{rs} Affectionately,

"Peter Oliver.

"Elisha Hutchinson, Esq."

13th.—Spent most of the forenoon at the Treasury, to introduce M^r^ Bliss to Lord North, to shew him a letter Bliss received from M^r^ Putnam, from Boston, dated the 23^rd^ April. Putnam seems to blame the long inactivity of the troops, and gives a fuller account of the action than any other letter: seems to expect an attack. Lord North had heard I had letters, and wished to see them. I excused myself not having sent them, from my having delivered them to Lord D., who, I concluded, had shewn them, but he had not. Bliss and Payne dined: M^r^ Gibbon with Mauduit in the evening.

14th.—I saw Lord Dartmouth at his office: seems much distressed about the affairs of America: hinted at the puzzle the Opposition would be in, if Administration should leave the reins to them. I thought they would not dare to take them. I know many who were not the personal friends of the present Ministry, had declared strongly against a change.

15th.—At M^r^ Keene's, where found the Bishop of Dromore at breakfast.

At Court. The King said more than usual upon the climate of America in the different Colonies: the Queen, upon the same subject, it being a hot day. Saw the Earl of Guilford [Lord North's father] for the first time. D. of Queensb., Lord Suffolk, Hillsborough, Edgecombe,—all inquisitive about news.

Dined with M^r^ Jenkinson; Cap^n^ Mansell, and M^r^ Vardell made the company.

16th.—Went into the city to St. Paul's Ch. yard, [to] M^r^ Berry's lodgings to see a letter he has rec^d^ from Boston by the Packet, which mentions the Boston people having delivered up 4,000 arms, on condition they and their families should have leave to depart the town, for which they were allowed 14 days. The same letter says the Vassall families were gone to Halifax: that Callahan had 80 passengers: that Coffin was also coming with passengers—M^r^ J. Green and lady among others: that Mumford, the Rhode Island Post, who came in that day, came thro' 15,000 people round the town: that the women and children were in the utmost distress, expecting the lines to be stormed.

Col. Cunningham called: shewed a letter from Lord Geo. Germaine, condemning the measures of Opposition, in making this ill success a ground for changing the Ministry: perhaps Lord D., he said, in a fright, may go out, but that could not be called a change of Administration.

Dined with Dr Huck: company were Lord Loudoun, Gen. Monkton, Lord Drummond, Col. Reed, and Mauduit.

After dinner walked in St. James's Park with Mauduit: met Mr Jenkinson, who joined us. Wilkes passed: which caused Jenkinson to observe, we shall all be in the Newspapers to-morrow. The Council met last night, and the night before, but nothing has transpired. Mr Jenkinson said additional forces would be sent: but whether he spoke his sentiments of what ought to be done, or his knowledge of what was determined, I cannot say.

The last fortnight or three weeks there has been but a few hours rain: in the whole, the weather as warm as we generally have it in America at this season. Sometimes we are much cooler there.

Lord and Lady Camden were at Court yesterday, to present their new married daughter. I said to Mr Jenkinson, I was surprised to see a man shewing public marks of respect to the King, who at the same time was distressing him by depriving him of a third part of his subjects. He said Ld Camden was at Portsmouth when the King was there, as also the D. of Richmond. The King took very little notice of the Duke: but for Lord Camden, the K. whispered to Jenkinson—"He is not one I should have invited." It seems there was a general invitation to all Peers who should be in town, to dine with the K. on board the *Barfleur*.

17th.—Called on Col. Mansell, and Mr Vardell, in Margaret Street, Cav. Square, before breakfast: afterwards upon Lord Townshend, who is very anxious about Boston, and very inquisitive about the environs, having the best plan I have seen. Afterwards upon Ld Hillsboro', who was more polite than ever. He told me Ld Suffolk, Ld Rochfort, Gower, Sanwich, and the Chancellor, with Lord North, were all of one mind for a vigorous part: that Ld Dartmouth was alone: perhaps he only

meant, not equally engaged. He said further, that 6 Regim^{ts} more were ordered, which is the first I heard of it. I wrote to Lord Hardwicke at Wimple, how affairs stood.

18th.—At S^{t} George's, Hanover Square, which is my Parish Church, but so remote that I never knew it until the Rector sent for my Easter Offering, which I made of half a guinea only, finding in the list, men of much greater estates not to exceed it.

Col. Dalrymple, and M^{r} Keene called.

19th.—Walked after breakfast into the city to M^{r} Blackburn's in Bush Lane, Cannon Street. He has been sanguine that the majority at New York would be in favour of Government, but now he says they will conform to the Congress at Philadelphia.

M^{r} Gibbon called. He says many who were strong for the measures of Parliament, are much discouraged by the news from America, they having been made to believe there would be no action. I think in general, he will be in Opposition: dropped something like L^{d} Chatham's being a necessary man in such difficult cases.

At L^{d} Dartmouth's office. M^{r} P. mentioned a letter his L^{d}ship had received from Bristol, w^{ch} says there was a report of a second action, in which the Americans had lost 2500 men, but his L^{d}ship gave no credit to it. Pownall said the King's servants were all determined to go into vigorous measures, but I did not inquire what they would be. Returning home, met Lord Townshend who, taking me under the arm, led me a turn in the Park, but observed that he should be in the Newspapers for it.

Though the news of the affair at Lexington was made light of at first, it seems that subsequent accounts, and the despatches of General Gage, had pretty generally upheld the accuracy of them. There being no doubt, therefore, that something of a very grave nature had occurred, Mr. Hutchinson began to take the matter very seriously to heart. On the above day, the 19th of June, he wrote the following letter to his son Thomas. It is the original letter, in the same book as Judge Oliver's, just quoted.

"St. James's Street, 19th June, 1775.

"My Dear Son—

"I have had less spirits for a fortnight or three weeks past, than at any time since I left you. Though suspense is said to be sometimes worse than despair, yet I have so much at stake in the present case, that I am afraid to part with suspense; and whilst everybody else is wishing for further news every day, I wish to prolong the time, and to hear no news until we may reasonably hope to hear the forces from Ireland are arrived, and that you are in greater safety. Even after that I could wish to hear your Besiegers are separated without further loss of lives.

"I have three or four letters by Brown, after the 19th of April, but no mention of your family, or your uncle in particular.

"It is the general talk that the Ministry have determined to send additional land and sea force to America. I am told the papers make very free with my name of late, as being in the secret; but I am not, nor do I know who is, only, as I know who are the Cabinet Council, and I know nothing of their intentions but by common fame. These articles are suspected to come from a Philadelphia man, who was at Boston when the Tea was destroyed, and as much a Son of Liberty as he is, I have seen at Ld D.'s Levée, and I suppose must be seeking some favour or other. As they can have no effect here, they must be designed to raise the resentment of America.

"You must excuse me to all friends, partly because I know nothing of what is determined, but principally because my mind is such in a state [is in such a state] that I know not how to apply myself to anything. Your Affectionate Father

"Tho. Hutchinson."

20th.—The report of yesterday from Bristol appears to be an old story of a week's standing. I applied to Mr Jackson to-day for a MS. I sent him in the year 1765 intending it should be then published; the purport of it being, to shew the inexpediency of the Stamp Act: but he let Mr Conway have it, and I fear it is lost. I hear nothing to-day of the measures of Govt. At the Board of Trade there was a hearing upon the controversy between Pensilvania and Connecticut.

And yet one of the charges brought against Mr. Hutchinson was his alleged advocacy in favour of promoting that Act. In party contention, where is truth to be found? When the quarrel runs high, men loudly assert, not what they know to be true, but

what they think will most hurt the object of their attack. The struggle had gone on: Lord North had been seen to waver in his resolves; the Ministers had gone too far to recede with honour: and the first blow had been struck—aye, and the second too, though it was not yet known in England. "I hear one and another of the K.'s Ministers say there is no receding. And yet, to think of going on, makes me shudder." Thus he wrote on the 3rd of June: nevertheless, the course of events had proceeded: the news of the first battle had reached the Mother Country: but the astonishment which had taken possession of the minds of most men, was soon succeeded by a determination to support the Ministry in all their plans.

21st.—Called upon M^r^ Watts and Col. Morrice, at their lodgings in Jermayne [Jermyn] Street. M^r^ Watts declared himself very fully, that the people would not submit to Parliamentary taxation; and he thought they ought not, unless they had Representation in Parliament. I said it would open a large field, if we should enter into any conversation upon that subject. A gentleman present, M^r^ Izard, who appeared to be very high in his principles, declared he hoped the people in arms about Boston would storm it and overcome the troops. He said they would never send any more from home, and the affair would be settled. It was asked—How? He answered—By complying with the proposals of the Congress, which were—To submit to a regulation of their commerce, which was all, he thought, that ought to be required of them. I did not then know that this was the man who carried the challenge from Temple to Whately; and if I had not discovered something *outré* in him, I should probably have made some reply. I am very glad I did not.

Called upon M^r^ Jenkinson, where I found M^r^ Cornwall and M^r^ Eden,* who all were in spirits; and the two former said there was nothing formidable in this American news: but in crossing the Park I met General Harvey, who was very serious,

* "The brother of William Eden had been the last Colonial Governor of Maryland. William Eden himself was a man of rising ability on the Government side in after years, under M^r^ Pitt, Ambassador in succession to several foreign Courts, and at last a Peer, with the title of Lord Aukland."—Lord Mahon's Hist., vi. 223.

and said it had brought them to a dilemma, which he did not explain. He said the Cabinet was to meet to-night: for though they had agreed that there must be a reinforcement, yet there was no plan formed.

22nd.—The celebration of the King's Birthday was put off until to-day, when the Court was out of mourning, except the King, who had on his purple cloaths.

Dined at Lord Dartmouth's. The company were—Lord Huntingdon, Edgecombe, Howe, Montagu, Gage, Guernsey, Dudley, M^r^ Finch his brother, S^r^ J. Amherst, S^r^ Adam Oughton, Gen. Harvey, Com. Shouldham, M^r^ Greville, M^r^ Legge, M^r^ Pownall, M^r^ Jenyns. While we were at dinner an officer came in with duplicate of Gen. Gage's letter to Gov^t^ by Browne. Lord Gage had a letter from Maj. Kemball of April 30^th^, advising that nothing had occurred since his last: that if the rebels intended an attack, they were prepared for them: expressed great concern for his family in the Jerseys: advice of Franklin's arrival, and being voted into the Congress, which seems to have met a day or two sooner than was intended.

M^r^ Strahan, stationer, and Member of Parl^t^ an old friend of Franklin's, told me at Court he went away in a most rancorous state of mind, declared he had rather have his health drank by the Congress than be Lord High Treasurer of England.

Elisha was at Court with his father, and the following entry occurs in his Diary:—

"June 22.—At Court, being the celebration of the King's Birthday, which, on account of the mourning for the Queen of Denmark, was put off till this day. The Gov^r^ dined at L^d^ Dartmouth's.

23rd.—Called upon M^r^ Blackburne, Marg^t^ Street: M^r^ Thompson: Lord Loudoun: M^r^ Strahan, &c.

To avoid being singular, I went in the afternoon at 6 to see the Regatta from Lord Loudoun's, Privy Gardens: tarried till eight, and had patience no longer. The people were innumerable. Soon after I went home, the boats moved from Westminster Bridge to Ranelagh, a shew not equal to the Lord Mayor's, but being a novelty at this time of the year, the

people from every part of the town moved to the river, and in some parts ½ Guinea was the price of a place, tea, &c., included.

Col. Mansell shewed me to-day his letters from N. York by a ship to Bristol so late as the 13th of May, their confusions continually increasing. Cruger, the father to the Bristol Member came away: others coming: the President of the College, Cooper, absconded to avoid the rage of the people: and it is reported that they had at N. York news as late from Boston as the 10th of May, and that the ships had been fired upon from the batteries erected by the inhabitants.

24th.—Called upon Dalrymple, where I met Lord Dalrymple. Mr Strahan and Mr Galloway called upon me. Pickman and Blowers dined with us. Anxious for the state of America, and my own friends in particular: no Ministers in town: no motions of any sort. The trifling, puerile, insipid Regatta of yesterday, or rather last night, and this morning, has its effect to-day, and nobody scarce appears.

Mauduit called in the evening to take leave: going to Whiewell, [? Weyhill], Andover, Hants, to Joshua Ironmonger, Esq., where he desires I would direct to him.

About 11 in the evening Dalrymple called with intelligence of an Express or Messenger from Boston, gone to Lord D. at Blackheath, so late as 27th of May tha the Provincials from Connecticut, and upper part » York, had taken the Fort Ticonderoga: that Gage's army suffered much for want of necessaries, &c. And soon after Lord Gage came in with a letter from his brother, of the 13th of May only, wch mentions nothing material, except his intentn to send home his lady, &c. These accounts filled my mind with anxiety.

25th.—At the Old Jewry. In the evening Col. Dalrymple and Lord Gage came in with the news by Callahan more particularly than before, to the 27th of May.

Just about sunset a coach stopped at the door, whilst the footman enquired whether one Stephenson lived here. A man and woman going by leading a child of 2 or 3 years old, the man strangely set the child upon the pavement so near the coach wheel, that upon the coach's moving sooner than was expected, the wheel ran over the child. We were looking out

at the window and saw it taken up by the father. The mother was in the most inexpressible agonies, crying and shrieking beyond anything I have heard. The child lived about ten minutes. The coach full of ladies drove on as if nothing had happened.

Elisha also witnessed this painful occurrence, and notices it in his Diary. His account agrees in substance with that of his father, only he imputes to the woman, instead of the man, the careless act of putting the child in such a dangerous place His narrative is this:—"[June] 25. At the Old Jewry. Towards evening, whilst we were sitting at the window, a coach with some ladies stopped at the door to enquire for a M^r^ Stephenson. A woman had just before set a child of between 2 and 3 years old on the pavement. The coach leaving the door, one of the wheels ran over the child, which the father immediately took up, the mother shrieking and crying in the most distressing manner. The child was carried to a house in the neighbourhood, and lived about a quarter of a hour."

26th.—M^r^ Quincy came in at breakfast time, a passenger in Callahan, with letters from my son, &c., and an account of their distress; which has made this the most distressing day to me I have had since I have been in England. My house at Milton in possession of the rabble: all my letters, books, papers, &c. taken and carried away, and the publication of some of them already begun.

M^r^ M^rs^ and Miss Pownall, M^r^ Jackson, Gibbon, Blackborne, Thompson, and Quincy dined with us. Miss Pownall, &c., at Ranelagh, and she lodged with us.

The Mr. Quincy here mentioned, who seems to be a friend to government, must not be confounded with the Mr. Josiah Quincy who arrived in England in the middle of last November (see Nov. 17), the friend of Lee, Franklin, and John Wilkes; and who left again about the 21st of March, his departure being alluded to on that day. By the ship which brought Captain Darby, May 29, the news arrived that Mr. Quincy died the night after he landed in America.

No wonder that Governor Hutchinson should feel distressed at learning that the rabble had possession of his country house, and were publishing his private letters—not for the furtherance of

any honourable purpose, but, repeating what they had done before, and for his predecessor, Sir Francis Bernard—"to raise the fury of the people against him." These letters and papers eventually found their way to the city of Boston, where they are still preserved. These unbridled acts constituted the third or superlative Degree of Freedom, according to Burke's analisation. The Governor quotes a passage from Melancthon, which he has written on a blank leaf at the end of this volume of his Diary. The rudeness of the times had doubtless taught him to understand its full force. "Verissime dictum est a Platone—utroque pessima, libertas et servitus immoderata; Utroque optima, libertas et servitus moderata; Sed laxari vulgus libertatem, sine fine, et sine modo cupit."—Melanc. Epist. Joanni Mathesio, lib. 268.

27th.—My spirits very low all day from the American news. Quincy dined.

And on this day he poured out his anxieties to his eldest son Thomas. I quote from the original in the blue leather-back Letter Book:—

"St. James's Street, 27th June, 1775.

"My Dear Son,

"Your letters by Callahan contain such an account of the distress you are in that it is almost too much for me. I have suffered more the last twenty-four hours, than I have done since I have been in England.

"It is impossible for me to make any judgment what state you will be in when this letter shall reach you. Your continuance in Boston or removal will depend upon the degree of danger you shall be in. The state of your own affairs, of mine, of the late Lieutenant Governor's,* and of Mr Thompson's, seems to make your removal peculiarly difficult; but all are not to come in competition with your safety. For any expectations you can have here, I can say no more with any degree of certainty than this. Whilst I have any property left, I must not leave my children to suffer, and I hope I shall be able to conform in my living, be it ever so moderate, to the state Providence shall reduce me to. I have spent all the money I brought to England, but there is near the same sum due from Government. How long the provision will be continued I cannot say. If there should be a change in Ministry, I have reason to think I stand well with the King. You know what money there is in Palmer's hands. This, besides

* Thomas was one of the executors of the late Lieut.-Governor A. Oliver, and was engaged in settling his affairs.

what lies in America, is all I can command for myself and children. I have asked nothing yet for any of you, except Billy. Until something is done for him, a further sollicitation may perhaps hurt that. I must therefore leave your conduct to your own discretion.

"Next to your distresses, the possession taken of the house at Milton, and especially of all my papers, lies heavy upon me. I have no other resource than a consciousness that there is nothing in my letters which is not true, and nothing which my duty to the King in the station I was in did not require of me; though, to have everything of the most private nature maliciously exposed to publick view, is a cruelty hard to bear. This is the only letter of friendship I have time to write.

"All my letters [from friends in America,] I am told by Callahan's passengers, are not yet come to hand. Remember me with affection to all. Y^r^ Affectionate Father

"THO. HUTCHINSON."

Addressed outside—

"To Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.
at Boston, New England."

Dr. Peter Oliver, being also in Boston, recorded the great events of the day very laconically in his Diary, as thus:—

"Ap^l^ 19^th^. The fatal battle of Lexington, which blocked us up in Boston.

"June 17^th^ follow^s^. The fatal battle of Bunker's Hill."

It is to be regretted that he was so very laconic. His father, the Chief Justice, did not begin his Diary until the March following, when the English evacuated the city. Thomas Hutchinson did not keep any diary at all: but his son (afterwards baptised Andrew), was born on the 24th of March on board ship, as the packet lay in Nantasket Roads the day before they set sail, and was so badly off for nourishment during the voyage, that they did not expect to get him alive to England—this Andrew surviving and growing up, had heard his father relate how many dangers and privations they had passed through during the blockade, and how the chimneys of the houses were knocked down by passing shot: and this Andrew being eventually my father, I have frequently heard him repeat these things. This is but meagre information, and makes us wish that those who were present had committed their experiences to paper for our better knowledge. I have myself seen the cannon ball still sticking in the front wall of Brattle Street church.

They, however, were not alone in their troubles. The next entry in the Governor's Diary shows us that the aged Mr. and Mrs. Green had already discovered that Boston was getting too hot, and that it was time to move.

23th.—M^r^ Green, who came to town last night, called upon us: seems much affected with his hard case, of being obliged, with his wife, at their time of life, to leave their country. They are both near 70. He has never been out of America, and she never 40 miles from Boston. He is out of health and much emaciated. Called upon M^r^ Pownall, and communicated what intelligence I received by M^r^ Green in letters from Judge Oliver, and the L^t^ Gov^r^, especially the proceedings of Rhode Island. Pownall says the Cabinet meet to-night, and must come to some decisive measures, and either wholly leave the Colonies independent, or act more vigorously in reducing them to government. Afterwards at M^r^ Jenkinson's, but nothing very material passed. Called at M^r^ and M^rs^ Green's lodgings; and in the afternoon w^th^ E. and P. in the coach to visit M^rs^ Copely, at M^r^ Bromfield's, Islington.

The great painter's name appears to have been commonly written Copely at this time. It has already been observed that his wife, now in London with some young children—the future Lord Lyndhurst being one—was a daughter of Mr. R. Clarke. Copley himself had not yet arrived.

One day when I was in Boston, taking life easily and pleasantly, as the Americans do, lying upon the grass on the common, somewhere between the great Elm Tree and the Frog Pond, nearly dried up, reading Cooper's 'Lionel Lincoln,' and with my pocket-knife cutting up and eating a West India pine-apple as big as an ostrich egg, recently put ashore somewhere near Long Wharf, out of one of those clipper schooners, and of which I had become proprietor for nine Massachusetts pence—there strolled about the Common sundry boys and men, and one stung his hand with a nettle near the pond, and then hunted for a dock leaf to cure it, and I condoled with him, and that sympathy established a pleasant understanding between America and England. Having run over the vices and virtues of sting-nettles and docks, the conversation touched upon the Frog Pond, the Great Elm, with some of its drooping limbs held up with iron rods, the Jingo tree—the what? the Chinese tree imported by Mr. Greene, and planted in front of

his house, within the railings of the Common, and not far from the steps—the Jincko tree, if so it be spelt, but which, for joke or from uncertainty, was usually called the Jingo tree. Next to the State House westward, was a block of red brick: then Hancock's old-fashioned comfortable-looking house standing detached: then a row of many houses running down towards the water, of which Mr. Greene's was about the third or fourth. The strange tree, however, bearing but a scanty crop of dark green leaves, appeared ill at ease in its newly-adopted country, for it looked wan and home-sick. From other sources it has been said that the Greenes were in some way connected with the Copleys; and the mention of these names in the Diary above recalled to memory these incidents on Boston Common.

29th.—Called upon Mr Greene in Red Lion Square, where I met Mr John Barrett, who was first cousin to my mother, and who has been in England above 20 years: and though he has been in London ever since my arrival, never came near me.

30th.—Called upon Mr Jenkinson, at the Dean of Norwich's lodgings in York buildings, but did not find him at home. After more than a month's fair weather, the rains for two or three days past are set in as last year.

July 1st.—I met Mr George Onslow in the Park, who began upon America: lamented the neglect of Government; and observed that if a year ago vigorous measures had been engaged in, all would have been reduced to order.

The Dean of Norwich called upon me: Monsieur Garnier, to take leave, who sets out to-morrow for France.

Mr Jo. Greene, Mr Amory and wife, Mrs Copely, and Callahan and wife, dined with us.

2nd.—At the Meeting in Prince's street, Westminster. Mr Pickard preached. Dined, (all of us), with Mr John Pownall, Vanburgh Fields: a Cap. Parry, and Mr Potter going a Judge to Quebeck. Reports that the Congress at Philadelphia are so high that Doctor Franklin can't go their lengths: but these reports want confirmation.

3rd.—Doctor Solander called upon me: gave me an account of a letter from Capn Cooke, who had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, and is expected in 10 days in England. He discovered a number of islands in the same track with Otaheitee,

one very large. The inhabitants treated them with great civility. No European had been there before. He went as far south as 71, when he was stopped by a frozen sea, all in one body. In the latitude where the Spaniards suppose a continent, he sailed through without any discovery: but steering from the continent of S. America towards the Cape of Good Hope, he discovered two islands, one in 54, [South Georgia? 54·32 S., 36.11 W.], another as far south as 59, [Sandwich Land? 59·54 S., 27·45 W.], but so covered with ice and snow as not to be habitable: and until he came close under them, he was in doubt whether they were not islands of ice.

My daughter and I dined with M^r^ Ellis at Twickenham, and were most elegantly entertained. In the afternoon in M^r^ Ellis's Barge, we rowed up the river, and then down by Richmond, &c., and took coach by Thistleworth [Isleworth?] church. I have seen nothing so picturesque as M^r^ Ellis's house and gardens; the prospect from it, and the beautiful appearance of the villas as we rowed upon the river. A little before we landed a gardener's boat going down the river, sank with three people, all of whom were taken from the bottom of the river in our sight. We were in distress, expecting some or all of them must have been dead, but happily they had remains of life and soon recovered. General Paoli, M^r^ Grey Cooper, M^r^ Agar and M^rs^ Agar were our company,

4th.—M^r^ Jenkinson, Pownall, Knox, Pickman, Bliss, Vardell, Col. Mansell, and M^rs^ Knox, dined with us. Called upon M^r^ Heard at the Herald's Office, Paul's Chain. He had seen M^r^ Bromhall, L^d^ North's Secretary: asked him whether what was in the papers of my son's being Secr^y^ to the Excise was true? He said it was not: but Heard tho't, by what he said, it probably would be done. I am in doubt.

The Governor need not have been anxious, if he could only have looked a little way into futurity; for Billy soon declined in health, and died of a pulmonary complaint in the lifetime of his father.

5th.—At Lord Dartmouth's Levée; who told me L^d^ North was under some difficulty about my son's appointment. I represented my sufferings for doing my duty to the King, and

that my friends tho't the encouragement I had before I left America had not been complied with. He would do everything I could wish, I am well assured, if it was in his power.

Lord Beauchamp called upon me: spent half an hour: seems more discouraged than any person in Administration: laments a disappointment in every measure: and speaks more favourably of the people in the Colonies than I have heard any other person: says it will not do to leave them to be independent: that the Kingdom had better spend ten millions: nevertheless, the people will not bear a civil war to be carried on for a number of years. There were stronger marks of the distress which Administration is now in than I have before met with, and as different from those of the conversation at M^r^ Ellis's this time twelve months, or rather less, as can be conceived. In the evening, walking w^th^ M^r^ Keene, I found him in much the same state with Lord Beauchamp.

D^r^ Franklin, who went away expecting, as he said, to return, has ordered all his goods to be shipped to Philadelphia.

It is plain from the above remarks, and a few others of a similar ominous kind, that the King's ministers were beginning to awaken to the gravity of the situation. It was becoming plain that the Provincials intended so show fight; and the occurrence of a few skirmishes, though at first doubted, now fully confirmed, revealed the fact that they would prove to be sturdy opponents. Judging by the large majorities in both Houses of Parliament that supported warlike and coercive measures against the revolting colonies, indicating, as we may assume, that these strong measures were agreeable to the feelings of the great body of the English nation, it would have been to any minister as much as his place was worth to have proposed giving the Americans their entire independence.

6th.—Called upon Dalrymple. M^r^ Greene and M^r^ Pownall at the office, who had sent him, by David Ingersoll, extract of a letter from M^r^ Wheatley at Nantucket, to M^r^ Enderby, giving the account of an action on Noddle's Island, of 20 of the troops killed, and 50 wounded, and 4 only of the Provincials killed, and 8 or 10 wounded: and of the burning one of the King's scooners the 28^th^ of May. The troops on the Island were for

the protection of the live stock there; all which was drove away.*

Mr Greene took an airing with us to Kensington, and across to Chelsea.

7th.—Called upon Mr Jenkinson. Went into the city as far as Mr Bliss's lodgings. Find a vessel arrived from Salem with a Cambridge Paper of June 1, which makes the affair at Nodles [*sic*] Island of no great importance, and the King's scooner to be a vessel which lay on the ways at Chelsea. This vessel spoke with 15 sail of Transports for Boston, off Cape Sables. A Packet also from N. York. General Lee had taken the command of their troops—it is said 4000 men. The Connecticut people had taken two sloops upon the Lake. A motion had been made at the Congress by Mr D † to make some conciliatory proposal to Government in England, which was opposed; but after debate, carried in the affirmative: but it does not appear what the proposal is to be. Wrote to Lord Hardwicke this intelligence.

8th.—Called this morning upon Mr Cornwall, and upon Mr Gibbon. The first thinks more favourably of the present state of affairs, or rather of the issue of them, than any person I converse with.

I took out a Warrant from the Treasury for the pay to Judge Oliver, as Commissioner at Rhe Island, for which I paid two guineas, and desire him to give them to Mrs Prout.

Quincy, Smith, D. Greene, and S. Oliver, dined with us.

It may be remembered that amongst the acts of persecution suffered by the Chief Justice, Peter Oliver, one was a charge by impeachment for receiving his Judge's salary from the King. The present matter of business is distinct from that. The *Gaspée* schooner was taken possession of and destroyed by a party of Burke's Superlatives, and commissioners were afterwards appointed by the English authorities to enquire into the circumstances of the occurrence. At a later date than this the Judge,

* Walpole writes this day—"The general complexion is war. All advices speak the Americans determined; and report says, the Government here intends to pursue the same plan."

† Ducan, Devon, Deacon, &c. Hurriedly written and indistinct.

having heard that there was money due to him, wrote the following letter on the subject to Elisha :—

"Boston, July 22nd, 1775.

"Sir,

"I am informed that an allowance is made to me, as a Commissioner on the affair of the Schooner *Gaspée* at Rhode Island: if so, be so good as to take out the Warrant for me, and receive the money.—Your Humble Servant

Addressed— "Peter Oliver."

"To Elisha Hutchinson Esq.
St. James's Street, London."

9th.—At the Old Jewry, where a stranger preached. Saw Mr Curwin [Curwen] of Salem there, who arrived two or three days since from Philadelphia. He gave my son E. a letter from Sam. Checkly at Philadelphia, full of Liberty, and declaring his being ready to expose his little all in the service of his country; but says nothing what business he was upon, which makes us think it probable he is engaged as a Writer or Sub-Clerk in the service of the Congress, or of the Boston Delegates.

Mr Bridgen called in the evening.

The Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty, have been published in New York. This is the same person who now arrived in England from Philadelphia. He held loyalist opinions, and preferred to withdraw out of the disturbed atmosphere of party rage into the greater quiet of England; but in 1783, when the war was over, he went back to America, and ended his days there. We learn from his Journal that during the nine years of his residence in the old country, he travelled about it a good deal at different times, and purposely directed his steps to many towns where he got intelligence of other refugees, who, like himself, had fled from stormy seas into the shelter of smooth water. In London he found many friends similarly situated with himself. Steering westward, he looked up several at Exeter, bearing the names of Erving, Vassall, and Lechmere. He visited Taunton, Honiton, Colyton, Ottery, and took up his lodgings for some considerable time at Sidmouth, a watering place on the south coast of Devonshire, where, it may be added, at a subsequent period, the Duke and Duchess of Kent, with their infant daughter, resided, and where the Duke died. That infant daughter is now

the Queen of England. Judge Curwen directed his steps to Sidmouth mainly for the purpose of seeing his old American friend the Rev. Isaac Smith, minister of one of the Dissenting congregations in that town, who had, by a curious fatality, settled himself down in so remote a place. The Puritans of Massachusetts had gradually merged into Unitarianism. The chapel that Mr. Smith served still exists. It is situated at Mill Cross, near the head of the town, and is called the Old Presbyterian or Unitarian Meeting House. When Governor Hutchinson made his journey through the western counties, to visit Mount Edgcumbe, he turned aside also to find Mr. Smith, and lodged one night at the inn in the town, now known as the London Inn, the York, situated on the beach, not having then been built.

10th.—I went with E. and P. early in the morning to Blackheath to see the Review of the Regiments of Artillery under Lord Townshend. The King was upon the Heath before 9. There was a vast concourse of people—perhaps 20,000. I did not chuse to mix with the crowd, and could see but little, but saw and heard enough of the sham fight, not to lament that I could see no more. After the Review went to M^r^ John Pownall's.

Four thousand suits of cloaths I hear are preparing by M^r^ Harley the Contractor, to be sent to Quebec to form an army of Canadians.

Judging by the Governor's slighting remarks, he does not appear to have taken any delight in the common amusements and recreations of most men when business is temporarily put aside. He speaks with equal indifference, if not absolute dislike, of the regatta, the Lord Mayor's Show, the theatre, the concert-room, or the review. We have not caught him in a ball-room yet. As for a horse-race, he wrote to his son and said, "The picture of a horse-race is every whit as agreeable as the original."*

Elisha notices the review, but in very laconic terms. He writes:—

"10.—With the Gov. and P. to Blackheath to see the King review the Reg^t^ of Artillery under the command of L^d^ Townshend. It is supposed there [were] upwards of 20,000 people on the Heath."

* See back, September 16, 1774, Note.

11th.—Called upon Mr Vardell, where I saw Dr Chandler, lately arrived from N. York. Went to the Custom House, to the Board of Commissioners, at Cap. Callahan's and Mr Lane's desire, to mention the difficulty Callahan had been under, in shipping his goods from home, and afterwards in landing them in Boston, his ship being seized for having goods on board not reported, &c. Mr Boone, late Gov. of Carolina, was in the Chair. I was treated wth great civility.

Col. Pickman and Mr Curwen called on me.

A remarkably cold day: some showers, but a clear air most of the day.

12th.—In the city at Mr Palmer's, Dev. Square, to inquire into the India Securities in which he had vested the monies I had in his hands, and find them orders from the India Compy to deliver Teas paid for, which he keeps in his hands as collateral securities for the money he lends.

At Mr Lane's Counting House: no arrivals. Mr Knox told me at Ld D.'s office that the Congress at Philad. had resolved to have an army of 17,000 men: to issue paper currency to the amount of 750,000 pounds sterling: to petition the King: address the people of England: remonstrate to all Europe.

The people here seem more alarmed with rumours of a Spanish fleet and armament, than with the loss of all America.

Why this alarm in time of peace? Spain may have been a power in Europe in that day, but she has not been so since. Never did a country sink into such utter nothingness when possessed of so many elements of greatness. Placed by her latitude between the luxuriant fruits of the Tropics on one side, and the abundant vegetation of the Temperate Zone on the other, so that she can raise both within the circuit of her own boundary: surrounded on three sides by water, and on the fourth by a chain of mountains, she is free from the dangerous or the disagreeable proximity of troublesome neighbours: and standing as she does at the south-west end of a promontory, she commands the Atlantic on one side, and the Mediterranean on the other. Where is there a country in the world so happily and so advantageously situated? And yet she has sunk into absolute oblivion, and has become as nothing in the councils of Europe.

13th.—At Lincoln's Inn Hall. Saw Mr Wedderburne, and gave him Mr Clarke's proposal for opening the port of Boston for consideration. At the Treasury to sollicit Flucker's affair. Called upon Sir Francis Bernard in Salisbury Court, who, with Lady B. and Miss B. came to town the evening of the 11th. Found Sr F. had just been seized with an epileptick fit, to which he is subject: and tho' soon recovered, I chose not to see him.*

Another Coffin† from Nantucket wth letters to the 16th of June. One of the transports from Ireland arrived at Boston the 14th: the rest left about 40 leagues distant.

I met a man in the Park:—"Gov. H." says he, "I am afraid this news is true: it came from the War Office—that Gibraltar is taken." He pulled out a paper with an account of the Spanish armament: said he had seen a letter from a young man to his mother, which gave an acct of the fleet's being within 12 hours sail, "and it is impossible," says he, "to stand against such a force." I made little or no reply. "We shall lose America," he added: and presently concluded by asking—"whether the carpenters had got to work again at Plimouth?" I never saw the man before, and did not think it worth while to ask his name. He was dressed in good plain cloaths, but ungenteel.

14th.—Sir Francis, Lady, and Miss Bernard, all called upon us.

Wilkes, with 2 or 3 Aldermen, and between 20 and 30 Common Council, presented an extravagant Remonstrance to the King. I saw the procession. Even the mob did not think it worth while to attend. Mr Jenkinson called. A letter from Mr Clarke at Quebec: the first advice of his arrival in six weeks passage.

15th.—Called upon Mr Jenkinson. Mr J. Greene, Pickman, and Curwen dined with us.

16th.—At church at Wimbledon: a Mr Banks preached.

* Sir Francis lived on four years longer, and died June 16, 1779; so in the Diary. The sixth and last holder of the title died in May 1883. There is a portrait of him in the *Illustrated London News* for May 26, and the title is extinct.

† A man's name probably.

Dined with Mr Morris, Peggy with me, and other company. We went over the Common towards evening to Mr Brown's, one of the Directors of the Bank, who has the largest Collection of antique Heads, Busts, Statues, Pillars, Vases, and Urns that I have ever seen. He shewed me a bottle full of the ashes or calcined bones, which came out of one of the Urns. Mr Morris sent a servant with a Blunderbus to attend us over the Common, robberies often hapning, even in the day time.

Mr Nichols, the Episcopal clergyman of Salem, came to our house while I was absent, with letters from Boston so late as the 13th June. He sailed the 15th or 16th. All the first embarcation from Ireland arrived: lost 14 horses. Gage had published a Declaration with promise of pardon to all who laid down their arms and returned to their duty, except Sam. Adams, and John Hancock.

17th.—Called upon Mr J[enkinson?]: upon Sr F. B. Sr F. B., and Lady B., Dr Chandler, and Mr Pownall Junr dined with us. Wrote to Lord Hardwicke, at Wrest, [Bedfordshire]. In the evening at Mr Jo. Greene's. The critical state of our friends at Boston fills us with anxiety. Sir F. B., &c., went to the Play, but I did not.

18th.—Mr Jenkinson called, and Sir John Blaquiere, to inquire into the truth of a report of an action at Boston the 16th of June, which is said to be occasioned by a letter from Whitehaven, mentioning the arrival of a Lieut[t] Snow [?] at Waterford. The report is that a great number of the Provincials were slain, and many taken prisoners. The mentioning the time, and the name of the person who brings the account, carries a mark of probability. There are circumstances to render it doubtful. I have a letter of the 13th [or 15th]. The *Cerberus* was to sail the 18th and after such an action, no doubt would have hastened away. A day or two will determine.

It need scarcely be mentioned that the action here spoken of was the Battle of Bunker's Hill. This rumour was the first intimation of it that had reached England. Perhaps it was rather strange, that if an English lieutenant, conversant with the fact or any of the circumstances, arriving at Waterford, did not hasten immediately to report himself to the Government.

19th.—I went to the King's Levée, who was more inquisitive than usual—How I intended to spend the summer? Whether I would not carry my daughter into the country with me? How many children were in London, and how many in New England? The circumstances of the latter I related, and particularly my son's being obliged to quit my house at Milton, which the rebels possessed, and had turned into a Barrack. Some at Court seemed to think the report of yesterday might be true, Sir Jno. Blaquiere especially, and Lord Suffolk gave some credit to it. I met Col. Christie at the Levée: saw Sir Ralph Payne, who is lately arrived from his Government. Lord Dartmouth introduced his two sons, L^{d} Lewisham, and M^{r} Legge, who set out on Monday on their travels.

In the evening we were at Foote's Theatre. The K. and Q. there.

The printed journals of the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts contain much information of a historical kind. No. 187 is almost entirely devoted to the "Hutchinson Papers," so called. A dispute of many years' duration had existed between the State on one side, and the Historical Society of Massachusetts on the other, concerning the rightful ownership of some of them. This controversy, which has never been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and which, for that reason, may almost be said to be still pending, has reference to some of his effects that the mob scattered about the street when they destroyed his town house in August 1765, portions of which were afterwards recovered and restored by the efforts of friends; secondly, to several trunks full of letters seized at Milton soon after the Battle of Lexington; and thirdly, to other effects again in his town house, which were taken after the evacuation of Boston in March 1776.

After he left Milton, on the 1st of June, 1774, his eldest son Thomas, who remained behind, occasionally resided there, until, not feeling safe in the country, he withdrew for greater security into Boston. A passage from "Gordon's History of the American Revolution," vol. i., p. 356, giving an account of the state of Milton, is printed on page 4 of No. 187, and it runs as follows:—

"When he [Governor Hutchinson] quitted the province, all his furniture was left behind at his seat in Milton. After the Lexington engagement, the Committee of the town removed it, in order to save it from being totally ruined. M^{r} Samuel Hen-

shaw, desirous of seeing how the house looked when stript of all the furniture, repaired thither with the gentleman who had the key. He went, at length, up into a dark garret, where he discovered an old trunk, which he was told was left behind, as it contained nothing but a parcel of useless papers. Curiosity led him to examine them, when he soon discovered a Letter Book of Mr Hutchinson's, which he secured, and then posted away to Doct. Warren, to whom he related what had happened; on which an order was soon sent to Gen. Thomas, at Roxbury, to possess himself of the trunk. It was brought to his quarters, and there, through the imprudent exultations of some about the General, the contents were too often exposed to persons resorting thither, and some single letters conveyed away: one [was suppressed] for the public good, it being thought that if the same was generally known, it might be of disservice at the present moment, as it had not a favourable aspect upon the staunch patriotism of Mr Hancock. The Letter Books and other papers were afterwards taken proper care of."

The last few lines of the preceding narrative are rather damaging. The following letter is also printed on page 4 of No. 187. It explains what steps General Thomas took in the matter of the old trunk:—

"Gentlemen:—In consequence of directions from the Committee of Safety, I sent an officer on whom I could depend, to the house of Governor Hutchinson, who brought off all the papers he could find in that house; but I was informed that Colonel Taylor of Milton, had lately taken several trunks out of the Governor's house, not many days ago, in order to secure them from being plundered. I immediately sent another messenger to Col. Taylor, for all the papers that belonged to Governor Hutchinson which he had in his possession. He sent me for answer, he did not know of any papers that belong to said Hutchinson; but just now comes to inform me that there are several trunks in his house, which he took as aforesaid, which he expects will be sent for very soon. I suspect there may be papers in said trunks, and if it is thought proper, two or three judicious persons be sent to break open and search for papers, he will give them his assistance. This, gentlemen, is submitted to the consideration of the honorable Committee.

"I have, Gentlemen, the honor to subscribe myself, your most obedient humble Servant

"John Thomas.

"Roxbury Camp, May 2, A.D. 1775."

Resolutions "to secure Tories' estates in the town of Boston" followed in due course, the language and phraseology of most of which betraying feelings of strong rancorous party nature, and enough to shock all modern ideas of truth. How can authentic history be written out of such passions? Besides the destruction and confiscation of such houses, lands, furniture, or private papers as have come under notice in the above memorandums, he had, or his ancestors had, and it is presumed they came down to him, certain lands or farms at Braintree, a few miles from Milton. He had also some property at Newport, Rhode Island, and at Conanicut, across the Sound opposite, which he acquired in right of his wife Margaret Sanforde (now commonly written Sanford), who was co-heiress with her sisters, who inherited the estates and coat armour, Ar. a ch. gu., of their father William; and he likewise had some tracts of lands down east from Boston, though I do not know exactly where they were situated, though when I was a boy I used to hear my late father and others speak of them as the "Eastern lands," and some steps were taken to try and recover portions of them, or something perhaps in lieu of them; and whilst these slanders and confiscations were in operation in America, Governor Hutchinson was in England, using every effort with the Ministry to get the Boston Port Bill repealed, and the Restraining Bill mitigated, and having no stronger wish in life than to go back and live and die with his countrymen. So the world wags.

On pages 8 and 9 of No. 187 there is an inventory of odds and ends of household furniture, collected from the residences of the Governor and his sons, and from other houses to which some portions had been removed, owing to the confusion of the times. As this is in print it need not be further noticed; but on some blank leaves at the end of the Fourth Volume of his Diary he has entered the particulars of an inventory of goods taken at Milton, together with the prices that the several articles fetched at public auction or otherwise. This transcript has never been in print, and therefore it is given further on under the date of the 17th of November, where it comes in more appropriately, owing to a letter from the Governor in London to his son in Boston, in which he makes some inquiry for a list of his goods, and what had become of them. So little was any permanent difficulty apprehended in respect to the safety of the movables at Milton, or the feasibility of getting access to them, or of taking them away at pleasure, that Thomas left almost everything when he took his wife and two young children (Thomas and Mary) into Boston. It is not likely that he would have left portable objects of value, such as silver

plate, if he could have foreseen that the whole country between Milton and Boston would soon be taken possession of by a hostile army, and all means of transport cut off. This, however, was very soon the case, and, as Frothingham says at page 220, "The environs of Boston presented at this period an animating sight." General Washington set out from Philadelphia on the 21st of June to join the army [*Ibid.* 214]; heard of the Bunker Hill affair when at New York, which made him hasten his steps; reached Cambridge on the 2nd of July; and assumed the chief command the day after. Nothing of all this was yet known in England.

20th.—I went into the city to Gines & Co., Bankers, and took a receipt for 1300£ Bills, and £59 13*s.* 6*d.* cash, on acc^{t} of Isaac Winslow, Esq.

Called on M^{r} Jenkinson. No further accounts. M^{r} Curwen and Pickman called while I was taking an airing, and left word that the waiter at Lloyd's said he had seen a man from Portsmouth who brought an account of the arrival of the *Cerberus:* but as Government has no advice, I must doubt the truth of the report.

21st.—Intelligence brought me first by M^{r} Lane and Col. Pickman, and afterwards by M^{r} Blowers, that the *Cerberus* was arrived: and the latter reported that the news of the action was confirmed, and that the Regulars had lost 2000, and the Provincials 5000; that somebody heard it from Lord Rochford's office, and brought it to the N. England Coffee House: but all is without foundation. The news from Whitehaven of the 18th stands, but is weakened, as it is supposed an Express must have been here if true. Lord North, I hear, gives it up. M^{r} Knox says he does not, nor M^{r} Eden, who rec^{d} the account.

The Treasury ordered a warr^{t} for £269, for my Privy Seal, from the 17th May to the 5th of July, Land Tax, &c., to be deducted. This I desired Gines & Co. to receive.

We have had three or four days without rain—warm like a New England day—the glasses in the shade about 75.

22nd.—Dined in the city with M^{r} Payne at his lodgings, in company with Doctors Saunders and Orme, two noted city Physicians, and two gentlemen I did not know. Much was said of the contemptible figure the Lord Mayor and his party

now made. Before dinner walked in Kensington Gardens, where we met General Burgoyne's lady in great anxiety for news from America, which we are yet without, and this day produces scarce what may be called—The lie of the day.

23rd.—Called upon M^r^ Greene, Red Lion Square, and took him with us to the Old Jewry, where M^r^ White preached. M^r^ George Greene dined. Bliss, Nichols, &c., in the evening. Much rain in the night.

24th.—No *Cerberus* yet, and the Waterford news seems to be given up, as without foundation.

25th.—Letters to the Government by the *Cerberus* arrived this morning, and the Waterford news seems not without foundation, for we now have an account of an action in the morning of the 17^th^ by daybreak, the Provincials having broke ground upon a hill in Charlestown which, being discovered by the *Lively*, she fired upon them, and soon after a Battery from Cop's Hill fired, and some of the shot went beyond my house ; * and about noon Gen. Howe landed with 1600 men, and afterwards Clinton with 400 more: and after a better defence than was expected, the rebels were drove from their intrenchments, and beyond the Neck; but it was a dear victory—between 2 & 300 being killed, and among them 1 L^t^ Col.—Abercrombie : two Majors, Pitcairn and Williams, and 7 Captains, besides Lieutenants and Ensigns, and between 7 & 800 wounded. No account of the number of Provincials killed or wounded. The town of Charlestown burnt to the ground—all but about 20 houses at the farther end of it.

M^r^ Ellis from Twickenham called: L^d^ Gage, Sir Sampson Gideon, &c.

This was the first authentic account of the battle of Bunker's Hill that had arrived in England ; and it may strike us as rather singular that a strong pressentiment of the occurrence of a battle should have existed all over the country some time before any certain evidence of it had really crossed the Atlantic. The numbers given above tally pretty nearly with the more official returns that came to hand afterwards ; Howe, 1600 men, and Clinton 400—together, 2000 ; 2 to 300 killed, and from 7 to 800

* I did not know till now that he had a house in Charlestown.

wounded. Adolphus, 2nd edit., ii. 238, says—226 killed, 828 wounded. Of the American loss, Adolphus says they had 145 killed and 304 wounded. Frothingham, page 192, mentions 115 as killed, 305 wounded, and 30 taken prisoners by the British troops. All writers agree in condemning the grave errors that were committed in planning the attack. The first marvel is that the Provincials were ever allowed to take possession of a hill that dominated all the northern half of the city of Boston, at the distance of only half a mile; and to those who know the ground, the neglect of taking them in rear instead of in front, so as to have cut off their retreat, and the omission of putting a floating battery or gunboat in the Mystic, so as to take them behind their works and rake the neck of the promontory when they fled over it—all these points come out very strong; and the fact of sending over shot for the field-pieces that were too large for the guns, at the time when the artillerymen were engaged with the enemy, was either a very cruel joke or a very serious error. There were several generals in Boston at this time. Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne had recently arrived out from England; but they had been out long enough to have looked round and considered the situation, or reconnoitred the ground. Since Mr. Hutchinson left, General Gage had been there a twelvemonth, and being commander-in-chief, the responsibility naturally rested with him. This battle took place on the 17th of June, and Gage left Boston for England on the 10th of October, after which General Howe took the chief command; and it is very remarkable that, though he remained in Boston from that time until the beginning of March following, being four whole months, thus having plenty of time to consider and re-consider all the surrounding circumstances of his situation, and especially the oversight of having allowed the Provincials to post themselves on Bunker's Hill, he allowed them to do the very same thing on Dorchester Heights, a similar elevation close to the south end of the city, commanding not only all the southern half of Boston, but a considerable portion of the harbour. It was this that compelled the English to evacuate the place. It is true the generals had for some time become aware that in a strategical point of view, Boston was not so situated as to be a good base of operations, and General Gage, before he left, had written to Lord Dartmouth to say as much, and to suggest that New York would be better.* Perhaps General Howe thought that as all parties were in winter quarters, no active works would be undertaken until the spring, and that he could rest secure in the matter of these hills on the south.

* Froth., 248.

Having been several times on these hills, I am able to comprehend the force of the remarks that have been put forth respecting them. When I was on Bunker's Hill, the tall slim obelisk was only half its height, Though it has been compared to a factory chimney, when seen at a distance, it is a beautiful specimen of stonework when examined close. The top of the hill was not so encroached upon by houses as it is now, nor enclosed with trim railings, nor laid out with gravel walks, but all open and in its original state. The remains of the redoubt (if that is the correct word, for it seems to have been an enclosed work all round) presented the appearance of an irregular oval, though the plans make it a rectangle of oblong proportion. The ridges were much flattened, and the hollows much filled up, so that it was rather difficult to take measures of it with precision, but I made its length 75 yards, and its width 60, and from a hole in the turf near the middle I picked up a stone, which I put in my pocket as a memento. The accounts say that General Clinton proposed to attack in the rear by landing at Bunker Hill neck, but that General Gage opposed it as imprudent, inasmuch as by so doing there would be a risk of getting between two fires, by having the redoubt on the right hand, with Cobble Hill and the main army of the Provincials towards Cambridge on the left. The English troops embarked from the north end of Boston under Copps Hill and Long Wharf, and proceeded across Charles River, and it has appeared strange to some, that they should have been encumbered with blankets and knapsacks on a hot summer's day, and three days' provisions when they were close home. Perhaps it was thought that they might have to follow the retreating foe up the country. Frothingham tells us, page 194—"The house of Governor Oliver, in Cambridge, known as the Gerry estate, was occupied as a hospital. Many of the soldiers who died of their wounds were buried in a field in front of this house."

Those who visit Boston ought to go into Copps Hill burying-ground, and enjoy the view northward over the Charles River to Charlestown, with the Bunker Hill obelisk or monument rising above the houses. A little consideration will furnish a very good idea of the range and effect of artillery across the water, about as wide, perhaps, as the Thames at Westminster Bridge. Sauntering about among the graves and reading the inscriptions one day, I came upon an upright tombstone which had the Hutchinson coat of arms cut upon the higher end of it in low relief. "Ha!" thought I, "one of my ancestors when they lived near North Square." On examining closer, I found that some one had taken an old tombostne, had cut out the Hutchinson inscription, and had put in his

own. Perhaps he thought the picture was an ornament, and that it would suit his name just as well as mine. The new name, I think, was Lewis, but I am not quite sure at this distance of time.

But the finest and most commanding view of Boston is from Dorchester Heights. Modern utilitarianism, however, is fast encroaching upon and obliterating the old landmarks. Elevations are levelled to fill up hollows: land is reclaimed from the shallows all round the city to be built upon: houses are pushed up the sides of the hills: reservoirs are constructed on the tops of them, until the batteries and earthworks will soon follow those of Bunker's Hill into oblivion and obliteration.

Franklin is facetious over the chances of the war. Writing to Dr. J. Priestley, Oct. 3, 1775, he says:—"Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is 20,000*l* a head; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America."

26th.—Received my letters by post. D[r] Warren and Lemuel Robinson killed among the rebels. I met Lord Dartmouth under the Treasury: he doubts whether any great force can go this fall; but a very great force, he says, will certainly be sent in the spring. The private letters speak of the action as having saved Boston from the destruction which the rebels had determined to bring upon it.

M[r] Gibbons called in the evening: Lord Beauchamp called in the forenoon.

27th.—With M[r] Nichols, to introduce him to Lord Dartmouth. Much said upon the impractability [*sic*] of any considerable force this fall; and upon the necessity of a very great force in the spring. Lord D. says that Gage had only 3400 rank and file effectives, and that the Irish troops will not make more than 5000. I saw Gen. Harvey afterwards. He says 5500. M[r] Keene called: complains of Gage: says his lady has said she hoped her husband would never be the instrument of sacrificing the lives of her countrymen.* I

* She was a Miss Kemble, of New Jersey, and related to the Van Courtlands, of New York.

doubted it. He said he did not, but did not chuse to be quoted for it. Called upon M^r^ Jenkinson, who was rather low in spirits; was going to Lord North. Wrote to L^d^ Loudoun and Lord Hillsborough.

28th.—Lord Gage and M^r^ Gibbon called. We dined, except Billy, at Twickenham with M^r^ Ellis. In conversation I mentioned what I had heard M^r^ Bolyston should say—that some of the Arabs doubted whether M^r^ Bruce had been in Abyssinia. M^r^ Ellis says, as a European, he could not have got in, but he passed as an Arab, with whom he had cultivated friendship in Algiers, and now experienced their friendship in return. After he was discovered he was imprisoned, but by his advice in cases of sick persons, he obtained liberty and favour. What I could not well account for, which M^r^ Bruce mentioned at L^d^ Mansfield's—that he had enabled them to write their vulgar language, which they never attempted before. M^r^ Ellis in part accounted for [this]. They had a written language, and as many characters as were necessary to express it. They had a vulgar tongue, and many sounds not in their written language, and for them had no characters. All that Bruce, therefore, had to do was to form as apt characters or letters as he could for those sounds, to add to the characters before known in the written language. This brought to my mind our having the two letters L and R, which the Eastern Indians cannot sound, and all the labials which the Iroquois never sound. Bruce had been Consul at Algiers: was gone upon his tour many years. To induce and enable him to publish his prints of ruins, buildings, &c., and the Journal of his Travels, Government gave him six thousand pounds for his salary the years he was absent, which has quite satisfied him, and he is now going on cheerfully with his business.

Thunder and rain great part of the afternoon.

29th.—Rain more or less every day, like the weather the latter end of April and beginning of May in America. Called on M^r^ Pownall early at the Board of Trade, who says he will undertake some provision shall be made for the Council, and that a large supply of necessary provisions shall be sent to Boston for the Inhabit^s^, as well as the army.

I went into the city to M^r^ Mauduit's, who, with M^r^ Jo. Greene, M^r^ Curwen, and M^r^ Boylstone, dined with us. Admiral Shuldam is soon to sail to supersede Graves.* Much talk of a new command of the land forces. I met Col. Christie, who spake with great freedom of Gage's being unequal to the place, and he says nothing will be done to purpose, until there is a new General.

Three months after this date General Gage returned to England. It is useless for a public man to continue in office as soon as the nation begins to lose confidence in him. Not that he is deficient in any quality whatever, but people are ignorant of the circumstances of a case, especially at a distance; they are impatient of success, and have no idea that there are any difficulties in the way; and as hope brightens every novelty, and as it is notorious that a new broom sweeps clean, a change must be made, if it is only to satisfy popular clamour, even if it should turn out to be a change for the worse. Such being the feeling, a change of admirals soon took place, and also a change of generals.

Sentiment in England was altering materially in regard to the whole aspect of American affairs. The dispute was assuming serious proportions, and it would not be accommodated so speedily or so easily as had been anticipated. No wonder if the refugees in England were becoming alarmed for their friends and for the property they had left behind them. We may quote part of a letter from Gov. H. to Chief Justice Oliver, which is anything but bright. He begins thus :—

"St. J. S., 8 July, 1775.

"D^r^ S^r^—The suff^s^ of my friends in Boston cause such a weight upon my spirits, that I am not able to write anything upon the general subject of y^r^ letters by Callahan, except that everybody is in anxious expectation of some great event upon the arrival of the troops from Ireland.

"Y^r^ particular concern I enquired into, and found your money was ordered to be paid by the Comiss. of the Customs, a Warr^t^ for w^ch^ I have taken out at the expense of two Guineas, w^ch^, when you receive your Warr^t^ I desire you to pay to my niece [?] M^rs^ Prout, as from me.

"I hope you will not let my daughter [Sarah, who married the

* Admiral Graves eventually obtained a Peerage, and as Lord Graves lived at Hembury Fort House, some four miles north-west of Honiton, and ten north of Sidmouth in Devonshire.

Judge's son], and her children want anything w^ch^ can be procured for them, to make them as comfortable as the general state of the times will admit," &c.

Writing on the same day to Mr. Sewall, the Attorney-General of Massachusetts, he says—

"You must think we are in the utmost distress. We wish to know the state of our country, and yet we are afraid, upon the arrival of every vessel, to have it related to us. At any other time, the ravages made upon my house, and the seizure of my private, as well as publick letters and other papers, would have been very sensibly felt; but the publick calamities lay so heavy upon my spirits before, that this present misfortune made no addition worth mentioning. I cannot recollect a correspondence of seven years. I am sure that I never wrote anything I did not believe to be true. I am sure I never wrote anything which I thought would hurt the real interest of my country, or be injurious to individuals. As to the first—I have been in some instances so cautious to suppress upon revisal, letters which I had no doubt of when writing, and which, upon further consideration I thought should not have been suppressed: and as to the latter—I never indulged a secret wish to do them any other hurt than was necessary to put a stop to such of their measures as must prove hurtful and fatal to the country. As to some particular persons—not many I am sure—it's possible a fresh sense of the most cruel wrongs they had done me, may have caused more acrimony than was prudent in some of my expressions. Candour, it may be necessary for me to ask everyone to afford me in such a case. My principles in Government I never concealed. If it be considered that my publick character brought me under peculiar obligations to support what, according to those principles, is the established Constitution of Government in the Colonies, and to counteract and effectually provide against all attempts to subvert or innovate upon this Constitution, I am confident nothing will appear in my Letters which I could have been justified in omitting. I am sure many of my friends have repeatedly suggested to me that I ought to have proposed other measures than I have done for defeating and punishing all such attempts.

"I never could admit a denial of the Right of Parliament in all cases, but I wished a forbearance of the exercise in Acts of Taxation; therefore it will not appear that I have encouraged such Acts: and if ever I have thought of any particular instance, it has been as a substitute in the place of another deemed to be

more grevious and exceptionable. I have seen and felt the ill effects [of] a Council annually elected by the people: but I saw exceptions to every other mode proposed for constituting a Council: and I foresaw a convulsion from the change, and therefore I never proposed or promoted this alteration of the Charter, although I have frequently been wrote to upon it, and have corresponded upon the convenience and inconvenience, the objections against it, and the reasons to support it, and have admitted or denied them so far as they appeared to be sufficient for what they were advanced, or otherwise, but finally have doubted and been blamed for throwing blocks in the way. If therefore they should publish the whole of my correspondence, and wherever it was read, this explanation and vindication could be read with it, I should be under no concern. But if they will publish scraps of letters, and what they call the substance of letters, so far as they can obtain credit, it will be in their power to make ill impressions upon their leaders."

Simple man! As if they were going to be so accommodating as to read the explanation and the vindication alongside of the letters! The object of printing the scraps was purposely to vilify, slander, and injure him, given neat, without any admixture of emollients, and with an amount of party spite never exceeded in the history of any country under heaven: and to those who admire evil, no one deserves more renown for his industry in searching for these scraps than Mr. Bancroft. The above observations, entered in his Letter Book by his own hand, and assisted by Elisha, were communicated to a private friend, and have lain quiet for a hundred years, and they will come out as new to the Governor's descendants as to any of the outside public, for with the exception of myself, for the purposes now in hand, I believe there is not a member of the family living who has ever had occasion to look into the book. The sentiments and motives of action therein written put his integrity as an honest man, working for those who employed him, and whom he represented, in a very honourable light, in so far that he was guided only by a desire to maintain the Constitution and the laws of the land for the equal good of all men alike: and yet, because he declined to give up these principles, and join in the war against England, he was the greatest villain unhung. Wilkins, writing to Dr. Chandler, says, "He hopes to hear H—— is hanged!"

In the same book, to another friend, whose name however is not recorded, he this month sends the following remark:—

"My share in the calamity of my country is not inconsiderable. The possession of my house at Milton, with all my furniture, books, papers, &c., is a great loss. I feel less and less concern from their knowledge of my correspondence. They will find nothing in any part of it w^ch^ is not true, and I flatter myself nothing which impartial men will not allow, the station I was in required of me. They will besides, find less than they expected, and have often charged me with. Some of their own characters I have been rather free with, w^ch^ I believe they will not publish. But they will publish many things w^ch^ they will call the substance of my letters, in a sense I never intended, unless a stop is put to their career."

And this is exactly what they did. Many attempts were made to get at the contents of his private communications sent out to friends, some scraps of which they may have got at more or less mutilated, and where that failed, it was easy to fill up gaps to his prejudice; wherefore he warned one of his correspondents not to expose him to such treatment. He says *—"They print as extracts from my letters what I never wrote. Don't suffer them to print what I do write."

Gordon, in his 'History of the American Revolution,' already quoted, observes that the letters were found in an old trunk in a dark garret at Milton. In a letter to Mr. Clarke of this July the 24th, the Governor explains how they got there.

"The possession of my house," he says, "was what human wisdom could not foresee. I had put my Letter Books at the time of the Tea mobs where I thought no persons would look for them, and when I left the Province, it did not occur to me where they were. At first it vexed me to think into whose hands they were fallen, but I have recovered. I have wrote nothing but what was true," &c.

Let us recur to the Diary.

30th.—At Doctor Ratcliffe's in Poor Jewry. [?]

M^r^ Silsby brought me my letters, and a gold watch given me by my sister Welsted, w^ch^ was my mother's. He informed me of many circumstances of the action on 17^th^ June, and of the state of both armies. I am much distressed for my friends. M^r^ Nichols called: says there is a certain account of the return of the Span. Armada, and of their being drove from Algiers

* Marble paper Letter Book, November 8, 1774.

with considerable loss; and adds, that it appears they intended, after succeeding at Algiers, to have invaded England. He mentions advice from Canada as late as the latter end of June, that Carlton had raised a considerable force, and was gone down to Ticonderoga, &c. Rain.

Spain seems to have been feared as well as suspected. The following letter by the anxious father is to his eldest son at Boston. Forgive so many of these missives if they appear wearisome, or if they contain repetitions. It is hard to know how to suppress them, and what is absolutely new ought not to be suppressed in this correspondence; but where one new passage is quoted in a letter, there is the danger of dragging in two or three repetitions along with it that cannot be very well rejected without risk of impairing the sense. This evil is not unperceived or unfelt, and it is hoped that allowances will be made for it.

"St. James's Street, 26 July, —75.

"My Dear Son,

"Although the news by the *Cerberus* would have been insupportable if the town had been beat about your ears from the heights of Charlestown, yet, your relief cost so dear, and you are afterwards so much exposed to hazard from other quarters, that we are in great anxiety. I have had [a] long conversation with Lord Dartmouth to-day. Some addition to the land force I think is determined to be made immediately, perhaps two thousand men: but such a force as they are now convinced is necessary, and which he says will most certainly go early in the spring, it is not practicable to provide so as to arrive before winter. Every necessary of vegetables, and of the farinacious kind which can be transported, with butter, cheese, &c., for the troops and inhabitants, shall also certainly be sent. I have had hints of a plan by means of the ships, to compel a supply of fresh provisions, but I am not fully acquainted with it, nor do I depend upon it.

"The next summer will no doubt determine the fate of America, and it is said, the same force will be employed, as if the inhabitants were French or Spanish enemies. I therefore think there is a strong probability that you and your sister [Sarah, Dr. P. Oliver's wife], and both your children [Thomas, born 1772, and Mary, born 1773], may be reinstated there. It will therefore deserve consideration whether your present safety may not be secured upon easier terms than a removal to so great a distance as England. Your aunt too [Grizel Sanford], who must be taken care of, will

find insupperable [*sic*] difficulties in such a removal. I know not what will be the state of Rhode Island, but hear whispers. If your families could be there with safety, you or they, will be near the two estates. [The Sanfords had property at Rhode Island and Conanicut.] What do you think of Nantucket? Or could you bear the cold winter of Quebec? If it was not for the difficulty of crossing the sea, I think I would have chose to spend the next winter there rather than in London. If you find it necessary to leave the town, you will secure, as far as you are able, what plate, furniture, books, papers, and other property was left, and still remains. I now wish I had brought great part of [it] with me, as it would have saved me considerable [expenses] which I now pay, extraordinary in rent for having a house furnished.

"Whatever you have received belonging to me, you must apply for the comfort of your own, and your sister's family; and what may be further necessary for you, wherever you may be, you must value yourself upon me, for as long as I have anything left for to assist you.

"The change in our condition has been great, sudden, and unexpected; and however adverse it is ordered by the infinitely Wise Governor of the World, and we not only ought not to murmur and repine, but to fortify ourselves against a depression of spirits. We have cause to be thankful that we have yet the necessaries, though we are deprived of many of the comforts of life. M^{r} Nichols came to town the 16th Cap. Shad the 24th of the month. I believe M^{r} Silsby is not yet in town. I had a message from Lady Frankland, with compliments, and hear she does not intend to come to London. [Thus far in the Letter Book, apparently in Elisha's handwriting: the rest in the Governor's.] I have been blamed for being the cause that no greater force was sent. There never was a more unjust charge. I thought the force insufficient [to frighten 'em?] and that it would be mercy to the people to increase it to such a degree as to discourage them from taking arms to oppose it: but Col. Dalrymple will be able to set that matter in its true light.

"I comm^{d} you to the protection of Heaven, and am

Y^{r} Aff. Father."

Further light is thrown upon the expression respecting a large or small force in another communication to a correspondent whose name is not legible, and bearing date July 28. If the large force were intended to frighten the Provincials into submission, the idea may raise a smile; on the other hand, common sense

and common prudence suggest that the bravest men would not be wise in resisting a force that was manifestly overwhelming. He writes thus :—

"I know not of the least ground for the opinion w^ch^ you say prevails, that I prevented a larger force being sent. As soon as I knew it was determined forces should be sent, I immediately gave my opinion that it was better to send none than a small force; and that the kindest thing w^ch^ could be done by Gov^t^ was to send a force so large as to convince them they were not able to withstand it."

It is a custom with us in the present day to exclaim, "What happens is the unexpected!" It was just the same a hundred years ago, for there is nothing new under the sun. Who would have thought that Milton would have been turned into a barrack? To his brother, on the same day as above, he writes :—

"Human foresight will not secure us against all adverse events. If I had supposed my house at Milton could ever be made use of as a Barrack, I would have left nothing in it. If it had not been made use of as a Barrack, tho' a mob had entred to search for papers, it is not likely they would have found the Lett^r^ Books. When I was threatened by the Tea mobs, I carried them to Milton [from Boston], and when I was obliged to return to the Castle, upon Gen. Gage's arrival, it did not come into my mind where I had put them. I am sure there is nothing in them but what will evidence an upright aim and endeavour to keep off the miseries which, in spite of my endeavours, a few men have brought upon the country: and if they will take the whole of them, they will find an uniform plan for preserving the authority of Parliam^t^, and at the same time indulging the Colonies in every point in which the people imagined they were aggrieved."

31st.—The letters from Carlton are dated from Montreal. No intimation of anything more than defending his own Gov^t^, as I understand from M^r^ Knox. Orders are on their way to him for offensive measures.

We all dined with M^r^ Knox at his lodgings in Chelsea, Paradise Row, with M^r^ Keene, M^r^ Nutt and his wife, and M^r^ Blackburn—the two last, citizens.

M^r^ Galloway, M^r^ and M^rs^ Heald, called to day. Little rain.

Aug. 1st.—Called on the New Yorkers in Margaret Street. Col. Mansell shewed me a long letter he had wrote to one of the Committee of N. York, condemning the Americans for not accepting proposals for conciliation, assuring them England was united, and would exert its power, &c., and asked me if he should first shew it to Lord North? I thought there could be no harm. Mansell says he has a letter from one of the Committee, which says they begin to see they were deceived, for they expected the manufacturers to have rose in their favour, &c. Such amusements have attended all the American Opposition from the first of it.

Left my letters with M^r^ Pollock, to go by the *Cerberus* and two to Quebec to M^r^ Clarke. M^r^ White, the Minister of Old Jewry called, and drank tea with us. Showery.

2nd.—Called upon Paul Wentworth. M^r^ Gibbon called: observes a great spirit against the Americans: mentions five Regiments complete * to go from Ireland, besides four companies of Artillery, w^ch^ Gen. Harvey confirms: says L^d^ Kenmure has engaged for 3000 Irish Catholicks, and Gen. Frazer offers 2000 Highland^s^, but not settled; but it must be some months before the last can be raised.

Showers again in the forenoon.

Elisha, writing yesterday to his wife, speaks thus:—

"St. James's Street, August 1^st^, 1775.

"My Dear Polly,

"The *Cerberus* arrived last week, and brings account of the action at Charlestown, and burning of the town. The loss of so many brave men on the side of the King's troops is much lamented here, but our letters from Boston say it was absolutely necessary the intrenchments should be forced; and add, if the troops had been repulsed, the destruction of the town must have followed. Our expectations have all along been that, on the arrival of the Irish troops, something decisive would be effected; but if every small hill or rising ground about Boston is to be recovered in the same way, I see no prospect of an end to the war. Our gentry seem to be alarmed, and give out that a large force should

* The word was usually written *compleat* in George III.'s day, but here it is written *complete*, as at present in vogue. I like to notice these changes.

certainly go out this fall, if the season was not so far advanced as to render it impracticable. They however, talk of recruiting what Regiments are at Boston, and threaten to prosecute it in the spring in the same manner as if it was a French or Spanish war.

"Enough of politicks, unless they were better. My principal concern is for you and my little baby. I am without a letter from you," &c., &c.

The following is Lord Loudoun's opinion of the state of affairs, written this day. It will be remembered that his Lordship had a military command in America at the time when Mr. Hutchinson was Governor there. This letter is the original, bearing his sign-manual at the end in bold characters, but as the writing in the body of it is smaller, it is rather uncertain whether he wrote it or employed an amanuensis. It is bound up among the Original Letters in volumes with blue leather backs. The writer has been rather careless or peculiar in his spelling.

"Loudoun, 2nd August, 1775.

"My Dear Sir,

"I am extreemly obleaged to you for your kind letter of July 26th which I received last night. Alace poor Abercrumbie, he realy is a publick loss, and verry particularly so to me.

"I thank you for the extract of the letter you sent me. I agree with your friend in his openion that an imediat and spirited exertion from hence is absolutely necessary, and that nou it will require at least duble the force that would have put an end to the rebellion two years ago. I have served against the rebels in one rebellion in this country, and from the little experience I had in that, I am clearly of opeinion that whilest they remain in arms they ought to be treated with all the severities of ware, but as soon as they submite, the Goverment ought to have its armes open to receive them, making a few examples of the Ringleaders, but by no means to carry on a long prosecution and execution afterwards; that only ireterats [irritates?] and never and never [*sic*] Reconsiles.

"It appears to me that the Generals will be obleadged to make a new attack on the rebels' works as soon as the second imbarkation arives from Ireland. I don't doubt but the troops will carrie it, but that must ever be atended with a great loss, where so few troops are to atacke such numbers; and this I am afraid will reduce the King's armie verry low before they can be Rainforsed.

"I am afraid, if they cannot open the comunication with the country, their horses will be lost for want of forrage; the men

will be starved for want of fireing to dress their victuals; and without they can procure fresh provisions, the whole armie will fall down in scurvies.

"I am afraid there is not a good understanding betwixt the armie and Fleet, for I imagin the Admiral, with his small craft might have protected the parties sent into the Islands, to bring off live stock and forrage.

"I am with great regaird and esteem
"Dear Sir,
"Your most Obed^{t}
"and most Humble Serv^{t}
"LOUDOUN."

3rd.—In the city at M^{r} Syme's in Barge [?] Court in the morning, and at M^{r} Lane's Counting House. Saw M^{r} Blackburn, who mentions a letter from N. York, by way of Boston [?] of July 4, that Washington had arrived, accompanied by a thousand horse, the same day Gov. Tryon arrived from England, who was received very silently, but Cap^{n} Vandeput [?] of the navy, had let the people know, if any insult was offered the Gov. or servants of the Crown, he would beat down the town.

At Court, but did not go into the drawing-room. M^{r} Onslow assured me orders were gone by the *Cerberus* to recall Gage, that Howe might command. Gage's Comission not revoked. In the afternoon we all went to Kew, and went round the Gardens for the first time.

4th.—M^{r} Knox confirmed the recall of Gage, &c. Lord Dartmouth gone into Staffordshire, and none of the Ministry left in town. A vessel from N. Hampshire, a day or two later than the *Cerberus*. Col. Warren, Presid^{t} of the Provincial Congress, in the room of D^{r} Warren deceased.

5th.—M^{r} Pownall tells me orders are gone to Gage to make an allowance to the Council. I spake to him in behalf of Silvester Oliver, and afterwards wrote to him.

Pickman, Curwen, Taylor, Silsby, Smith, and S. dined with us.

6th.—At the Old Jewry: M^{r} White preached, and administered the Sacrament. Curwen, Pickman, E. and myself,

were at the Communion. I think, perhaps, from prejudice, that either the Communion as in the Church of Eng., or as in the churches of N. England, more decent than this, which is a sort of middle way: the Minister taking the Elements first himself, and then carrying them round one part of the church, using some Scripture passages to excite devotion, while an Assistant goes round the other part of the church. The Table was scarcely decent; the Bread in single cakes in a small plate; four or five small cups; and the wine in 3 glass quart common bottles; which I believe has not been known in any country church in New England.

Nor in any other in Old England, it is to be hoped. Judging by the solemn and reverential way in which these things are done in the days in which we live, there are few who will not agree with the Governor in censuring the mode of administering the Sacrament on that occasion.

Somewhere about the year 1698, or perhaps earlier, the Old Second Church at the north end of Boston wanted a vessel for the Communion wine, when the Governor's father gave his silver tankard with cover, and the Hutchinson arms engraved on the front of it, holding near three pints and a half, to the church for the purposes required. This incident has before been alluded to at page 394, when speaking of the Old North, and would not have been repeated here but for the subject of the Communion wine. In the early days of the colony it could not be expected that sacred vessels for such purposes could be found in the jewellers' shops, so that a private individual made a pious gift of the most suitable object that could then be found; and after an interval of 170 years it is back again in the possession of the family.

On the fly-leaves at the beginning and ends of several of the volumes of his Diary, the Governor has jotted down notes and memorandums, as thoughts have struck him appropriate to the topics of the day, and to the peculiar circumstances in which he found himself so unexpectedly placed; or quotations more or less apt and striking, which he happened to light upon during the variety of his discursive reading. The turmoil of political and forensic struggle, by which two countries were distracted, naturally usurped a large place in his thoughts; and he has one or two notes on the doctrine and discipline of the numerous sects and bodies of

Christians, so styled in common parlance, though not always all Christians in principle and practice, inasmuch as from the times of the Puritans and Pilgrims downwards, they had kept the Old and the New Worlds in water quite as hot as anything that had characterised the ebullitions of secular party strife.

"Melancthon," he writes, on a fly-leaf at the end of the third volume of his Diary, "in an Epistle to Luther, 17, 6. 1. says of the first Reformers—*De doctrina nihil laborant, tantum de regno et libertate sunt solliciti.* The Puritans in England did not separate upon Doctrinal points: it was the government by Bishops they were sollicitous about. The ceremonies were said to be scrupled, but they were scrupled, not so much as being in themselves unlawful, but as being enjoined, when they were in their nature indifferent."

We here perceive the germs of those notions of Liberty that so distinguished them in after times: and there is a short memorandum from Melancthon at the end of vol. 6, at page 11, in red ink:—"Melancthon, after he had recommended the form he observed in his own church, adds—*Sed ritus humanos non necesse est similes esse.*"

But on the same page there immediately follows another memorandum which strongly portrays how little of stability or fixity of aim there is in human nature—how credulous and how careless in speech the so-called Lords of Creation. "Sorbiere," he writes, "in his Journey to England the beginning of Charles the Second's reign, after the Restoration—speaking of a Mountebank, says—*Nôtre pauvre humanité pourrait être definie par l'inclination au mensonge, et par la credulité.—Homo est animal credulum et mendax.*—Voyage, &c., p. 145."

Written on page 35 in red:—"The state of Ecclesiastical affairs in England in 1642 is well described in a letter from Vossius to Grotius, dated Amsterdam, Septem. 1642.—*Bellum Puritanicum hic multos habet sollicitos.* * * [too long to quote] * * *Atque hi ab Episcopalibus et Presbyteralibus, (sicuti vocantur) distincti Independentes nuncupantur. Pinsius* [?] *cujus magna in Parliamento est auctoritas prioris esse sententiæ, dicitur. Sed multi hac parte ei adversantur, qui cætera convenire videntur.*"—&c. &c., and in very hostile terms against Kings and Bishops: and a passage taken from Erasmus, at the end of vol. 4, gives us a fearful picture of the way in which Bishops were sometimes put up and put down by the giddy multitude:—

"*Olim populi suffragiis creabantur Episcopi: ejusdem libidine dejiciebantur: interdum lapidabuntur. Res erat plena tumultus, interdum et*

cædis. Itaque res ipsa persuasit, ut penes paucos ac certos homines esset jus designandi Episcopos, aut etiam submovendi."

To get men to agree on doctrinal points, or, indeed, on most other points, is a hopeless endeavour. Henry VIII. tried it at the time of the Reformation, and Queen Elizabeth gave her attention to the same task. Gov. H. jots down as follows:—

"When Grotius was endeavouring a reconciliation between the Church of Rome and the Reformed Churches, he wrote to his friend, Uytenbogard, for his opinion. The good old man, who was then 87, excused himself on account of his great age; and adds, that if he was to live 25 years in the full use of his powers, he was in doubt whether it would be enough time to read and thoroughly weigh all that would be necessary on the subject: and then, says that he often calls to mind a saying of Molinæus—*Les choses nécessaire à salut sont si clairement couchées en l'Ecriture, qu'il n'est point besoin d'interprete pour les entendre suffisamment à salut. L'Ecriture nous enseigne que Dieu a créé le monde, que Jesus Christ est mort pour nous, qu'il est ressuscité. Elle commande d'aimer Dieu de tout son cœur, et son prochain comme soymesme. Elle défend de tuer, de paillarder, de dérober, &c. Or, je dis, qu'en l'Ecriture, les choses qui sont ainsi claire, suffisent à salut.*"

The quiet reading of the Bible is the best cure for all the wild, fanciful, and foolish fuss that people in all ages have made, and continue to make, in matters of Church government, external forms, ceremonies, and conflicting theological dogmata. And looking to the future condition of men, as well as their present state, he has noted down passages from various authors that touch upon this train of thought, as well as others suggested by new views of old subjects.

"*Posteritati rectius creditur, non quod illa futura sit melior, sed quod æquior defunctis; quippe, alios habitura quos exerceat.*

"Grot. Epist. ad Gallos, p. 50."

"*Nimirum ea est sors rerum mortalium humanarum, ut non modo perpetuam, sed diuternam quoque filicitatem non ferant.*—Ibid. p. 61."

On the fly-leaf marked 37, in red ink, at the end of vol. 6, he writes:—

"In a Pamphlet published in 1775—*Right of Brit. Legist. to tax the Colonies*, &c., which I take to be written by Doctor Lind, [Lynde?] there is a quotation from Bacon's *Remains*, published by Rawleigh:—'This Kingdom, now first in His Majesty's times, hath gotten a lot or portion in the new world by the Plantation of Virginia and the Summer Islands, and certainly it is with the kingdoms on earth, as it is in the Kingdom of Heaven:

sometimes a grain of mustard seed proves a great tree. Who can tell?'

"In the *Cabala*, p. 50. Edit. 1663, there is a more full evidence of Bacon's sentiments upon Plantations.—'They must have their Commission in Letters Patent from the King, so that they may acknowledge their dependency upon the Crown of England, and being under its protection,—But the general law by which they must be guided and governed, must be the Common Law of England.—For the Discipline of the Church, it will be necessary that it agree with that which is settled in England, else it will make a schism and a rent in Christ's coat—and it will be fit that by the King's supreme power in causes ecclesiastical within all his dominions, they be subordinate under some Bishop and Bishoprick of this realm: That the King's reasonable profit be not neglected, partly upon reservation of moderate rents and services, and partly upon customs, and partly upon importation of merchandise, which, for a convenient time after the Plantation begins, would (should) be very easy to encourage the work; but after it is well settled, may be raised to a considerable proportion, worthy the acceptation.'

"There is no date to this letter, but it must have been written about 1616, when Sir G. Villiers supplanted Carr, Earl of Somerset. Bacon was Chancellor when the Charter to the Council of Plimouth in 1620 was framed. You may see much of his plan in it.

"The writer of this pamphlet has taken notice of several parts of the Messages of the Mass[s] Assembly in my controversy with them, but not the most exceptionable, and his remarks upon them are such as I made in my Answers, but he gives them as his own, and varies the words, not the sense. He speaks of the absurd expectations of the Bostonians in their Valedictory Address to Governor Hutchinson. I recollect no Address from the Bostonians, except that from about 110 Merchants, or generally such, and I don't find what he quotes in words or substance in that Address.* [A note says—They are in an Address from the Magistrates of Middlesex.] He says in another place—'The colonies were, according to the just expression of Governor Hutchinson, *parva effigies*, or small resemblances of the parent state.'"

But we are keeping him waiting. He is stepping into his carriage to start for Aylesbury.

7th.—Set out about 9 with my daughter in the coach for

* The Marchants' Addrs is prntd in the Procdngs of the Mass. Hist. Soc. for Jan. Feb. Mar. & Ap. —71, p. 43. Also the Solm. League and Covnt, p. 45. Also the Protest, p. 46. Also Gen. Gage's Proclamatn, p. 47.

Aylesbury. Reached Berkhamsted about ½ after two, and dined at the Inn. Sir F. B. and Lady, and two children came in soon after, and dined with D^r^ Jefferds, the Rector, brother to the Comiss^r^ of the Customs. We drank tea at the Rectory House, very pleasantly situated, and reached Aylesbury before nine in the evening.

8th.—Made a visit to S^r^ W^m^ Lee, who was abroad. In the evening he and Lady Elizabeth came to see us. I rode on horseback through Stone to —'s * Castle, about 4 miles. Have not been on horseback before, since last September, when I was last at Aylesbury. M^r^ Amory [?] and wife, Quincy, Greene, Sears, and Callahan and wife, came from Bristol, &c., and lodged at Aylesbury. Quincy came in the evening to Sir Francis Bernard's.

9th.—Rode before breakfast to Wendover, (5 miles), which lies at the bottom of the Chiltern Hills. Gentle rain soon after I set out: none the two days before. We dined at Berkhamstead, at M^r^ Noyes's, a gentleman of estate, and a friend of S^r^ F. B., a clergyman, M^r^ Bland, and a son of Col. Peachell, and Bland's daughter, w^th^ Lady, M^rs^ and Scroop [?] Bernard, besides Sir F. Returned to Aylesbury in the evening.

10th.—Dined at S^r^ W^m^ Lee's. Conversation turned upon America. He says a Revolution is coming on in England: is much attached to the Grenville interest, and seems not well satisfied with the . . . † himself. In every other respect amiable. His Lady is daughter of Lord Harcourt, L^d^ L^t^ of Ireland, &c.

Sir William seems to have been opposed to Lord North's Ministry. The great subject of America was now freely discussed in all societies, and with various degrees of feeling. There were some few persons in England who thought that the Colonies had better be given up, but they were only the few. Even the Marquis of Rockingham, Lords Chatham and Camden, and Edmund Burke, who did a great deal in fomenting and encouraging the Rebellion in America, never went so far as this; but only so far as to express sympathy with Republican aspirations, without intending to satisfy

* Blank in MS.
† Blotted out and obliterated.

them. The two pressing questions, however, that demanded the first attention from the home authorities, were these:—The relief of Boston, now closely blockaded and in danger of assault, by sending out additional forces: and the relief of the beleaguered inhabitants, who were in danger of starvation. The Governor had written out by the *Cerberus* on the 1st of August, to the then acting Lieutenant-Governor, and a paragraph in his letter, copied into his Letter Book with his own hand, thus alludes to these points:—

"I do not see the least disposition to give up America. Further force is going this fall. What, I do not know. But all their depend[ance] seems to be upon one grand exertion in the spring. I am assured y^{r} proposal of supplies of every kind, except fresh meat, shall be sent from Europe for the Troops and Inhabit^{s}. But does Block Island, Garden Island, Elizabeth, Fisher's, Conanicut, or even R^{d} Isl. &c., &c., afford no oxen, sheep, poultry, &c., w^{ch} one would think here might be come at? but at this distance we do not know how far it may be impracticable to find vessels for that purpose.

"I am under continued distress for the state of my children and friends, and cannot enlarge or write anything upon such a subject without pain."

Again, on the second of this month, he writes to some friend not named:—

"Your passage I hope was good. Our last news of the Charl. affair seems to have awakened the Kingdom. Four Regimt^{s}, w^{ch} will be complete, and four Companies of the Artillery, are going immediately: and Gen. Harvey says they will be in season for service this fall. I am told, but I don't know whether the authority is good, that more will follow before the spring. If they should not, a very large force may then be depended on."

Lower down in the same:—

"I am told very large quantities of portable soup are ordered: some of w^{ch} I hope will be ordered for the inhabit^{s}, unless a way is found to come at fresh provisions, which I am sure may be had in some way or other from R^{d} Island Colony. But what state this letter will find you in, it is not possible to guess."

11th.—My daughter and self, accompanied by S^{r} F. B. and Lady, went to Stow—about 20 miles. The rain hindered any view of the Gardens, until five o'clock, after which we went

about half through, and then drank tea with Lord and Lady Temple, who pressed our lodging there, and Lady T. was so polite as to go through the several apartments. The House is now repairing, but is the most magnificent of any I have seen in England. We lodged, Sr F. B. refusing Lord Temple's offer, at a villainous Inn.

Peter Temple, Esq., sowed a grain of mustard seed about 1554, which has grown to a large tree. The house he built was taken down, and another erected by Sir Richard Temple, K.B., who died in 1697. But his son, Lord Cobham, added wings and a new front: Richard, Earl Temple, proceeded with other additions, which were in course of progress at the time of this visit: the Marquis of Buckingham, a nephew of the former, added still more to the buildings, and the adornment of the exterior as well as the interior, and also improved the beauty of the grounds and gardens: and the Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos within our own time, have promoted other works, and have endeavoured to enlarge the estate.

12th.—Before breakfast we took a view of the remaining part of the Gardens, which are said to contain 400 acres. When I was in England in 1741, they were said to contain 200 only. The House is greatly enlarged and adorned, but the Gardens struck me as agreeably then as now. Some of the buildings are gone, others added, and some in different places from what they were then in. We returned to Ailesbury before three. In our road to Stow we passed thro' the villages of Hardwick, Whitchurch, both small; Winslow, a decent market town; a little village two miles short of Buckingham, which is the shire town, but not so much larger than Winslow as I expected. Mr Lowndes has a large brick house in Winslow. Buckingham is not more than two miles from Stow.

13th.—Mr Stocking the Curate Lecturer and Schoolmaster, preached in the morning; a stranger in the afternoon. My daughter and I, and Miss Fanny B. drank tea with Sr W. Lee and Lady.

14th.—Left Ailesbury about 9 o'clock, and went through Tring; saw Ivingho a little on the left, 2 or 3 miles from Tring, where we crossed the Chiltern Hills, and had a very

extensive prospect of the country; stopped at Dunstable, 18 miles from Ailesbury, where we found Doctor Jeffards and wife. They went forward to Wrest, leaving us to rest our horses; and we followed so as to arrive at four to dine, being 30 miles from Sir F. B.'s.

15th.—In the forenoon rode with L^d^ Hardwicke in his chaise round his grounds. The afternoon rainy, spent in viewing the house, library, &c.

16th.—Went with Doctor Jeffards to Ampthill. Saw the house of the late Marquis of Tavistock, formerly the Earl of Ailesbury's, a large brick building, old, but in good repair; came thro' L^d^ Ossory's Park, who married the Dutchess of Grafton. The House very elegant. He has erected a Pillar to the memory of Q. Catherine [Parr] divorced from H. the 8^th^, for at Ampthill she resided after the divorce. The inscription is in blank verse, by Hor. Walpole. Ampthill is a neat small market town, pleasantly situated: several new well built brick houses: the streets well paved and airy. We returned through Silsoe, the town not being more than half a mile from L^d^ Hardwicke's. The afternoon was taken up in dining and ranging round the Park.

17th.—On horseback again w^th^ D^r^ J. to Flitton, the parish where is a church in which we viewed the monuments of the Kent family. Called at the Rector's, Archdeacon Cox, who married a daughter of General Parslow. Silsoe has a chapel only, dependant on the parish church. Thursday being Lord H.'s day to see company, the Archdeacon, his wife, and son, and M^r^ Rouse [or Rowe], to whom his L^d^ship gave a living in the next parish, and who, three times a week, officiates in the private chapel, made all the company, besides what lodged in the house.

The accounts of Flitton say that the family of Grey have buried there from the time of Henry VIII., and that amongst the several Earls of Kent buried there may be seen a monument to Henry, fifth Earl, who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots. In the chancel there is a record of an uncommon instance of longevity in the case of one Thomas Hill, who died in 1601, aged 128. We read in mediæval history of many persons who

have attained very great ages—much greater than this of Hill; but when those cases have been more closely investigated, there has almost always been a want of sufficient proof to satisfy exact minds. In modern days, when the Registers of ages are more carefully kept, the undoubted proofs of ages amounting to a century were found to be so few, that the late Sir Cornwall Lewis was led to look with suspicion at all of them, and hardly to be persuaded to believe that any person nowadays ever reached to 100 years. In drawing this hard-and-fast line perhaps he went too far; for it is generally now admitted, that within our own time several well-authenticated instances have been established of persons having attained, and a little exceeded, the advanced period of 100 years.

When I was at the Falls of Niagara I was told that amongst the wonders of the neighbourhood was a free Negro who was 116 years old, who did not live far off, and that most visitors went to see him and talk to him; and then perhaps, I may add, give him a dollar for telling a very good story. Comparatively young in that day, I believed everything that was told me, either by Blacks or Whites, and I fully intended to go to Drummond Village or Lundy's Lane and find him; but during the week that I was dallying in that pleasant locality, listening to the roar of many waters, and much taken up with the Falls above and below, the Rapids, Table Rock, the Rainbow about three in the afternoon, the Burning Spring towards Chippaway, or the gyrations of the Whirlpool lower down, and then across the Ferry to Goat Island, the Terrapin Bridge, and the Tower, I found at last that it was time to be leaving, and with some feeling of regret I relinquished the determination of visiting my black friend. Aside—I am glad now—I saved my dollar.

Climbing one day from the river up the steep path and the steps to the town above, on the United States side, at one of the landings I fell in with a brisk and neatly dressed young man, all smiles and talk, with a tinge of black blood in his complexion. He fell in love with a small rifle I had bought in Boston, and which was lying on my left arm, and asked if I would sell it. I had never contemplated such a thing. I intended to take it to England. He was rather persistent, however, and I naturally concluded that he was an expert rifleman. Continuing the conversation as we paced together up the zig-zag inclines, I began to consider whether I would yield to his whim or not, and when a person begins to hesitate, it is all up with him. In my peregrinations I had increased my incumbrances, as most people do when

they travel, by a curiosity here and a relic there, and I began to find that I had not got hands enough or pockets enough. To give up the rifle would relieve my hands of something to carry, and I knew I could get another in Boston. Arrived at the top, we sauntered away among some of the gardens and buildings on the outskirts of the town, and, stopping a moment, he said to me—"Which do you put in first, the powder or the shot?" I thought I should have dropped. As soon as I had sufficiently recovered to speak, I replied that I generally put in the powder first, but perhaps I was wrong. This incident made me look with more interest at my new friend, and I had a growing wish to find out what he was, and whence he came. The recreation or use of firearms seems to be a natural bent in the temperament of the human race. Where are the school-boys that do not delight in firing little cannons, or in going out to shoot small birds on a half holiday? And where are the grown men that do not try their hands at occasional sporting, or take part in military affairs, or join Rifle Corps, or the Militia, or the Line? Besides, I was in a country where dexterity in the use of the rifle had never been exceeded—where one man will take a squirrel off the top of a tree by putting a ball through the two eyes, without damaging the skin; and where another will drive a nail into the trunk of a tree by standing off and firing at the head of it. I asked him something of his history. He had nothing to be ashamed of. He told me he was a Barber and Perfumer of Philadelphia, and that he was out on a holiday to enjoy himself. I enquired if he had ever loaded or fired a rifle? He said he had not, but he should like to. I thought it better to go through the positions and words of command of a Drill Sergeant, to show him how it was done, and then I asked him if he thought he could hit a door at ten paces? He did not know, for he had never tried; so I immediately fired at the nearest door within reach, and put a bullet through it, without enquiring who was on the other side. On running up to the door, and examining the shot hole, he was so delighted, that he insisted on having the rifle without more ado. Finding how ignorant he was in the use of such a weapon, I began to feel afraid of letting him have it at all, lest he might do some grievous harm either to himself or others, and so I told him; but he declared he should soon understand all about it, and that he would be very careful. So have it he would; and in spite of my misgivings, have it he did; and we parted excellent friends; but for a whole month afterwards I hunted over all the newspapers I could lay hands on to see what had happened.

Rambling about on Goat Island one day, amongst the trees and underwood, I thought I should like to carry some little memento of so delightful a spot to England, so I went in among the bushes, and with my pocket-knife cut a stick of the kind called Blue-beech. How many hundred miles the hand now relieved of the rifle carried this stick it would be hard to say, or how many trimmings and finishing touches it got at odd times from the pocket-knife, to make it presentable in Europe, would be equally difficult to enumerate. I took the rail to Tonewonta and Buffalo, and sundry other places, and eventually began to turn eastward, wishing sooner or later to get to Albany, and then down the Hudson. Near Utica I was at a place on the banks of the Erie Canal, and on the wharf there lay two or three cubes of freestone (so called), which some boat had left there for building purposes. I sat down upon one of them, placing my stick upon the same stone by my side. I determined to go to Schenectady by the canal. There was an unusual amount of bustle going on. What could be the matter? People began to congregate and stand in groups talking. Some ran one way and some another, as if they were collecting their forces. Then some men moved about, and with an air of authority and animated gestures spoke loud and roughly from one end of the wharf to the other. There were two opposition boats running at this time on the canal, each drawn by two horses, which they put at a canter, for the boats were light and narrow, and well fitted for expedition. Was I going on? cried one of these busy agents. "Yes!" Well, then, I was told to hold myself in readiness, and jump into the first boat that came to the wharf, whether she stopped or no, for the time was now up, and the race would be a close one. The interest began to intensify: all eyes were turned in one direction; people looked as if they wanted to grow taller, judging by the way they stood on tiptoe and stretched their necks: and soon a great cry was raised, and two panting horses came into view, and then the nose of the boat that "carried a white bone in her mouth." She somewhat slackened her pace, and slid along by the wharf. The excitement had reached its height. Out jumped about a dozen people: then another dozen, of whom I was one, made a rush and a jump and tumbled into the boat somehow, to be shaken down as you are in a London omnibus: smack went the whip: we felt the jerk, and knew that the boat was again under weigh; and as we got on our legs and stood on our feet and looked in each other's faces, everybody was grinning, and enjoyed the fun: then there was a great cry astern, for the second boat drew up to the wharf

almost as soon as we had quitted it; our boat soon began to mend her pace: our horses began to trot, and, gliding along through the smooth water, we threw the spray to the right and left in sheets of white foam. I looked back with a feeling of triumph and pride at the boat we were leaving behind us. Oh! my stick! There it lay upon the block of stone! Oh horror! How could I leave it behind? My first impulse was to jump overboard and swim ashore. I knew I could do it, for two months before I had been capsized out of a boat in Boston Harbour, and swam with my clothes on to some floating balks of timber that lay alongside of a wharf under Fort Hill; but in a few seconds more a turn in the canal shut out everything from view, and with a sigh I came to my senses. The voyage was full of incident. We had not gone much further, sometimes having the hinder boat in sight, and sometimes losing her just as a bend in our course shortened the view, when a great shout and a vast ebullition of feeling among those at the bow drew everybody's attention in that direction; then some of the passengers threw themselves down upon the gunwale and reached over into the water with their hands until they were in danger of losing their balance; others stabbed at something with sticks; and others seized baskets and scooped up the water, and something more. We were passing through a group of fine ripe melons—literally water-melons—floating about the canal, that were supposed to have fallen out of some boat carrying fruit that had preceded us. With much exultation we took out our pocket-knives and feasted on melon all the way to Schenectady.

Let us now return to the more sober Diary, where our nerves will settle down, and we shall be able to breathe.

18th.—We rode this forenoon about 4 or 5 miles to view S^{r} George Osborne's seat, which was a Priory, and retains in great part the ancient form more than any building I have seen in England. The gardens and grounds are elegant, and the prospect from them very pleasing. Chikesand is the name of the Priory, and the date upon some late erected ruins, where the chapel is said to have stood, is 1342; but Dugdale makes the foundation rather earlier, and dates a grant to the church there, the 10th of Edward 2nd, w^{ch} is about 1317. S^{r} George is son and heir to S^{r} Danvers Osborne, who was Gov. of New York.* We took leave in the evening of L^{d} H.

* During one of my three visits to New York, a sociable American one day

and Lady Grey, Lady Mary, Doctor and Mrs Jeffards, and on the—

19th.—Between six and seven, set out on our return to London. Barton Clay, a small parish, is about 3 miles from Wrest, and about 7 more carried us to Luton, a market town. We rode through Lord Bute's Park, and had a view of the outside of the house, &c., but the house inside is never shewn, nor is Lord Bute seen, but by a few of his family, or most intimate friends. We took a second breakfast at St. Albans, between 11 and 12: viewed a part of the large town, particularly of the huge pile, the ancient Abbey of St. Albans, in a ruinous state, though a parochial church, the whole buildings, as I was informed, having been sold at the Dissolution by H. the 8th for 400£.—a small part now serves for Divine Service. We added a pair of horses at Barnet, a good town, the environs finely situated for country seats, only as the Gibbets upon Finchley Common, indicate danger in travelling. Highgate and Kentish Town were next, and we reached St. James's Street half after four, having ordered dinner at that time.

Wrest, where we spent near a week, is a rival to Stow: not in the expense and grandeur, for Stow gardens are 400 acres, and Wrest but 100, but in the neatness and elegance of the walks and plantations. In the grounds about Stow, the gardens, buildings, &c., appear to much greater advantage than those at Wrest appear in its environs.

20th.—Rain came on as I was going to the Temple, and I turned in to St. James's Church, where a young clergyman with a cheerful countenance read prayers, and one somewhat older preached, whose name I could not learn, but was told he was a stranger.

In the evening my sons* came home from a journey they

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called my attention to an oval enclosure surrounded with iron railings towards the lower end of Broadway. There was nothing then within it; but he told me that before the war broke out, there had been a statue of George III. there, but that when hostilities began, it was remembered that this statue was made of lead, so they pulled it down and cast it into bullets. And then he added—"And we returned the statue to the British again."

* Elisha and Billy. Elisha's Diary does not record the fact, for it ends

had been upon ever since Thursday sennight, thro' Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Worcester, &c. Young M^r^ Smith accompanied them.

21st.—I called at L^d^ Dartmouth's office, and L^d^ Suffolk's: saw M^r^ Pownall and M^r^ Eden. A report to-day which I had first from M^r^ T. Townshend, that a vessel into Liverpool had spoken w^th^ a vessel from Boston, w^ch^ gave an account of an action on the 14^th^ of July, and that the rebels were defeated and dispersed: but before night it had lost all credit. I wrote to Lord Hardwicke at his desire. Sprinklings of rain all day.

22nd.—We hear to-day of a scooner w^ch^ left Boston the 16^th^ of July: spoke with by a ship arrived from Jamaica, which makes some think she is sent express with some interesting news. Rained a little in the afternoon.

23rd.—I met Mazeres, Cursitor Baron, in the street. He says Col. Christie thinks less than 30,000 men insufficient for reducing America; but Mazeres doubts whether it had not better be given up. M^r^ Strahan showed me a short letter from Franklin of 7 July from Philadelphia, which makes light of something Strahan had wrote him [that] M^r^ Rigby said in the H. of Commons: puts Strahan in mind of what passed between them in England, and that he (F.) had not proved a false prophet: they had now got to cutting throats—horrid war: the people of England might burn and destroy their towns, but that would not make the Americans to be better customers, nor better [able] to pay their debts. He concludes with saying he was in good health, and never busier in his life.

23rd.*—Called upon M^r^ Robinson, and mentioned to him the case of M^r^ Flucker, and S. Oliver, and my son W. At Mauduit's, Clements Lane. M^r^ Wentworth, in the evening, mentions that a New York vessel had also spoke with a scooner from Boston; and that a vessel with 600 brls. of powder, which cleared from London for Africa, was seized by a cutter on the

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abruptly with July 15, 1775; but there are many detached fragments of his Diary in and after 1777. But there are two letters of August 12 and 28 from Elisha to his wife, mentioning the journey and other things.

* The date "23rd" occurs twice over, as here copied.

coast of N. England, and carried into Boston. Q. What offence? No Rebellion declared.

24th.—Sat out between 8 and 9 wth my daughter in a post-chaise for Lord Gage's at Furle, in Sussex. We went as far as Maresfield in the road we took last year, and then thro' Uckfield, where we dined, and arrived between six and seven, where we found M^{r} Willis, a son of the late Bishop of Winchester, and M^{r} Nickolls, late from New England.

25th.—M^{r} Willis went to London in the morning. We all dined at Lord Pelham's at Stanmer. Besides his L^{d}ship's family, were a M^{r} Offley, M^{r} Holroyd and Lady, M^{r} Trevor, second son to Lord Trevor, and a gentleman who has some place in the navy. L^{d} Pelham has a most elegant place: the house furnished in the newest taste: the grounds admirable, but no water. He says they go 300 feet for a spring: his house is surrounded with cisterns underground to collect all the rain from the roof. M^{r} Pelham, the eldest son, (not of age,) promises to make a figure in publick life. Lady Pelham is an immediate descendant from Cromwell, by the Rich family: has a very amiable character.

In the evening a letter from my son E. at London, with news from Boston to the 20th of July, which deprived me of a good part of my usual sleep.

26th.— We had a very agreeable tour to the sea across the hill and Downs to Seaforth, where Lord Gage went into the sea to bathe and swim, the latter of which he was extremely expert at.

In the afternoon walked 4 or 5 miles over L^{d} Gage's farms.

27th.—In the morning there being no service at Furle, we attended at Glynde, where there is a very elegant chapel, built by the last Bishop of Durham, uncle to the present Lord Trevor. A M^{r} Davis, the Clergyman, preached. In the afternoon at Furle, and in the evening, Lady Gage read prayers and a sermon, M^{r} Nickolls the Clergyman, being one of the hearers. There were 13 or 14 men servants, and 11 maid servants belonging to the family attending.

28th.—A misty rainy day confined us to the house, until towards evening it grew so fair as to admit of a walk. Lord

Gage has got letters from his brother-in-law M^r^ Tasborough at Leghorn, the same who went to Jerusalem with Boylstone, which says we have nothing to fear from the Spaniards, for it is allowed by their own friends, that in the Barbary expedition they lost 8,000 men, 600 of them officers.

29th.—M^r^ Holrood [*sic*] and his wife, who we saw at Lord Pelham's, breakfasted at Lord Gage's, and M^r^ Fuller of Lewes, a Member of the last Parliament. Showery, but found sun enough for a walk in the forenoon. The newspaper brings us Burgoyne's answer to Lee's letter, and Lee's Card in return. We think Lee so infamous, that he did not deserve the tenderness shewn him by Burgoyne.

30th.—We went to Lewes and took a full view of the remains of the Castle, built by Warren, Earl of Surrey. One of the Gates is entire. One of the Towers is it [*sic*] at the full height. We went to the top and had a fine prospect: saw the hill where Henry 3^rd^ had his camp, and the field between it and Lewes where he fought with the Barons. There are part of the Castle walls at a distance which shew it must have been very large and of great strength when it was built, and when cannon were not in use. It's now the property of M^r^ Kemp, a gentleman of Lewes. We saw the stone in the walls of an old church, St. John's, with the inscription, part in Saxon characters, probably as old as the time of the Conquest, and is the monument of a Magnus, descended from the Royal Family of the Danes, and is noted in Camden's Britannia.

We returned through Glynde, by Colonel Haye's, who, with two Clergymen, dined at Lord Gage's.

31st.—M^r^ Nickolls left us this morning at 6 o'clock, in order to go to Lewes, and from thence in the stage to London. A very rainy forenoon. After dinner, near 6 o'clock, went in a single horse chaise with Lord Gage to Lauton [Laughton] across the fields, supposing it to be 3 miles, but made it more than 5, and did not get to the church till half an hour after sunset. We expected to have seen the Duke of New Castle's and M^r^ Henry Pelham's Monuments, but were disappointed. Since the Duke's death a Chancel has been built very near, which we were told cost 1500£; but we did not see so much

as an inscription, tho' it's the repository of the Pelham family. We came home in the dark thro' Ringmore and Glynde, 7 or 8 miles, and as neither of us had good eyes for the dark, found it very unpleasant.

September 1st.—We went with Lord and Lady Gage to Brighthelmstone, and returned to dine about six in the evening. Saw Mr Knox and family: Col. Cunningham, Mr Blair, Clerk of the Council, who desired to see me in town: Mr Mitchell the Minister of the town, who treated me with great politeness, &c., &c.

Small showers: wind high, raw, and so penetrating that for a person relaxed, I think no situation more unfit. Mr Knox finds it so, and is running away to Tunbridge.

2nd.—Without company to-day. Walked through the village, which I had never done before.

And to-day the Governor wrote a long letter at Furle to Mr. Daniel Leonard, of Boston, the loyal writer who was known as "Massachusettensis," and whom we had occasion frequently to quote near the commencement of this volume. The letter opens with some remarks about Solicitors of the Customs, and then proceeds as follows:—

"For the last four weeks, except three or four days, I have been at a distance from London, and I cannot tell you so much news, as you will hear from other correspondents you may have, or from other letters which your friends may receive in Boston. It is said everything is doing which is possible, for encreasing the Naval and Land force in America, until it shall be equal to the object for which it is raised. Wherever I have been in the country there is a perfect calm, and the cessation of American trade has no effect upon the manufactures, for, by new channels, or by enlargement of old, the demand is greater now than last year. All the concern in the minds of the well wishers to the cause of Government arises from the distresses of the people in Boston. If they can hold out till spring, there seems to be no doubt of their being then relieved. I wish it may be sooner.

"It is unpleasant to have private papers made publick, but I am not afraid that the publication of my private letters may affect my character as an honest man. You will find nothing contrary to my professions to the world, or to particular friends; and there

will as little appear, reflecting on men in opposition to Government, as can well be conceived. I am sure I even scrupled writing anything injurious to any man; and I never did make a proposal respecting the publick, which I did not think for the public interest. The printer makes so many blunders, that he may bring an imputation upon my understanding.

"In printing my letters, wrote when I adjourned the Court to Cambridge, they seem to insinuate, that as I had no positive instruction, it was a measure which I wished. In all the controversy with the House, I never said I had a positive instruction: but that I had such instruction as made it necessary. The Secretary of State, for divers reasons enumerated, informed me that it was judged highly expedient I should remove the Court to Cambridge, unless I had more weighty reasons which would justify me in not doing it. I sought for reasons, for I wished not to do it, and thought I had found them; but before the ship sailed, I changed my opinion,—was convinced I should make myself obnoxious to y^e^ King, especially as the Governor [Bernard] was upon the spot, and would have said he wrote to me, and advised me by all means to do it. It became therefore, as necessary for me before the meeting of the Court, as if I had received the most positive instruction. I remember besides, that upon their desiring a copy of my Instructions, I let them know I considered the King's Orders by his Secretary of State, of the same force as under his Sign Manual: so that there is no reason to pretend I deceived them.

"It was easy to forsee that the scheme of the Leaders of the people would bring on that distress which America now feels. I wished further provision by Acts of Parliament to deter men from such schemes. I wished at the same time for every indulgence with respect to taxation, and all other parts of legislation which could consist with our continuing part of the Empire; and whoever reads the whole of my correspondence will find it a consistent plan for these purposes; and no particular letters, without perverting, will appear inconsistent with it. I am still of the same sentiments. I wish to see the Leaders deterred from their pursuits: and I wish the poor deluded people may return to the full enjoyment of every blessing of good Government, and I do not despair of living to see the day. I expect in two or three days to be in London."

It may indeed be observed, that the above mild, forbearing, and truly Christian remarks towards those who were doing him so much wrong are not a little to his credit.

3rd.—Mr Morton read prayers and preached. Mr Knox came and was at church with us, and returned in the evening to Lewes. He says orders are gone to Graves to send ships to Carolina, Virginia, Pensilvania, and New York; and gives such account of their orders as makes it probable hostilities will be offered.

4th.—We returned to London. Intended when we sat out to have gone through Chaley [or Chailey], and called upon Mr Holroyd by invitation; but at Lewes we were informed that Ld Pelham had engaged all the horses at Chaley, and so we returned thro' Uckfield, and were at home in season for dinner before five.

Writing from Furle to Elisha, the Governor announced his coming as follows :—*

"Furle, 28 August, 1775.

"My Dear Son,

"I was not without some hopes of a more favourable account from Boston. I now almost despair of our friends being able to continue there through the winter.

"We design to be in town Friday or Saturday. Don't stay to dine on Friday, but keep your fish on Saturday till half after four, if we should not be at home sooner.

"I shall be glad of a line under Lord Gage's cover, by to-morrow's post, to know that Billy and you, &c., are well, and to hear what you have been able to collect further of American news, and am

"Your Affection' Father

"Tho. Hutchinson."

After he and Peggy had returned, Lord Gage sent the following letter. It is written in a large disjointed style of writing, and very difficult to decipher. It is in the same book.

"Dear Sir,

"After you have received an apology for troubling you with my letter, I must desire you and your fair daughter will accept our sincere and hearty thanks for your kind and friendly visit; and I flatter myself the regret we expressed at parting with you, sufficiently shewed how much we wished you could have made a longer stay with us.

"I have letters from Mr Kemble, which make no mention of

* From the original letter in the blue leather-back vol.

Major Shireff's [?] intention to accompany M^r^ [?] Gage. *M^r^ Shireff* [?] *I find does:* and to this I attribute Col. James's mistake, as he brought our dispatches: it is not probable he should know more of our friends' motions than we are informed of: at all events therefore, I shall be obliged to you if you will forward the letters, the contents [?] of which, being nothing [?] but meer Inquiries after y^e^ health and welfare of his acquaintance, they may take their chance . . . [?] . consequence, for should they miscarry, [?] I care not what hands they fall into.

"Though you could not readily construe Doctor [?] James's [?] Latin [?] I hope you will easily construe my English, when I say that I am

"Very Sincerely
"Your Most Obed^t^
"Humble Serv^t^
"Gage.

"Furle.
"Monday morn^g^,
"Sep^ber^ y^e^ 11^th^, 1775."

5th.—By vessels yesterday and to-day, I received letters from L^t^ Gov. Oliver,* and the Chief Justice: the first the 24^th^ the other the 19^th^ of July,† when the strength of the rebels was much increased, and that of the King's forces diminished by sickness, as well as in the two Actions, at Lexington and Charleston: and their holding the town thro' the winter looks doubtful. I had conversation with M^r^ Pownall, who observed that he had great difficulty to get the Cabinet to town, and they had all left it again. L^d^ Dartmouth in Yorkshire.

6th.—Col. James, who left Nantasket the 29^th^ July, confirms my opinion, that the troops are preparing to quit Boston. He says the Royal Battery was partly blown up at the Castle before he came away: all the platforms taken up, and the merlons thrown down into the sea. The cannon, &c., they would bring away. The ship he came in bro't 40 pi^s^ cañon from the Fort at Piscataqua. He tells an odd story of the intention of the officers the 5 March, that 300 were in the

* This was Thomas Oliver, and no relation of Lieut.-Governor Andrew Oliver, who died March 23, 1774.

† These letters do not seem to have been preserved.

Meeting to hear Dr Warren's Oration: that if he had said anything against the King, &c., an officer was prepared, who stood near, with an egg, to have thrown in his face, and that was to have been a signal to draw swords, and they would have massacred Hancock, Adams, and hundreds more; and he added, he wished they had. I am glad they did not: for I think it would have been an everlasting disgrace to attack a body of people without arms to defend themselves.

He says one officer cried "Fy! fy!" and Adams immediately asked who dared say so? And then said to the officer he should mark him. The officer answered "And I will mark you. I live at such a place, and shall be ready to meet you." Adams said he would go to his General. The officer said his General had nothing to do with it: the affair was between them two, &c.

I was at the Levée. Ld Suffolk, the Attorney-General, &c., but very thin. The prospect is gloomy.

7th.—Called upon Col. James at his lodgings, Charing Cross. The more I hear of the state of Boston the more I am distressed: the prospect of ruin is so great.

Payne, Hooper, and Cap. Martin dined with us, and Miss Byles of Wells.

In the evening called on Col. Haldimand. Waited on Ld Suffolk at his office, and desired him to speak to Ld North for Billy.

Elisha wrote to his wife on the 28th of August, and made his remarks upon the succession of startling portions of news that from time to time had arrived in England: and in the book containing his original letters there is the following, which he wrote yesterday, as we have now arrived at the 7th:—

"St. James's Street, Sepr 6th, 1775.

"My Dear Polly,

"I wrote to you not long since by a vessel in the government service, and having this moment heard that Mr Hughes, who was to have sailed at the same time is still in town, I will give him a short letter, though it is doubtful when, or whether ever you will receive it; for I hear that all my letters which arrived since the 19th of April, are in Boston, and cannot find their way to you.

"I was in hopes by this time, you would have been able to

have smuggled a letter into Boston for me, or by some other way I should have received one or more from you, but I am disappointed. It is however, no small pleasure to meet with Cap. Davis, who tells me he saw you and your little baby, and the rest of the family, the latter end of June, and then you were all well and in good spirits; and your Pa' was permitted to drink his Punch at twelve as usual, which is a privilege, I dare say, he would be loth to give up, especially if the weather is uncommonly hot, as we are told it is.

"If you was in Boston, instead of Plymouth, though in the miserable state which they are in at present, I cannot wish it, I should immediately embark, and share with you, or take you with me to some other part of the globe; but it would be madness, however I may desire to return to you, by doing it, to involve both of us in further trouble.

"The Gov^{r} and Peggy returned Monday noon.

"I shall write by the next opportunity, and am, with anxious care and concern for your welfare and happiness, wholly and entirely yours,

"E. Hutchinson."

And, chronologically speaking, according to the date in his Diary to which we have now arrived, the Governor wrote to-day, that is to say, the 7th of September, to a Colonel, whose names look like Abijah Williams. It is to be regretted that the names of his correspondents have been for the most part so hastily and so carelessly written, that they are many of them very hard to decipher; and it may also be observed, that in a number of instances they are not recorded at all. He comments on the unhappy state of the town of Boston. "You must have suffered," he says to the Colonel, "much in so long confinement in the T. of B." And he makes this amusing remark—"The plundering my house, y^{e} News Papers say, was *providential*." This shews with what different eyes different people look at the same event. And he concludes by remarking—"I am charged wth arbitrary principles: but I am as far from them as any man in the world, and never wished for a greater restraint of natural liberty than is necessary to answer the end of Gov^{t}; and I had rather be the subject of a despotic Prince, than be the Prince himself: but I think I have no need to vindicate this part of my character to you."

These are reasonable remarks. If this moderate restraint of natural liberty, for the purposes of Constitutional Government,

had been more recognised by all parties, and without which no community can hold together, very little quarrelling would have taken place in America.

8th.—Col. James breakfasted with us: says the next news we may expect to hear, Salem is burnt to ashes. At Mr Nickolls' lodgings in the Temple.

9th.—We, except Billy, went to Fulham. I intended to speak to the Bishop in behalf of Mr Nickolls, but he was in Oxfordshire.

Mr F. Greene, Smith, Swett, Curwen, dined with us, and Mr Bridgen came in unexpected.

10th.—At St. Paul's with Doctor and Mrs Tarpley. I could not find who was the preacher, nor any of the Readers. The chanting Te Deum and Jubilate at Ailesbury was not disagreeable, but the tone in the Litany, and this part of the prayers, I could not be reconciled to; and upon the whole, I much dislike Cathedral service.

11th.—I wrote to my son, brother, and others in America, and forwarded the letters to Mr Gambier at Portsmth to go by the *Phœnix*, or next vessel.

Bliss dined with us.

The following are what he alludes to, as copied from his Letter Book covered with marble paper. They were entered by Peggy, judging by the handwriting.

"My Dear Son,

"I am so unable to make a judgment what will be your state, or even where you will be at the time when this letter may arrive at Boston, that I am at a loss what to write to you, or what to do for you. In your letter of 20th July, [not preserved,] you say, if you remain the winter, you shall want a supply of beef, pork, potatoes, &c., from abroad. If you had intimated a wish to have them from hence, I would have sent them by a Transport vessel. In a letter from Judge Oliver, he says a number of the Council and others, were sending the vessels to Ireland for supplies. This letter was to your brother, dated the [blank: letter missing.] I will stay till Deverson arrives, unless I hear from you before, when I may be able to form a better judgment.

"I think you will soon determine how to conduct [these affairs]. I depend upon Judge Oliver's care of Sally and her children, as it

is not possible for me to know enough here to be able to give her any advice. As I suppose General Gage will be come [coming] away, I have wrote to General Howe, desiring his protection and indulgence to my family and friends, whose distresses I feel to a very great degree. I am going for a week to a gentleman's house in Hampshire, and purpose to write to you again the first opportunity after my return.—I am, &c.

"Pray tell M^r^ J. Winslow, by advice of M^r^ Greene, I shall place his money in the Bank, for w^ch^ purpose I expect a Stock Broker in the morning, and shall write him on my return from Hampshire or before."

The following is the letter to General Howe, written at this time :—

"Sir,

"I am informed that it is probable General Gage will have left Boston before this letter can arrive, and that the command of His Majesty's land forces will consequently devolve upon you, I beg leave to recommend to your favourable protection, my children and near relations, who have been long confined in the town of Boston. If they should be obliged to leave the town, I beg they may be allowed to take away as much of their and my effects as may be. I hope I may presume upon this, from a share in your friendship, and that you will think I have some further claim, as the misfortunes they are under arise from resentment against me, for my fidelity to the King, in the discharge of my trust when Governor of the Province. My son and daughter, each of them with their families, were happily settled at a distance from the town, and I suppose might have remained quiet and unmolested if they had not been my children. All the advantages of my public employment will not countervail the losses I have sustained, besides the distress of mind from the sufferings of my friends for a twelvemonth past, and the anxiety I am under concerning their future destiny.

"Gen. Howe. I have the Honor to be, &c."

At the risk of being somewhat tedious and too prolix, the letter to Judge Oliver, which was sent with the others, shall also be inserted here.

"Dear Sir,

"I am so uncertain when, and in what state this letter will find you, or whether it will ever find you, I will only tell you that

I have received yours by Col. James, and then repeat my former desire that you take care of the Doctor's [Dr. Peter Oliver's] family, to the support of which I am very ready to contribute: but my main concern is for their security and comfort the ensuing winter; whether the troops will or will not leave Boston, I cannot judge. If they should, I suppose there is no place where they can winter, so advantageously as in Rhode Island Government, and no part of that Colony so convenient for the main body as Conanicut Island; and if the town of Newport should not be capable of receiving such of the friends of Government as shall be left in Boston, I have two houses on my farm on Conanicut. This is a hint I throw out at a venture, which is all I am capable of doing.

"Such measures seem to be resolved on here, that if you can subsist through the winter, I cannot help flattering myself, before another, peace may be restored. To the protection of Heaven I commit you all, and remain

"Judge Oliver. Yours Affectionately, &c."

12th.—Two letters published in the *P. Advertiser*, as from Boston, 10th and 11th of Aug., giving an acc^{t} of the defeat of the Provincials, tho' no vessel is arrived. This is to ridicule such persons as have any hopes of a successful.* A report also spread, that a vessel was arrived wth news of two Regiments of the Regulars being cut off; but no authenticity. Made a visit to M^{r} Montagu at Hampstead, but he was not at home. We met him and his lady as we returned. Billy Bernard and Silvester [Oliver] dined with us.

13th.—The papers declare to-day the two letters in the *P. Advertiser* of yesterday were groundless, no accounts having arrived to Government of any action. The N. York packet arrives with articles to 10th Aug. and of 3rd from Cambridge. The frequent attacks made by the Provincials on the K.'s troops out on small parties, must tend to dishearten them, but what we have by packet are all of one side.

On the 14th, the day on which the Governor and Peggy set out to pay a visit to Mr. Ellis at Tylney Hall, in Hampshire, he wrote a letter to some friend, whose name is not preserved. He speaks

* A word forgotten. "Successful termination," perhaps, or something of that sort.

of the notion, brought to England by a new arrival from America, that when the troops leave Boston, they will probably set the town on fire to strike a terror; but he points out the impolicy, the uselessness, and the injustice of such a step.

"I suppose it's probable," he says, "the troops will remove from Boston before winter. I wish they may not be obliged to do it, but I find it is the general expectation that they will. In conversation with a gentleman arrived from the Army, he discovered his opinion, that upon quitting the town, they would set fire to it, and reduce it to asshes [*sic*], and gave this reason, that it would strike terror, and cause all the other sea-port towns to expect the same fate. If Philadelphia, New York, or Newport had been summoned to a submission to Government, or to a contribution of provisions, or other necessaries, which they withheld from the King's forces, and a compliance had been refused, the destruction of the towns might have been a necessary punishment: but in the case of Boston it cannot be considered as a punishment of the inhabitants for any delinquency. I have no doubt the greatest part of the property belongs to those who have firmly adhered to Government, or who will declare in favour of it as soon as they are freed from the restraint they are under. One motive for this declaration will be a future quiet enjoyment of their estates, which motive will cease after they are destroyed. The rebels would indeed be deprived of the possession of the town the ensuing winter; but this will be of no consequence, seeing, if the Castle is dismantled, or if necessary, demolished, it will be in the power of a single ship in the spring, to drive them out, and if it shall then be thought expedient, entirely to destroy the town. But burning upon leaving it, will rather render the rebels more obstinate; for they, in general, consist of people who have no interest, or whose interest does not ly in sea-port towns; and nothing will strike terror into them but what is called by the army a good drubbing. Possibly I may be under some bias, as, besides ten or twelve houses, and large well-built wharves, I have an exceeding good house there, in which I dwelt, which, exclusive of the land, cost my ancestors two thousand pounds sterl^{g}.

"If what I have suggested appears to be of any weight, I should hope you would improve it either here or in America to prevent so tragical an event, and which I think will tend to strengthen the disaffection of the Colonies to the Kingdom more than the slaughter of twenty thousand men in battle. Rhode Island has been thought the best wintering place for the Army and Navy. It has been thought by some an objection, that in divers parts of the Island, it

is but about a mile, and in some parts less than a mile from the main. If the objection should be of weight, there is an Island in the same harbour called Conanicut, near as long as Rhode Island, and opposite to it, about three miles distant, and about the same distance from the main. Capital ships cannot go round Rhode Island, and smaller ships could not pass if Batteries should be erected on the heights of the main land: but the other Island may be covered in every part by the largest ships. There are more than fifty good Farm houses on it. It is covered with sheep and horned cattle, and as fertile a tract as any in America: and if boards, &c., can be furnished to cover the troops, is beyond comparison the best place in any of the Colonies.

"If these hints should appear to you of no importance, I hope you will nevertheless, consider them as proceeding from a good intention, and forgive me for taking up a few moments of your time.—I have the honour to be, &c."

The friend to whom the above was sent seems to have been on the point of leaving for America, as he is entreated to use his influence "to prevent so tragical an event" as the destruction of the city of Boston, which could serve no end, except to exasperate the Americans and embitter the quarrel. Until reading this letter the Governor's own descendants did not know he had so much property in Boston. The description of Conanicut as it existed in 1775 is very interesting in a historical point of view.

14th.—Peggy and I set out in a postchaise upon an invitation from M^{r} Ellis to Tylney Hall in Hampshire, where we arrived before dinner. It's about 42½ miles from London: about ½ a mile out of the road on the right as you go to Basingstoke, from which it is distant 5 miles and ½.

M^{r} Jones the Curate, and a Miss Sloane are all the visitors.

15th.—Rain most of the day, confines us to the house. General Johnson, late Governor of Minorca, and Capt. Hoggin came in before dinner from Hampton Court.

16th.—In M^{r} Ellis's coach we rode to Hackwood, about 4 miles (towards Basingstoke), the seat and Park of the Duke of Bolton; under fine improvements for pleasure and profit together; extremely well wooded, choice land, well stocked with deer, sheep, &c., the ploughs going with oxen, not usual in England: three yokes to a plough.

The morning cloudy, and some rain: the afternoon fair, but not a day for shooting.

17th.—General Johnson and his Captain set out after breakfast for Ireland, where the General's Regim^{t} of horse is stationed. I went with M^{r} Jones to church, about half a mile: the dampness of the church this rainy season, excused the rest of the family who, M^{rs} Ellis especially, generally attend. M^{r} Baker and wife, who live 3 or 4 miles off, dined with us. He is a Counsellor at Law, a man of estate, and a great hop planter, 6 or 7 years with success.

A fine day. A letter from Gen. Harvey by post.

18th.—Great dependance on weather for shooting, but disappointed, the weather being bad in the forenoon: towards noon the sun breaks out, but afternoon rainy.

My daughter went with M^{rs} Ellis in her coach to General Pitt's, about 4 miles towards Redding. M^{r} Hans Stanley came before dinner from his seat at Polton, between 40 and 50 miles distant, and 8 or 10 miles from Southampton.

19th.—A rainy day which confined us to the house.

20th.—Fair and warm. In the forenoon had a most pleasing ride to Sir John Cope's, about 4 miles thro' a by road, and the village of Mattinly [Mattingley]. Sir Jn^{o} Cope's seat formerly belonged to Lord Zouch, and in the Park Archbishop Abbot killed the man with a crossbow by accident, which gave him so much trouble all his life after. Except some repairs in the wings, the house remains as it was built early in King James the First's time; and a grand venerable old pile it is. S^{r} John is about 45; a plain man who has a taste for books, and is much esteemed in the country. Admiral Perry joined us before dinner. I received by post a letter of 16 August from Jud. Oliver at Boston. [Not preserved.]

21st.—We left Tylney Hall ½ after ten, and were in London at four, 42 miles and ½. We found M^{r} Waldo, M^{r} Sewall, H. Gray, and their wives, and a young Sewall, arrived from N. England. M^{r} Boutineau and family are said to be at Bristol. M^{r} W^{m} Vassall and family, and Tho^{s} Brattle in another vessel from Nantucket. Auchmuty and M^{rs} Borland [?] and family, also at Bristol.

22nd.—I called upon Mr Vassall, who lodges with his son-in-law Symes, in the city. He is naturally timid, and seems to despair of ever seeing peace restored to America. I suffer in being banished so late in life from my native country. My friends which remain there are so distressed, that they would think themselves happy here, and I wish for my children, how ever expensive it must prove to me.

This day the Governor wrote the following letter to his son Thomas, in Boston, and the original is preserved :—

"St. James's Street, 22nd Sep. 1775.

"My Dear Son,—

"I am just returned to town after 8 or 10 days' absence. I wrote you before I went into the country, and the vessel has hardly yet left the Chañel : but hearing of another vessel going this morning, I have just time to write two or three lines, to tell you your two letters of 14th and 19th of Augt are come to hand with your Bills, which yr brother took out in my absence, and will negotiate.

"If you should be come away, I take it for granted you will leave as little valuable effects as may be. I have wished for the Epergne, knives and forks, tea kettle, and indeed all the useful plate, and still should be glad of it if there is an opportunity by any trusty hand. Everything is so uncertain which respects you, that I know not what to add, except that wherever you are, I shall remain, your Affectionate Father,

"Tho. Hutchinson."

The inventory of his effects at Milton, which was obtained after some delay, and which is given further on, will show what became of the epergne and a few other things. They suffered the fortune of war.

23rd.—Sewall, Gray, and their wives, Mr Waldo, and Sam. Sewall, dined with us. Sewall says that when the rebels were drove out of their trenches at Charlestown, the whole army was in such consternation that they all fled, both from Cambridge and Roxbury, except about 100 men, who were at the end of Cambridge Bridge, next Brookline, ready to take up the planks of the bridge in case of a pursuit.

24th.—At the Temple Church with Mr Sewall.

The consternation that seized the American blockading army on the termination of the affair at Bunker Hill, as mentioned by Judge Sewall above, was natural enough. Considering that a great proportion of the blockaders consisted of new levies or volunteers hastily drawn together, who had had little time to settle down into the routine of their new mode of life, who had had no experience of actual warfare in the open field, and whose commanding officers were mostly civilians, it need cause no astonishment that the apprehension of a pursuit and of a general sortie from Boston, should have spread a feeling of confusion among them. The Americans had fully proved their bravery; and this had been felt and acknowledged, either tacitly or openly, by all orders of men in England, since the accounts of this important event had been received. But General Gage and his officers well knew that they were wholly deficient in forces, especially in cavalry, to undertake anything of the kind; but even allowing that in the surprise and excitement of the moment, they could have succeeded in dislodging the Provincials from all the fortified posts on the land side of Boston, in which they had stationed themselves, such a consummation could have afforded no permanent advantage, inasmuch as they had not troops enough to man them and retain them afterwards. And it had been discovered that Boston was not a good base of operations, so that the advisability of withdrawing from it had already been mooted by the English Generals.

In the midst of these momentous events no wonder that Mr. Hutchinson, in London, should feel anxious about his children in Boston. He wrote as follows under date of this day, and his original letter is at hand:—

"St. James's Street, 24th Sept. 24th [*sic*] 1775.

"My Dear Son,—

"I am now left without doubt that Boston will be deserted. I hope you have come to such determination as to leave no doubt, or the least doubt, of the personal safety of you and yours. If you are not come away, and have not already taken that care, I think you should apply to the Governor and Admiral for favour in bringing your and my effects of every kind, as I may claim every right to be distinguished, on account of my service and sufferings. Though I imagine, among so many storeships gone and going, many will be returning, and glad of freight and passengers on easy terms. If you can bring all the furniture of the several families, your brother's included, we can take one

large house in the country, if not in town, and be able to furnish it; but I know not what to expect or what to fancy in so uncertain a state of things, and must rely upon you that you will do the best you can. Your Affectionate Father,

"Tho. Hutchinson.

"Admiral Shuldam has promised me every favour for myself and friends."

To some friend, whose name is not preserved, he alludes in a letter of the same date in his Letter Book, to the same points of his solicitude:—

"If they shall be come away for England," he says, "and you should remain, I could wish to have whatever furniture, books, or other effects they may have left, sent to me here, as I doubt not, in so many transports, freight may be had on easy terms, or much better [terms] than to have any of it fall to the enemy. But I think my son will have taken that care, if it was in his power."

Again, the same day, to the Lieut.-Governor, he writes:—

"I think it probable my son and daughter, and grandchildren, will be come away. I hope they have brought my books, furniture, carriage, &c. If not, I beg your friendship in securing w^{t} may remain. I have wrote to Gen. Howe, and prayed his protection, and Adm. Shuldam, who I think very highly of, has promised me everything I could desire, as far as may come within his department."

25th.—Admiral Shuldam called on me. In conversation he mentioned, in such manner as if to suppose me to be well acquainted with it, the destination of the troops from Ireland to Quebec and Halifax, instead of Boston. The transports have got the flat-bottom boats aboard, w^{ch} Howe wrote for, and I believe will be wanted at Boston. This makes it plainer than ever that it is determined the troops shall quit Boston.

Wrote to L^{d} Hardwicke.

The mention of Quebec above suggests that there is an original letter from that place of the 24th inst., bound up in the blue leather back volumes. It is from Jon. Clarke, a relative of Mary Clarke, wife of the Chief Justice Oliver, and as Quebec is new ground, perhaps the epistle may be quoted.

"Quebec, September 24th, 1775.

"Dear Sir,—

"I know that I had but one chance more of hearing from you this season, p the *Adamant;* she is arrived, and I have the pleasure of a letter from you of July 2nd, for which I thank you. I am not at all surprised to find you still remain in England, and think the accots you must continually have of the disorderly state of the Colonies will prevent you or your family returning to any part of America for some time: but if this place should not be taken by the American forces this fall, we assure ourselves that such a force will be here in the spring as will sufficiently protect us; and no great force is necessary neither: if we could have only one thousand more regular forces here this fall, the army they have in the country might all be cut off.

"I wrote you a few days since of my having prepared myself to embark for Newfoundland, if we had accots of their taking St. John's, and there was a probability of their reaching this place before winter; but our accots within a few days have been more encouragg: by the best intelligence their force does not consist of above 1500 men, and those wretchedly provided with necessaries. A party of them amg to 200 have been engaged by a detachment of the King's forces at St. John's, and about 50 Canadians, and 40 of them killed; and one Hazen [?], a most perfidious villain, taken prisoner, wth some others. The Fort of St. John's is so well fortify'd, and the season grows so late, and weather so cold and rainy, that I think they must cross the Lakes, and return to Ticonderoga; and another year I hope we shall give a better acct of the situation of this Province.

"Respecting myself, I can only say that I hold myself in readiness, that if I find they penetrate into this country, and this town cannot probably resist them, in that case I shall embark; nothing but the greatest hazard will tempt me to go.

"Mr Watson possibly will deliver you this. I am heartily glad he was in this country, to be witness of the consequence of resisting the authority of the Mother country. He has been very serviceable at Montreal. I refer you to him for full information respecting the situation of this country: we live happy eno' here if we are not molested by the Provincials: if we tarry the winter, it will be a very dull one, for we are deprived of the company of the Ladies: the Govrs family have already left: Mrs Ainslie and others go in this vessel: Mr Coffin's family still remain, and intend it this winter. Remember me kindly to the Govr. I hope his health and spirits continue. I suppose Miss Hutchinson, on

seeing so many of her Boston friends, is becoming reconciled to London before now. I am sorry I am not like to have the pleasure of your brother's compy. [Alluding to Billy's expected appointment.] If he had done me the favour of [a] line, it would have given me great pleasure to find myself remember'd by him. I have only to add my best wishes for your health and happiness, and that you may soon meet your family and friends. Believe me still to be your Friend and Servt,

"Jonn Clarke.

"Mrs Ainslie has alter'd her resolution of going to England."

Addressed outside :—

"To Mr Elisha Hutchinson
at Governor Hutchinson's
St. James's Street
London."

"p favor
Mr Pownal.

There is no evidence to show in what degree of relationship the Mr Watson mentioned above may have stood to Col. Geo. Watson, the father of Elisha's wife, or what Mr Pownall favoured the transmission of the letter. As the French had been suspected of fomenting rebellion in the Colonies in revenge for having had Canada wrested from them by the English in 1763, so the attack on Quebec by the Provincials was now looked upon by some as the probable result of French intrigue.

26th.—Called upon Mr Keene and General Harvey. Made a visit to the Bishop of London at Fulham. Bliss and Quincy and S. O. dined with us. Wrote to Lord Hillsborough.

27th.—Called upon Mr Pownall at the B. of Trade. Walked into the City to Devonshire Square and back. Hear a report of a sortie from Howe's camp the 27 Aug., by a Nantucket vessell, the truth of which is doubted. Dislike the alteration of the troops; it's still generally understood they are going to Boston.

28th.—At Court. The King enquired what tour I had made since my last being there? and the Queen where I had spent the summer? Saw the Prince of Hesse, a younger son of the King's aunt. Admiral Shuldam said two expresses went last Thursday to Ireland, to alter the destination of the Regimts for America.

It was to-day, at Court, that Admiral Shuldam took leave of their Majesties, preparatory to embarking for America. This appears from a passage in a letter from the Governor to Col. Browne, of to-day's date, in his Letter Book. He says:—

"Adm. Shuldam, who has a very good character, has taken leave of the K. and Q. to-day, and will relieve Adm. Graves."

29th.—Dined with the Bishop of London at Fulham; took D^r^ Chandler with me in the coach. The Bishop and his lady, and daughter, wife of Archdeacon Hamilton, and the Bishop's Chaplain, made the company.

M^r^ Robinson, the Comissioner of the Customs, lately arrived from the West Indies, called on me in the evening. Judge Sewall borrowed 10 Guineas.

30th.—I made a visit to Lord Mansfield at Canewood. Judge Auchmuty, who arrived yesterday in town, called.

M^r^ Greene, Pickman, Curwen, Berry, Oxnard, Porter, Sears, and Routh, all Americans, dined with us.

October 1st.—At the Old Jewry, M^r^ White. [Word in shorthand.] Judge and M^rs^ Auchmuty dined with us.

2nd.—M^r^ Agar called upon me. He says he has seen a letter from Gen. Clinton to a Colonel he did not name, which gives an acconnt of a sortie, in order to burn certain houses which had served as shelter, and had given them trouble, which was accomplished. He speaks of a fire for 15 miles, and that the troops did not lose a man. Nothing of this sort had hapned when M^r^ Sewall and others left Boston, and we cannot account for the passage of a letter since. Ellis Agar thinks it was dated Aug. 27^th^, and will endeavour to obtain an extract.

3rd.—Are in suspense about the contents of Clinton's letter, not being able to obtain a copy, but conclude there is nothing in it very important.

Bliss and Smith dined with us. Smith says D^r^ Franklin has wrote to D^r^ Price that something very extraordinary will happen in the spring, and surprise all Europe. Suspicions of a Treaty between the Colonies and France or Spain.

4th.—Folger and another vessel from Nantucket, but nothing

new. The letter from Clinton was to Gen. Harvey, who told me it was dated Aug. 16, and the sortie is a small affair, by a party under Barry, w^ch^ burnt a house by Penny Ferry, and scarce made any talk at Boston, M^r^ Agar mistaking the letter.

5th.—Peggy at Court to-day w^th^ M^rs^ Keene. Sir Egerton Leigh says that at South Carolina the Negroes are very insolent: that they [the Whites] have a Company of Indians in Charlestown, as a guard against the Negroes: that they have an Act called the Negro Act, prescribing a particular mode of trial of Negroes: that under this Act they tried a free Negro, a Pilot, for saying that—If the King should send troops, he would join them—found him guilty of exciting the Negroes to an insurrection, and sentenced him to die: that upon an apprehension that Lord W^m^ Campbell, the Governor, would respite him, a message was sent him, that if he offered to stay execution, they would erect a gallows before his door, and make him the executioner of the Negro: and so he suffered the poor fellow to be hanged. Surely such tyranny cannot last.

It is hard to imagine how the Governor could be intimidated as above described, and we prefer hoping that the story was either exaggerated or wrongly reported.

On this day Dr. Peter Oliver, in Boston, Mass., writes a very doleful letter to Elisha, describing himself as "sick a-bed with a slight fever." He recovered in due time, and on the 17th of November he wrote another of a more energetic character, to which we will recur further on.

6th.—Called upon M^r^ Sewall at his new lodgings, Brompton Row, and find him ill, and apprehensive of a fixed fever.

7th.—With Judge Auchmuty and D^r^ Chandler, in my coach to Fulham, but the Bishop was gone out airing. Called, as we went out, upon Sewall, and found him ill.

M^r^ Eden thinks two of the Irish Reg^ts^ will be gone before [the] express arrived.

8th.—At the Temple Church with Auchmuty. In the evening at Sewall's, who had taken advice from D^r^ Huck, and seemed in somewhat better spirits, but sits up very little.

9th.—At Lord Dartmouth's office. M^r^ P. read me the advice

from Ireland, that two of the Regiments had sailed for Boston; but small vessels were sent to strive to overtake them before they left the coast. Two more were embarking Transports: not all arrived for the office. Spent two or three hours taking extracts from Board of Trade Books.

M^r^ P. mentioned his suspicions of Ingersoll; and hinted at some information he had rec^d^; and concluded with saying—"It's well if he don't get hanged."

10th.—Called upon M^r^ Sewall, who remains ill. Waldo, Bliss, Gray and wife, and S. Oliver dined with us. In the evening visited M^r^ Amory and wife, at M^r^ Harrison's, College Hill. M^r^ Gibbon left a card.

11th.—Called upon M^r^ Gibbon, Bentinck Street. He gave me this account of the state of the Treaty w^th^ Russia about men for America:—that the Empress some time since, expressed to M^r^ Gunning, the British Ambassador, her concern about the troubles in America, and gave such hints that he made no doubt of her disposition to lend her troops for the English service. This he acquainted his Court with; and he was thereupon ordered to sound and search out whether, if a number of troops, from 10 to 15,000 should be wanted, they might be had? And M^r^ Gibbon says the question was answered in such manner that the Ambassador had no doubt of a compliance: that he was then directed to signify, that it was not the King's intention to receive them as Auxiliaries, but as intirely in the British service, under the full direction and command of His Majesty's General: or, I think he said, the King had wrote with his own hand to the Empress to this purpose; and an answer to this letter was expected about the 20th of this month, which is the present, or was last Sunday, the then state of this Treaty.

12th.—A vessel said to arrive to-day from Quebec, and a letter to M^r^ Grant, with advice that a Company of the Provincials had been cut off by the Indians, and the head of the Captain Baker, sent in to Montreal. This is not altogether certain. At Lord Dartmouth's.

13th.—A vessel, Pain [?] Master, from Plymouth, N.E., came out Sep^r^ 12^th^: M^r^ Tho. Greenough a passenger: E. H.

a letter from his wife Sept. 3d, but she was restrained from saying anything of news. Nothing remarkable spoke of by the Master. Dr Chandler called and gave me his accounts from N. York by the Packet. Everything carried to the most extravagt lengths: 20 cannon removed from the Fort to fortify the banks of Hudson's river. While it was doing, Vandepal, [?] in the *Asia*, fired upon the Fort, but did little damage: frighted the inhabs who expected the town to be beat down, and great numbers quitted it. Franklin Superintendant of Indian affairs, with a salary of 2500£, I suppose Currency, a year.

14th.—Mr Burrow, Comptroller, and of the Council at Halifax, arrived yesterday, and a report spread that he brought bad news: but upon enquiry at Lord Dartmouth's office, I am told that he is sent by the Governor, to represent the state of the Province, and the insufficiency of the force there, if the inhabitants prove refractory. Went out to Brompton to visit Sewall, who I found very low: but he was persuaded to take an airing in my coach.

J. Greene, Pickman, Curwen, Bliss, Smith, and Oliver, and Paine, dined with us.

15th.—At the Old Jewry. Mr White.

Mr Sewall, being very low, I gave him an airing to Fulham. He mentioned to me what Auchmuty afterwards confirmed, that upon G. Gage's acquainting the Selectmen that he would not support their poor, they told him, as the Gen. Court was sitting at Watertown, they would apply for directions: and accordingly they did; and produced to the General a vote of the H. of Rep., that the Committee of Corresp. at Salem or M-head [Marblehead] should receive and take care of the poor, provided all the donations were left that belonged to them: and that they were sent in a vessel without any armed force on board, or as convoy. This vote signed by the Clerk of the House, and by the new appointed Secretary, and consented to by 15 Counsellors, was brought the General, and he sent the poor away. Sewall says he mentioned it to Lord Dartmouth.

16th.—Called upon Mr Jenkinson: afterwards upon Mr Ellis. Mauduit returned to town, and called, but I did not see him. An airing with Sewall, &c.

17th.—In the city at Mauduit's. Smith tells me he saw a letter, very insolent, not signed, but known to be from M^r^ Gordon, the Minister of Roxbury to M^r^ Frake [? Feake, Frape,] a Dissenting Minister in the city. Bliss dined with us.

18th.—Several late News Papers, 21^st^ and 28^th^ Aug., and 4 Sept. of Edes's, [?] I sent to Lord North. M^r^ Cornwall called, and afterwards M^r^ Jenkinson: the latter will have it that Putnam is gone with 1200 men to Halifax, and says he has it from two Under Secretaries of State; and that Gov. Legge has wrote so, and that he had been at St. John's, and destroyed a King's scooner, &c.

19th.—Called upon M^r^ Pownall, and upon M^r^ Stanley, who had left town this morning. A strong southerly wind, and much rain, after a long spell of fine weather.

The Members of Parliament of more importance, drop one after another into town, for several days past.

20th.—M^r^ Smith brought me a letter from Kittery of the 8 September from one of his contemporaries at College, supposed to be D^r^ Eliot's son John: mentions that the Students were to meet at Concord: that the Presid. had refused Degrees to several candidates, because their fathers were Tories: that great expectation of Parliam^t^ conceding to all demands, and that there was a total change in England: that John Adams was to be Ch. Justice, and Paine a Superior Judge: that [illegible] was at Ticonderoga w^th^ 5 or 6000 men, but had wrote to Washington for 1500 more, which were then drafting from the Army at Cambridge: that he dreaded their success because France would retake it by connivance of the English Ministry: that Gov. Wentworth was gone to Boston in the *Scarborough*, and the N. Hampshire people had erected Batteries to stop them, &c. I sent extracts to Lord North.

21st.—At Lord D.'s office. D^r^ Chandler, M^r^ Greene, Sam. Sewall, and Auchmuty and wife, dined with us. Chandler will have it still, that if there was a body of troops at New York, one half the Colony would declare in favour of Government.

Wrote to L^d^ Hardwicke, and sent him the New England News Papers.

22nd.—A rainy day. At the Old Jewry, where a stranger preached.

23rd.—Walked early into the city to Mr Blackburne's, Scotch Yard, Bush Lane. A ship from Quebec in 25 days brings Gov. Carlton's lady and family. The Provincial army had attempted twice to land, but had been repulsed by the Indians and a few of the troops, or enlisted inhabitants, I am uncertain which, the Canadians in general, standing neuter, and some joining the rebels, wch caused the Indians to retire; and by the last news of the rebels, they had landed without opposition. Carlton and Lord Pitt escaped from a house wch was beset with Canadians, and got to Montreal which, as also Quebec, is in the utmost danger.

Sayer, the late Sheriff, was apprehended by a Warrant from Lord Rochford, for High Treason, and sent to the Tower.

Admiral Shuldam, in the *Chatham*, did not sail until yesterday from Portsmouth.

24th.—Mr Gibbon called: thinks the Russian troops doubtful: says the Minister who proposed them stands ticklish. Mr Ellis left his name. I called upon Mr Mckenzie, and Stanley: from home. At Lord D.'s office; they had a very circumstantial account of the taking of Halifax by Provincials: somebody had been there: said they saw a letter of the 6 Sept. from the Lieut[t] of the *Tartar* to his father Mr Qualme, Deputy Usher of the Black Rod, wch gave the account. Pollock gave full credit to it. I sent after dinner, and found it all false.

Mr Nichols and Bliss dined with me.

25th.—At Court to-day, being the King's Accession; and very full Court. By another vessel from Quebec there are letters of Sep. 24th. The rebels were sending Manifestoes thro' the country. It looks as if a small part only of the forces at Ticonderoga were then arrived at St. Johns. Mr Simpson from Rhode Island called with a letter of recomend[n] from Gov. Wanton [?]. He left Newport Aug. 19th, and all was quiet there; the Captain and officers of the Men-of-War ashore every day, and well supplied with provisions.

26th.—Parliament meets to-day. Rumour of an intended riot brought a vast concourse of people to the Park, and from

thence to the Parliament House: but all was quiet. I was in the House of Lords, and heard the King's Speech, which was lengthy. I think not so well delivered as the last. I went from the H. of Lords to the H. of Commons, and did not get home till near eleven at night. The House sat till four. I heard Barry [Barré ?] and Wedderburne, neither of whom I had heard before. Gov. Johnstone* spoke of me by name, as promoting the measures against the Colonies by my correspondence, and referred to my printed letters. He charged Gov. Littleton at the same time with quarrelling with the Assembly at Jamaica. Littleton, being a Member, exculpated himself, and vindicated his conduct. I sat below, and wished I had been allowed to speak. The Minority was greater in each House than last year against the Address, owing to the defection of the Duke of Grafton, who carried off a number in each house. The Bishop of Peterborough went with the Duke, being made by him. M^r^ Conway, who holds a place, also was violent in the House of Commons.

27th.—I called at Lord Hardwicke's, and found him very peevish. He did not like the Address, nor Lord Rock^s^ amendment, but read to me one of his own. He came away because he would not vote: so did Lord Littleton. Afterwards I called on Strahan. He read to me a long letter he had wrote to D^r^ Franklin: but it will have no effect. There was a great struggle in the Comons again to-day upon the Address being reported, the speakers much the same as yesterday: but carried by [blank].†

I took a violent cold yesterday in coming from the H. of Commons to my own house, though in a chair [or chaise ?].

28th.—I feel my cold increase. Robinson, Gray and wife, Quincy and Lovell, dined with us.

29th.—I kept house all day: my two sons and daughter all violently seized with like colds, and feverish disorder, which is

* "George Johnstone, who retained the title of Governor, from having filled that post in Florida, was a Member of the House of Commons, and, as such, a keen opponent of Lord North."—Lord Mahon's Hist., vi. 223.

† Amendment negatived by 69 to 29. Address carried by 76 to 33. Nineteen Peers signed a protest.—Adolph., ii. 276.

very epidemical, and scarce any N.E. man, except Mr Jenkinson, Mckenzie, and Mauduit, called.

30th.—I took an airing, hoping my cold was going off, but it returned in the evening, and all the fore part of the night till 4 o'clock, my fever was excessive, but went off in the morning.

31st.—I was to have dined to-day with Mr Jenkinson, but excused myself. Rainy day: but if it had been fair, we are all too ill to have gone abroad.

Here ends the third volume of Governor Hutchinson's Diary, and the first intention was to stop at this place, thinking that enough had been extracted to fill this book in the reader's hands; but considering, on second thoughts, that there are only two more months to run out the remnant of the twelve months of 1775, it will perhaps be better to go on to the end of the year now we are so near.

The meeting of the new Parliament, as mentioned above, again opened the flood-gates of angry debate and the wranglings of party feeling. At those times passion guides the tongue, and truth is forgotten. "Troubled times are like troubled waters—you can see little truth: when they are settled, then truth appears."* Governor Johnstone, in his speech on American affairs, charged Mr. Hutchinson by name with having promoted measures against the Colonies, and referred to his printed letters, whilst the commentator who wrote remarks on them said: "I am at a loss to find what there is in them, which can be a ground of blame." And the New England Historical and Genealogical Register observes: "In the Letters however, there was no sentiment which the Governor had not openly expressed in his Addresses to the Legislature." In the end of vol. v. of his Diary he has jotted down the following note on the fly-leaf:—

"Supposez," says Erasmus, "que dans le grand nombre des livres que j'ai faits, il me soit échappé cette proposition—qu'il ne faut pas faire mourire les Hérétiques—y avait il de l'humanité de la rapporter, sans avoir égard à ce que précede, à ce que suit, à ce qui pouvait le rendre moins odieuse, et à mes vrais sentimens?

"How applicable [he adds] is this to the case of my letters to Whately, and the expression—*there must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties.* Everything which preceded and followed, which would have given the real sentiment, and taken away all the odium, was left out." Anything in an opponent is

* Selden's Table Talk, 178. Quoted at end of vol. 6 of Diary.

eagerly laid hold of, which in a friend is not so much as perceived. "Aliquid et in hostem notas," he has jotted down in another place, which had caught his eye in the Continuation to Lord Clarendon's 'Life,' iii. 182 [or 782].

And Mr. Johnstone then attacked Governor Littleton for quarrelling with the Assembly at Jamaica, but does not say what the cause of quarrel was, or for what the Assembly were contending. If a Governor keeps within the lines of his instructions, and makes the laws and constitution the rule of his conduct, he is doing his duty as a trusty servant, and his quarrel is a meritorious one where it is against those who wish to evade those obligations. Strange, how entirely this principle is lost sight of in party contention!

The struggle had now arrived at an important point. The first blood had been drawn—the Rubicon had been passed—and neither could recede. The great efforts that were being made by the Provincial leaders to secure every advantage, now they found themselves fully pledged to go on, superinduced many acts of oppression in the name of liberty. We have not forgotten the words of Madame Roland when she was being led to the guillotine. At this time Judge Curwen withdrew temporarily to England, whilst anarchy was in the ascendant, and on the 10th of June, 1776, and not long after the period at which we have arrived, he used the following expressions when writing to his friend Dr. C. Russell, who had withdrawn also: "I congratulate you on your retreat from the land of oppression and tyranny; for, surely, greater never appeared since the days of Nimrod."

Governor Pownall, during his administration in Massachusetts, had gained popularity amongst the members of the party of freedom by the countenance he had given to them; so much so, as to endanger his good understanding with the Ministry at home. But by the time he was canvassing at Minehead, in Somerset, for his seat in Parliament, in the year 1774, he had presumably changed his views or altered his policy, for he came in either under the auspices of the Tory Prime Minister Lord North, or had established an understanding with him to support his measures and his colleagues in the House. Adolphus, ii. 293, describing his opposition to Burke's Conciliatory Bill, introduced in November, 1775, says: "Governor Pownall then entered into a detail of the various Acts which, from the 25th year of Charles II., had laid duties on the Colonies, for the purpose of raising a revenue for England." The Americans had latterly been startling the world by the one-sided assertions contained in their Addresses sent over

to Great Britain and Ireland, detailing their punishments, but carefully leaving out their acts of insubordination which had superinduced those punishments—"reading between the lines," as the phrase is, some of the clauses of the charters and statutes, so as to put new and altered meanings upon them, such as had never been intended or even contemplated by their framers, reversing the order of dates, and of cause and effect, thereby making the punishment come first and the offence afterwards, but keeping the offence out of sight altogether, and such-like contrivances, though very ingenious, were rather too plain; and when they went so far as absolutely to deny the rights of the British Parliament, Pownall spoke of them in the House, in February, 1775, as "opposing rights which they had always acknowledged."

It would be rather late now to say that England ought to have given the Colonies their independence. Yet the time had come. She forgot that they had grown from infancy to maturity. She was honestly afraid, as it has been before remarked, that if their freedom were given them, they would soon fall a prey to the cupidity of France, Spain, or Holland. And in respect to commerce, which is the strongest possible bond of friendly union between two states, she was afraid that her merchants and manufacturers would be ruined by the loss of the American trade. But these apprehensions were in a great degree imaginary, for an amicable separation, followed by mutually advantageous treaties of commerce, of a nature better than could be got elsewhere, and accompanied by engagements for protection by military and naval force in case of threatened danger, would have retained America as a close ally better than coercion could do; for nations, like individuals, are always more tractable if kept in good humour, and always buy and sell with the best customers. By this course an expensive war would have been saved, the ruin of trade in both countries would have been averted, and the ill-effects of an embittered quarrel would have been avoided. The worst error that England committed in all this was an error in judgment, for she never descended so low as to enforce her arguments at the expense of truth.

CHAPTER IX.

BEGINNING OF THE FOURTH VOLUME OF THE DIARY.

November the first. London.

I desired D^r^. Heberden to visit my daughter. He was so obliging as to refuse any fee, as he had done before repeatedly. By his prescription, she had 8 oz. blood taken from her, and took a mixture of oyl of almonds, syrup of balsam, alexiterian* simple, water, and sal volat.: a doze [dose] at six; another at bed time; a third in the morning. Billy was blooded also, and is to take the same. E. and I are less feverish, and with Billy took an airing. The distemper is very like what was in Boston about 45 years ago. Generally, those who have it, speak of exceeding high fever in the night, and when it abates in the day, the cough is most violent, w^ch^ causes great pain in the lower part of the stomach, and across the lower ribs. When the patient is ill enough to send for a Physician, bleeding has always been prescribed, and a very low diet, and total abstinence from wine recommended.

* N. Bailey's Dictionary, 1745, has—Alexiterical and Alexiterick—that which preserves from, or drives out poison; also that is good against fevers of a malignant kind, by promoting sweat. Some of the old remedies used in medicine were rather remarkable, and the names of them may well startle us in the present day. My late father, Andrew H., who was born March 24, 1776, on board the *Packet*, then in Nantasket Roads, as they were leaving America, was destined in due time for the medical profession. Some years after the Governor's death, his son Thomas, the Judge of Probate, went down to Devonshire, and took East Wonford House, near Heavitree, a mile out of Exeter. My father, having been educated at the grammar school in Exeter, and at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, was articled in 1795 to Samuel Luscombe of Exeter, and amongst the series of drawers containing drugs and various things used in medicine, ranged along the surgery wall, there was one marked Toad, calcined and pounded, and another labelled cranium Humanum. I have often heard my father mention this. These articles were not used in his time, and he did not know what disorders they had been given for. It is certain, however, that they could not have been very long out of use, inasmuch as the labels still remained on the drawers.

Nov. 2nd.—Peggy's fever is much abated this morning, having rested pretty well, after a quiet dose. I rose three times to her and Billy and all the rest of us, except Peggy, are but ill; and D^r^ Heberden advised me by no means to take an airing, as I intended.

I received a letter to-day from M^r^ Clarke at Quebec, dated Sep. 29th [not preserved], when there was more troops than in his last: that the rebels would be stopped in their progress. I sent it to L^d^ North.

3rd.—My fever was high the latter part of the night, but before noon D^r^. Heberden tells me he thinks it is near gone:—advises to keep house a little longer, and be careful of diet.

M^r^ Strahan called, and shewed me a letter he had received from David Hume, who falls in with Dean Tucker, and is for suffering the Americans to go off, because they are not worth the charge of retaining. "But if you will not part with them," he says, "they are to be retained only, by taking away all charters—establishing an absolute government—and," he adds, "hanging two-thirds of their clergy." Franklin speaks of his acquaintance with Hume in one of his Letters, or I have met elsewhere with an account of it. Strahan shew [shewed] me also, what I thought a good answer to Hume's letter.

4th.—We are all so much better to-day, that if the weather had been good, we should have taken an airing. D^r^ Heberden has visited us four days, declining any fees. This is kind, and he has in other instances been obliging to me; but it is not to me only: he has the general character of one the kindest, best of men.

Lord Townshend and his Aide-du-Camp Bloomfield called. Lord T. finds great fault with an inactive Ministry. I told him it did not become me to say what his Lordship might. I thought a change of Ministry would be attended with every bad consequence.

Lord Gage and Sir Sampson Gideon called: spoke of a fat member—Douglas, who had never opened his mouth in the House, though he had sat in former Parliaments; but being willing to declare his mind in the American business, broke out—"M^r^ Speaker: As for the young gentleman who spoke

so largely in this debate, I differ from him in everything he said: but as for the Hon^ble^ Gent who spoke last, I approve of every word he said, and shall vote accordingly;"—and so sat down, the whole House being set into a roar.

Mauduit is very ill with this Influenza.

We are distressed for our Boston friends; no accounts since the 21st of August by Sewall, &c., who have been arrived these six weeks.

5th.—We all kept house, the weather being raw and drizzling all day. The people in the streets were remarkably few, and I dare say the places of public worship are almost empty. [It was Sunday.]

M^r^. John Pownall called. He tells me the two Regiments designed to Quebec, did not sail from Ireland until the 16^th^ of October; and after that, by contrary winds, put into Milford Haven, and there received orders not to proceed.

When Lord Pitt arrived from Quebec on Thursday evening, M^r^ Pownall came to town with him, in the post-chaise from Blackheath. By the New Cross Inn they were stopped by a single Highwayman. Lord Pitt had pistols, which they supposed the Highwayman perceived when he stopped the postilion, for he immediately put his arm round the postilion, and fired a pistol, but no ball entered the chaise; upon which they both jumped out, each taking a pistol. M^r^ Pownall burnt priming, but the pistol did not go off. The Highwayman then set spurs to his horse, and they saw no more of him.

6th.—A rainy day, but I went out at 5 in my carriage to consult D^r^ Hunter upon my disorder in my head, which he thinks best to leave without any application, except the steam of hot water.

7th.—A dull foggy misty day. I visited Lord Geo. Germaine. I think he would not refuse the Secretary's place, if offered to him. He supposes that an expedition to the southern colonies is preparing. Received me very kindly. Afterwards to Lord Loudoun's. M^r^ Stanley was not at home. Called upon M^r^ Jo. Greene. He has an account of M^r^ John Gray's death at Boston, in a letter from Providence Sept.

9th, and that it was very sickly at Boston. We are in great distress for our friends there.

8th.—It is fair to-day, or rather, not rainy: the wind east of north, and we have no chance for arrivals. I went to Lord Dartmouth's Levée: discoursed upon the bad state of affairs, and the wickedness of the Opposition, whose protest, he agreed, was calculated to keep up the Rebellion in America, and to stir up sedition here. Not a word of his going out of office.

M^r^ Jenkinson not at home; but found M^r^ Ellis at home. He supposes Lord Geo. Germaine is to be Secretary of State: doubts whether a southern expedition will answer any good purpose. His plan has always been to crush the N. England governments and church, and foster those to the southward. Speaking of the desperate pushes of Opposition, he observed that it was an instance of the wisdom of the Creator, that men were not suffered to live any longer in the world to perfect their wicked designs. This, he said, we had talked of in the country.

We all took an airing as far as Islington. Paul Wentworth called after my return. I walked before dinner as far as the Adelphi and back, which is more than I have done for 8 days.

9th.—Called upon M^r^ Cornwall. He opened very largely on the state of affairs: seems to think L^d^ N. too much afraid of the Opposition: says the Majority is enough. The discarded Ministers will always have a train, and this makes the Opposition. All the independent landed interest of the Kingdom vote w^th^ Government, in what relates to America. Gov. Pownall, in a set speech, declared it to be a practicable thing to bring about a reconciliation: that he knew how it could be done so as quite to satisfy the Americans, and yet save all the dignity and authority of Parliament—but he kept it to himself. Burke said he had always been against torture; but it was of so much importance to know this plan, that he thought the gentleman ought to be put to the torture to compel him to disclose.

10th.—Governor Richard Penn was examined at the Bar

of the House of Lords, to authenticate the Petition he brought over from the Congress to the King. It is said he sought it, but got no credit. Among other questions, he was asked, how the Pensylvanians got over that Clause in their Charter which makes them liable to taxation by Parliament? He gave this answer, which was evading the question—That he never heard any exception taken to it until the power was carried into exercise. The motion was, that the Letter or Petition to the King contained ground of conciliation: 33, 6 of w^ch^ proxies, for the Question of which proxies, against it.*

11th.—I consulted D^r^ Hunter upon the disorder which I have had several months in one of my nostrils, and the side of my head, having been in great pain the two last nights; but received little satisfaction. I am told he has no great character as a Surgeon, his chief practice being midwifery.

M^rs^ Copely and daughter, Pickman, Curwen, Bliss, Boylstone, and S. Oliver, dined with us.

12th.—At the Old Jewry, after a poor night from the pain in my head; M^r^ White preached. Peggy and I dined with M^r^ Jenkinson, M^r^ Ellis, and Lady Doily, Lady Cornwall, and Lady and M^r^ John Jenkinson, made the company.

In last night's Gazette we have the appointment of L^d^ Dartmouth to the Privy Seal. in the room of the Duke of Grafton; L^d^ G. Germaine, Secr. of State *vice* L^d^ Dartmouth; and L^d^ Weymouth *vice* L^d^ Rochford, who has a pension.

It was said to-day that a Secretary of State's place is worth 5200£ a year clear: the Privy Seal only 3000£ nominal. L^d^ Rochford is to have a pension.

13th.—I spent the forenoon in finding M^r^ Pitt, the Surgeon, at the corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields; who I found more acquainted with the disorder in my head than any person, and who attributed it all to a protuberance in my jaw, which he thinks of no great consequence.

A plan, [or proposal, put over,] which M^r^ Burke was

* Adolph., 2nd edit., ii. 289, says 33 Peers for, and 86 against the motion. The spaces are in the original.

to make to-day in the House of Commons, was put off on account of the death of his father-in-law; and the House went upon the Land Tax, and voted 4/ in the pound by a great majority.

14th.—General Gage and his Secretary M^r^ Flucker came to town in the evening: left Boston the 11th October. My families well. My property which was at Milton, sold at *vendue*. Washington, it is said, rides in my coach at Cambridge. The farm people were doubtful about purchasing, and therefore it is leased out. Cushing's papers being left in his house in Boston, Gage took into his possession, which makes great discoveries. An intercepted letter from one of the Congress,—Harrison to Gates—opens their intention in the Petition to the King, to be only to prevent their friends in Opposition here from giving up their cause: the consequence of which would be, a more full exertion of the powers of the kingdom, &c. The army and inhabitants less afraid of invasion from the enemy in the winter than at the date of our last accounts, tho' nothing very material had hapned between the armies.

15th.—Called upon Sir Grey Cooper, M^r^ Jenkinson, Ellis, Lord Suffolk, and Lord Hardwicke.

Flucker, Waldo, Gray, and Nicholls dined with us. Corbyn Morris in the evening.

16th.—At M^r^ Jo. Greene's, and M^r^ Mauduit's. Afterwards at Lord North's Levée, where I had an opportunity of thanking M^r^ Stanley for answering Hartley yesterday in the House of Commons, when he abused Gov. Bernard, L^t^-Gov. Oliver, and myself. Introduced M^r^ Flucker to Lord North.

17th.—Packet arrived from N. York. Articles to the 18 of October. Tryon gone on board the Man-of-War or other vessel in the harbour. The Congress had ordered, as he supposed, the officers of Gov^t^ to be seized. D^r^ Chandler has a letter which hints at great dissentions and great complaint of the tyranny of the Congress; and that 1200 men at Hampstead were resolute to defend themselves, &c.

This day the Governor wrote a letter to his son Thomas, which has been entered in his Letter Book, apparently by the hand of his youngest daughter Margaret or Peggy. It runs thus:—

"St. J. S. 17 Nov. 1775.

"My Dear Son.

"We have been many weeks in anxious suspense for our friends in Boston. General Gage arrived the 14th, and has removed the suspense, but the anxiety in a considerable degree remains. From the account I received of the General's letters of the 20th of August, and from the demolition of the Castle, I had little doubt left that we should hear the troops had quitted Boston. I flattered myself, however, that as soon as you knew this was determined, you would come away with your household and effects, notwithstanding my letter by the *Cerberus;* for when I wrote that letter I did not know those circumstances of the General's letter, and the state of the Castle. I hope from what the General tells me, you will not be in danger in the winter; but at this distance I must be uncertain of your state, and your own discretion must be your guide. I think M^r^ Flucker must be satisfied the town was not in danger, or he would not have left his family there, which circumstance increases my encouragement that you are safe.

"M^r^ Flucker tells me my property which was at Milton, has been sold at auction, and the estate is leased out. I can make no sort of judgment what you left there when you removed from thence, all your letters being short, and taking no notice of it. By the help of nurse's memory, I believe you will be able to make out an Inventory of most of the articles: what hay, corn, stock, &c., was without doors, must depend on your memory. I don't know that I can obtain any compensation: but if I was possessed of such an Inventory, I would try what could be done. It may do me some service. It should be sworn to before the Lieut^t^-Governor; and as there is no Province Seal, may have his private seal to it.

"You speak in one of your letters of the neighbours having carried off some of the furniture, but whether it is gone with the rest, or can be recovered, I can make no judgment.

"I hope a great supply of fewel [fuel] will arrive before winter. You were cutting up the timber of Parker's shop and warehouse. I had rather you should pull down any of the warehouses or houses, and burn them, than your families should suffer by the cold. I have sent your bills to my Banker, who will receive them, and I will take care that Fisher is satisfied. I shall cover a protested bill of M^r^ Tileston, [?] which Palmer has sent me, which he desires you to take proper care of.

"We have all been sick for three weeks past with a most malignant disorder, called the Influenza, which has been very

epidemical, not one in ten escaping. I have not had so much of a fever for 35 years past, but through the goodness of God, we are upon the borders of health.

"I am Y^r^ Affect. Father, &c.

"If you can find anybody to take care of them, the Epergne, the Mahogany Case of knives, and the Tea-kettle and stand, would be of use whilst we are here. I conclude they were not left at Milton. And I could wish to know what books are wanting in the broken setts."

We may conclude that they really were left at Milton. Indeed, there can be no doubt about it, or that the Epergne and some other articles of silver plate were seized and sold; for about this time the Governor received the Inventory for which he had been enquiring—or rather, he received an Inventory in answer to his enquiries, though not exactly what he wanted. When Thomas withdrew from Milton into Boston, it may be inferred that he thought the move would only be temporary, and that everything would remain there safe enough until he should find it convenient to go to and fro, being only a distance of six miles, and remove what he might want, as occasion suggested. The Inventory of the Milton effects as copied below, is written on the blank leaves at the end of the Fourth Volume of the Diary.

"Inventory of Goods at Milton, as sent me by my son.

In the Hall.

	£	s.
2 large hair settees	10	—
6 chairs ditto	4	—
2 card tables	4	—
1 mahogany table	3	—
My own picture	9	—

[More about this picture presently.]

M^r^ Palmer's	9	—
A set of Marriage à la Mode, rich frames and glass	4	10
3 large landscapes	3	—
Large floor cloth	5	—
Two damask window squabs	2	10
		54 —

Brought forward			£54 —
In the Parlour.			
	£.	s.	
6 hair bottom chairs	4	- –	
2 large easy chairs, hair bottoms and back	4	10	
1 large dining table	1	15	
Book-case and drawers	12	10	
Table linen of damask: sheeting, shirting, [?] &c.	60	—	
A looking-glass, gilt	2	—	
Window curtains	2	—	
Turkey carpet	4	—	
Andirons, shovel, and tongs . . .	1	10	
Walnut desk	4	10	
2 Bronzes, Shakespear and Milton, fixed on each side the chimney . .	3	—	
			99 15*
In the Dining Room.			
8 red morocco bottom chairs . . .	6	16	
1 couch, black leather	1	5	
2 dining tables	4	10	
1 breakfast ditto		18	
1 tea table		15	
A desk and book-case	6	10	
A spring clock	8	10	
A glass globe		15	
A large Scotch carpet	4	—	
A large looking glass	6	—	
2 pourtraits [*sic*]	8	—	
2 ditto	6	—	
10 prints, framed	5	—	
2 window curtains	4	—	
Andirons and shovel and tg . . .	1	10	
			64 9

* The sum of the figures for the parlour is set down as 98 „ 15: it ought to be 99 „ 15.

	£.	s.	£	s.
Brought forward			£218	4
In the Closet.				
3 cases silver handled knives and forks, with spoons *	45	—		
3 cases ivory and china ditto . . .	12	—		
A silver Epergne, 144 oz. with glasses and case	54	—		
China table services, besides bowles, cups, and saucers, &c.	28	—		
Two fruit baskets	1	—		
Warters [? waiters ?]	1	18		
Copper urn for tea	1	16		
A compleat set of Queen's ware . .	3	15		
			147	9
In the Red Bed Room.				
2 glass sconces	4	—		
Crimson damask curtains, head cloth, tester, vallians, [? vallance] and counterpane	15	—		
Bed, bolster, pillows, and blankets .	10	—		
2 damask window curtains	4	—		
6 mahogany chairs : damask bottoms	6	—		
2 japanned tables	4	—		
A Wilton carpet for the whole floor .	6	—		
Andirons, shovel, and tongs . . .	1	15		
			50	15
In the Yellow Bed Room.				
Bed, bolster, pillows, and pair of blankets, and bedstead . .	10	10		
Curtains, &c. Check furnit[ure,] and counterpane	4	10		

* The Governor brought with him to England, for personal use, one dozen of silver-handled knives and forks. These I now have, except one fork which was stolen at Sidmouth about forty years ago, probably for the sake of the handle. My late father and mother suspected a footman who was hired to assist at an evening party. I heard them say so more than once.

	£	s.	£	s.
Brought forward			£416	8
Table and drawers	2	10		
Looking glass: gilt frame . . .	3	—		
6 cheap chairs	1	10		
A Scotch carpet	2	—		
3 metzotintos [*sic*] glazed	1	10		
			25	10*
In the Gov^{r} Bed Room.				
Bed, bolsters, &c.	10	—		
Fine white callico curtains, head cloth, tester, vallians . . .	4	10		
6 chairs	1	10		
Drawers and table	2	—		
Looking glass	1	10		
			19	10
Miss Hutchinson's Bed Room.				
Bed, bolster, pillows, and blankets .	10	—		
Chintz curtains, and quilt	15	—		
Burau, [*sic*] table, and draw. . . .	1	18		
6 chairs	2	2		
A looking glass	2	—		
			31	—
Miss Sanford's Room.				
Camp-bed, bolster, pillows, blankets, and quilt	10	10		
Burau table	2	—		
Looking glass	2	10		
6 chairs and trunk	2	10		
			17	10
Nursery.				
Bed, bolster, pillows, blankets, quilt, &c.	10	10		
Chest of drawers and table . . .	4	—		
Looking glass	2	10		
6 chairs	1	10		
			18	10

* The sum of the figures of the yellow room is set down as £24 10. It ought to be £25 10.

Brought forward			£528 8
In the Kitchen.			
	£	s.	
6 copper potts, stew pan, large fish kettle, iron pott, kettles, brass kettles, pewter, jack, andirons, fenders, shovels, and tongs, chafindishes [*sic*], tables, chairs, &c. I compute more than	60	—	
			60 —
In the Upper Room.			
4 beds with bed cloaths, curtains, chairs, &c., brought from the Province House *	75	—	
A suit of cloaths with wrought gold holes and buttons: little wore	10	—	
A blue drab surtout, and other cloaths	8	—	
			93 —
In the Barn.			
15 tons best English hay	30	—	
10 tons meadow hay	10	—	
Indian corn: 60 bush. [?]	6	—	
			46 —
In the Coach House.			
A new coach, cost, besides freight † .	105	—	
An old coach new lined	25	—	
A chariot	25	—	
2 chaises [?]	25	—	
			180 —

* The Province House is alluded to presently.
† Alluded to presently.

Brought forward			£907 8
In the Cellar.			
	£	s.	
35 dozen old Madeira wine . . .	50	—	
20 dozen other wines	25	—	
A box of citron	3	—	
A box of candles	2	—	
Cyder	4	—	
20 bushels parsnips, carrots, and potatoes	3	—	
			87 —
Upon the Farm.			
A pair of coach horses	25	—	
A farm horse	7	10	
7 cows	24	10	
A yoke of large oxen	12	—	
A p^{r} of steer	6	—	
2 heifers	3	10	
3 hogs, and great plenty of turkeys and poultry	5	—	
Carts, waggons, ploughs, iron barrs, and all necessary farm utensils . .	15	—	
			98 10
			£1092 18

This grand total of £1092 18*s.* is £2 more than what is given in the Governor's memorandum; and this is accounted for by the £1 too little in the Parlour, and the £1 too little in the Yellow Bedroom.

As regards portraits, there are two mentioned as being in the Hall, and four in the dining room. Of the two in the Hall, one is his own, according to his own words, and the other Mr. Palmer's. Of the two paintings of Governor Hutchinson now hanging up in the rooms of the Historical Society in Boston, there is no reason to doubt that the one in the Milton inventory is certainly one of these two; and all belief, tradition, evidence, and common consent assign it to the younger one. The following is a memorandum

given to me by a friend who examined them both since I was in America :—

"Portraits of Governor Hutchinson. Two portraits are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. One is a half-length, and nearly life size. The face is very youthful, even boyish: he looks hardly twenty. This portrait has been much injured. It was left at Milton, and the eyes were pierced with bayonets by the mob, the whole picture meeting with rough usage. It has been restored, and, as I thought, rather badly. I do not remember how it came to the possession of the Historical Society."

So much for the younger portrait: the memorandum then proceeds as follows to describe the elder one :—

"The other is quite small, and gives only a short distance below the shoulders. He is here shewn as advanced in life. There is a doubtful tradition, that when his house [in Boston] was destroyed, this portrait was picked up in the street by a Mr. Mayhew, and presented by him, or by his grandson, Mr. Wainwright, to the Society. It was engraved for the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. But neither the engraving nor the photograph does it justice, for the expression is thoughtful and rather sad. I do not remember hearing the name of the painter of either of the portraits."

It may be observed that, at about the period of the adolescence of the Governor, the portrait painter Smybert was very generally employed in Massachusetts, and had as much work on his hands as he could well get through; but it must be for those who are familiar with the pictures, and have opportunities of comparing them with paintings known to have been done by that artist, to say whether one or both of them may have been done by him or not.

Judging from the engraving of the elder portrait, and from photographs, I have for some time past experienced a growing misgiving as to whether that painting is correctly attributed to the Governor or not. At least, I do not see in it the least trace of a Hutchinson feature. The Hutchinsons, as far as I know them, never could pretend to the fine large full eyes of that face, nor the full lips, nor to the straight thin nose. The general type of their face has been thin and bony, with rather small blue eyes, brown hair, and prominent nose. That the large nose was a well-recognised feature before the Colonies were separated from the Mother Country, is borne out by the evidence of two lines which

are said to have appeared in a Boston newspaper, one of the family having been away on some official business, when his return, by water, was announced in the following manner :—

> "When Hutchinson came the people arose
> To clear a place to land his nose."

I have often heard my late father repeat them, and he had had them in like manner from those who had gone before. But I may be quite mistaken in my misgivings.

Recurring to the inventory, the Province House is mentioned when speaking of the things "In the Upper Room." This old official residence of the Governor's, situated on the west side of Washington Street, standing back some twenty to thirty yards, was formerly open to the street; but when I was there it was blocked out by some houses built in front of it, so that it stood in a sort of paved court with a thoroughfare passage going through, and proceeding on backwards along the southern side of the building. The house had five windows in a row, it was three storeys high, raised on a stone basement of about four feet, and with a flight of stone steps up to a Roman Doric portico, and the front door. Cooper, in his novel of Lionel Lincoln, lays some of the scenes in this old-fashioned place. When I was there it was a tavern, with a sign-board fixed over the door, where strong waters and baser liquors were sold.

"In the Coach House" there were several vehicles of different kinds. The first enumerated is—"A new coach, cost, besides freight—£105." This has been alluded to before; and from the mention of freight, this carriage had evidently been had out from England; and as we are informed that Washington appropriated one of them to his own use, we will give his intelligence the credit of supposing that he selected the best, which was this.

The Governor uses the expression—"My property which *was* at Milton." This looks as if he had already given it up for lost; and it does not appear that he was ever compensated or indemnified for it. He was differently circumstanced from all the other Governors of Massachusetts, who were Englishmen sent out, and whose interests and property lay in England; whereas all his interests and worldly goods were planted in America; and he had only got to join the Liberty Party to have saved everything, and continued a rich man.

As the prices of the articles are given in the above inventory, it seems to have been the result of an actual sale, and not jotted down from memory.

It is remarked in the letter above, where mention is made of the necessity of attesting the inventory by an official seal, that "there is no Province Seal," and that the Lieut.-Governor might "have his private seal to it." This might imply that there never had been a Province Seal. Governor Hutchinson's private seal is a large oval one with his armorials on it. There is an impression of this seal on an original letter of his, bearing date, Milton, Feb. 6, 1774.

The epergne had 144 ounces of silver in it, and is set down at £54. A silver kettle and stand would have been worth taking. Such articles are not in the inventory and may have been saved. After making due inquiry among the present representatives of the family in England, it does not appear that such things are in existence among them in the present day, nor have they ever heard of them. All the silver-handled and other knives and forks were seized and sold, except the dozen which I have, as mentioned before.

18th.—Waited on Lord George Germaine to compliment him on his appointment. Dined at Lord Hardwicke's. M^r^ Harris, M^r^ Jn^o^. Yorke, Sir Jn^o^. Goodrick, and Miss Gregory, L^d^ Hardwicke, Lady Mary. Peggy was with me. M^r^ Burch and his wife, &c., came to town to-day, having been in danger in the Downs, a Jamaica ship lost very near them.

Lord George Germaine, who had been Lord George Sackville, resigned the office of Lord Privy Seal, and had now been recently appointed Secretary to the American Department;* whilst the Earl of Dartmouth, a more popular nobleman, having withdrawn from this latter appointment, received the Privy Seal—thus effecting an exchange. This alteration had been completed within a very few days, for on the 7th of this month, only eleven days ago, the Governor says—"I visited Lord Geo. Germaine. I think he would not refuse the Secretary's place, if offered to him." And on the next day, only ten days ago, he writes—

"I went to Lord Dartmouth's Levée. . . . Not a word of his going out of office."

Another change had taken place in the defection of the Duke of Grafton, who, on the meeting of Parliament three weeks ago, openly joined the opposition by his unfavourable criticisms on the King's speech, and opposing the Address.

* "Lord George Germaine is made Secretary of State for America."—Walpole's Letters, vi. 280.

There is a hurried letter of to-day's date, written apparently to catch the first ship, and entered in the Governor's marble paper Letter Book, which contains a few remarks worth transcribing. It runs thus:—

"St. James's Street, 18 Nov^{r}, 1775.

D^{r} S^{r},—I feared that I should not be able to write to you by this opportunity, but as I have seen L^{d} Geo. Germaine this morning, I will just tell you that a Bill is preparing to repeal the Boston Port Act, and the restricting Acts upon Trade, to make a more general provision, and to regulate trials, [?] &c., and to provide for licences to trade, or particular voyages by all persons who are not in rebellion. I mentioned to him the propriety of returning [or retaining ?] the claim to the payment of the Teas, which he supposed would be done: but it is an Embargo at present. Excuse me for this matter. I have been much indisposed. I love and esteem you, and am, &c."

The name of the correspondent to whom the preceding was sent is not recorded. Writing by the same opportunity, Elisha says to his wife:—

"St. James's Street, Nov^{r} 17, 1775.

"My Dear Polly.

"It is a long time since I have taken pen in hand, and I now do it without knowing when or whether ever you will receive this letter. I have but very short notice of this Man-of-War's sailing, and can only acquaint you that after over six months impatient waiting and anxious expectation, I received your letter of the 3rd Sep^{r}, the 13th of last month, and you will believe me when I say, no letter was ever so acceptable, or gave me equal pleasure. About a fortnight ago I received another of the 15 Aug^{t}, inclosed to M^{r} Brattle, and yesterday a short letter, dated at Middlebro', 25th Aug^{t}. The one which you mention, of the 10th, is not come to hand. I suspect it is carried into Boston.

G. Gage, M^{r} Flucker, M^{r} and M^{rs} Burch, M^{r} Robinson, &c., are arrived, and by them, after being twelve weeks without any advices from Boston, we are acquainted of the intention of the troops to winter there; which, had I known two months ago, I think I should have been in Boston before this time; but M^{r} Flucker tells me it would be absolutely impracticable to get you there," &c.

19th.—M^{r} Burch called. D^{r} Chandler, M^{r} Knox, General Harvey. My distemper has not wholly left me. I was very feverish last night, and staid at home to-day from church.

Went in a chair, and dined upon invitation from Doctor

Douglas at the Chaplain's table, St. James's. Doctor Mariot, Mr John Jenkinson, Mr Strahan, and Col. [blank], made the company. They relied much upon Lord George G.'s declaration in the H. of Commons, that he did not doubt they should be able to procure as large a number of men as the Generals judged to be necessary.

20th.—Mr Burch and family, and Mr Powell, and Flucker dined with us.

21st.—I had a very poor night; much of a fever; the influenza still sticking close to me. Dr Murray came to town in the evening, and called on us, from Norwich.

22nd.—I walked a mile in the morning, and thro' Piccadilly, returning home by St. James's Park at noon, but have not recovered my usual vigor. Dr Murray and family, and Mr Greenough dined with us to-day. Mr Ellis, who spent half an hour with me yesterday, seems cool [?] in the present measures. He said he would go to the Opera House, instead of the House at Westminster; and it hapned that so many other Members were absent the same day, that they could not make 100, the number requisite in order to ballot for a Contested Election, which hindered all other business going on, as the Act for Elections provides. There is a mystery also in the Opposition being joined by a number of Lord Bute's people, as Ld Ossory, Mr Fitzpatrick, besides his son-in-law Sir James Lowther, who has been some time with them.

23rd.—Lord Gage called. The House last evening went upon the Militia Bill; upon wch the House divided—26 only, against 150 or 60. Charles Fox reflected on Mr Ackland, a Member, for the part he took in an Address from the Regiment of Malitia, and sd the Guards might as well have addressed. Ackland says the Militia were not mercenary troops, but the officers were men of estates sufficient to render them independent—not Catiline's men of profligate lives who had wasted their fortunes in gaming and debauchery. Some of the Members roared: others called to Order. Charles Fox sat still, as if it could not be supposed to fit him.

24th.—Dined with Mr Paul Wentworth, where were present Colo Nesbit, Major Williamson, Mr Ware, the E. India

Director, M^r^ Nutt, Thornton, a fat man, M^r^ Delany of New York, and F. Waldo.

One of the company mentioned the arrival of Michael Wentworth from Piscataqua, and his dining with Washington at Cambridge a few days before he came away, viz. the 12^th^ of September. This is extraordinary.

25th.—Lord Townshend and M^r^ John Yorke called. The former says he is not without fears of Quebec; complains of Ministry's beginning too late to raise men. Sir Francis Bernard, who came to town yesterday, dined with us; T. Bernard, M^r^ Jo. Greene, and Jn^o^. Pownall, Jun^r^.

26th.—At the Drawing Room, which was not full. In the evening at Lord Mansfield's: company small: knew only Lord March, and M^r^ Davenport, a noted lawyer.

At Lord Chancellor's, where came in the Duke of Northumberland, and the Bishop of Landaffe. Afterwards at D^r^ Heberden's, where found the Bishop of [blank], D^r^ Hurd, a Physician, D^r^ Reed, Mauduit.

27th.—A dull day. I walked to Sewell's and Flucker's at Brompton Row; and spent the rest of the day in writing and reading at home.

M^r^ Oliver, [M.P.,] moved to address the L. [?] to inform the movers to Amer. meas. [?] 10 for, 163 against.*

Whilst the Governor was thus employed in London, his son-in-law Dr. Peter Oliver was writing the following letter in Boston, which he sent to England: but which of the party he sent it to is not mentioned.

"Boston, Nov^r^ 27^th^, 1775.

"Sir,

"I received a short letter from you some time back, but can't find it at present. Sure I am I have preserved it among my papers. To-morrow or next day my three children are to be innoculated by D^r^ Hope, Surgeon of the 52^nd^ Regiment; as also Nurse, about a week hence: 2-3^ds^ of the remaining inhabitants are innoculated—M^r^ Spooner, among the Refugees, as also Ruggles, Edson, Murray, Gilbert, &c., all in a few days.

"A droll life we live here, in constant expectation of every kind of combustible, eatable, and drinkable materials from Eng-

* Rather obscure sentence.

land and Ireland; when, instead thereof, once a month a ship or brigg, either with soldiers a few, or a provision vessell from Cork or Plimouth arrives, and but just escapes the Pirates who are in the Bay. We have heard of a large fleet of soldiers and provisions expected a month ago, but just one or two vessells have arrived yet. The Pirates, or, as the rebells term them, Privateers, have taken a Cork vessell, Cap^{n} Robbins of this town, with provision, and carried into Marblehead; and a number of Wood Vessells from the eastward are carried into the worthless town of Plimouth.

"Casco Bay is burnt down by order of the Admiral. It is very strange that piratical vessells will come into the Bay, and take what they please, and Men-of-War lay [lie] in the Harbour and do nothing. If you don't send us a senior A——l, to supersede the present A——l, it won't be worth Lord North's while to send any reinforcements more, for the rebells have almost got masters of the sea already, and by the spring they will be quite.

"We are shamefully neglected—I mean the friends of Government. If only 10,000 troops could have arrived here this fall, the matter would have been over.

"I was taken sick the moment the *Cerberus* Man-of-War arrived near enough to be known in the Harbour, with a slow fever, and was confined 5 weeks to my chamber. Whether it was owing to the joy and pleasure I felt, (for I must say I never felt greater pleasure in my life) knowing by her return that the matter was not going to be settled by any concessions on the part of Great Britain. Bless me, how I felt! However, either that or an easterly breeze knockt me up, as I tell you; but it has been of infinite service to my constitution, and I never felt better. I want some of the good porter you are wasting, and some of your mild cheese.

"I wish if you come across any pretty view of any gentleman's seat, you would send it me; the Duke of Bridgwater's Canal, I have a fancy, may be among some views.

"Remember me to all friends—M^{r} Bliss, and Blowers, &c.

"The Judge will write you ab^{t} your wife, that is, about his receiving a letter from her. None of your letters have gone to Plimouth for these 6 months: there is no possible way, for the rebells break open every letter.

"There are a number of vessells below. If, before the *Boyne* sails, as I mean to send this letter by her, I should receive any letter from you, I shall further acknowledge it.

"I am Y^{r} Affectionately

PETER OLIVER, Ju^{r}.

"P.S.—If I ever thought I should enjoy my house again, and it should not be destroy'd nor damaged, in the inside, I would remind you of the paper hangings that are wanted in the different apartments, but at present am uncertain.

"I want to know where Jenny's whim is in London: we know where it is here."

The Editor cannot explain half of Jenny's whims.

28th.—At Lord Dartmouth's, who I found reading my History,* and more cheerful than at any time of late. Afterwards at the Treasury w^th^ M^r^ Flucker, on his business. M^r^ Knox tells me some of the transports are sailed from the river for Ireland; that L^d^ Cornwallis commands the seven Regiments; but on their arrival in America, one of the Major Generals is to meet them, and take the command. Lord Dartmouth thought it would be the best way to go direct to Carolina, and not to Virginia, which makes me think that was the first plan.

29th.—Went into the city to Devonshire Square and back—the longest walk I have taken for five weeks past. D^r^ Cooper and Chandler called w^th^ Nichols: the former had a letter of 11^th^ October, w^ch^ he read, from New York, giving an account of the rebels seizing 6000£ worth of the King's stores, and of Vandeput's [?] threatening to fire on the town if they were not returned, and of the Provincial Congress ordering their return.

30th.—Called on M^r^ Watts of New York. Dined with M^r^ Nesbitt, Grafton Street, with most of the company which dined at M^r^ Wentworth's the 24^th^.

Four thousand men more it is said are to go from Ireland, to be replaced by Hessians, for which purpose L^d^ North intends to move in the H. of Commons. A vessel at Barnstaple from Boston. M^r^ Flucker has a letter of Oct^r^ 22^nd^. What Franklin, Harrison, and Lynch are gone about to the Camp before Boston, is matter of great speculation here in England. Some think it is to excite Washington to action before winter: others, to reconcile Washington and Lee.

* This must refer to the two first volumes printed in America before the war; the third, which he left in MS. at his death, was not published till 1828, and in England. Further on in his Diary he occasionally alludes to his being at work on the third volume.

At this date the Chief Justice favours us with one of his characteristic letters—always amusing, generally witty, sometimes sarcastic, and not infrequently very severe. He had, however, been very hardly treated by his countrymen, for whom, as a zealous and an upright lawyer, he had for many years laboured for a shamefully small salary; and he would have been something above human if he could have suffered all this unmoved. He writes as follows to Elisha Hutchinson:—

"Boston, Nov^{r} 30, 1775.

"Dear Sir,

"Yours of Sep^{r} 6 I have before me. I have not heard from Polly since I wrote to you last. I can get no letter to her. When she receives what I have by me to send, they will employ her some time in reading and meditation.

"I have no news to write but what I have wrote to your father.

"You forgot to send to me 4 pounds of the best Scotch snuff at 4/ sterling ℔ pound. We have little else to do now but to take snuff; we snuff in the air for want of food: we take snuff at the rebels for their barbarities: and we enjoy the snuff of candles, when we can get them to burn; and that sort of snuff often recovers expiring life.

"If you have mony [money] of mine in your hands, as I suppose you have, pray send me two barrells of choice port wine. Cox & Berry, whom I mentioned to you to pay for me, I have paid them myself.

"If you have any of our N. E. Wilkes's fraternity with you, pray be cautious, and tell the Governor, *cavendo tutus* [safe, by being on your guard]: such anecdotes I have had which chagrin.*

"Give my love to Peggy, and to all my N. E. friends.

"The ship *Jupiter* from Nova Scotia with hay, was burnt last week in the Bay, by the hay its taking fire: the men were saved. Another, taken by the rebels, and carried into Cohasset. Several provision vessells taken, and carried into Plimouth.

"I am obliged to mention one thing:—Gen^{l} B——le † expects, I believe, to be made a Counsellor by your father's interest. He behaves in such a manner as to possess nothing but contempt from mankind. It would be debasing the Council lower than they ever were sunk in years past.

* Chagriner, *v. a.*, to vex, trouble, annoy; an Anglicism of a French word not now in use.

† Better not venture to fill up the omitted letters of this name..

"I cannot help complaining of distress, when occasioned by man. There are a few of the Army who monopolize, and distress us. A load of sea coal is just bought by them @ 10 dollars ℔ chaldron, and we are forced to pay £3 5/ sterling for it. A quantity of rum was lately fairly purchased @ 2/8 ℔ gallon; but it being in possession of the Admiral, the monopolizers gave ½ penny more and got it; and now rum is sold @ 9/ sterling by the hh^d. A galled horse will wince. I do not suppose the General knows of it.

"I have no agreeables to communicate, and so I break off with assurances of Esteem and Affection.

"Elisha Hutchinson, Esq. PETER OLIVER."

These beleaguered and imprisoned people must have heard many interesting narratives of stirring events, and have witnessed many strange scenes, and it is to be regretted that they did not commit to paper accounts more full and more perfect than any that have come down to us. The Chief Justice did not begin to keep a Diary till the beginning of March, 1776.

December 1st.—Paid M^r Ludiman half a year's rent of my house to this day, and renewed the same agreement as the last year.

Lord Hardwicke called, when D^r Chandler hapned to be come in just before, discoursed on American affairs.

In the evening we were all at Drury Lane house, Garrick in the character of Archer [?] in Farquhar's *Beaux Stratagem.* Either he is too old for such a character, or I am too old to see the excellencies which draw such crowds after him.

2nd.—M^r Boutineau called upon me, arriving yesterday from Bristol. Auchmuty, M^r and M^rs, with D^r Cooper, D^r Chandler, and Silsby, dined with us. Mauduit, in the evening, says there is a vessel from Quebec, and another from Boston. The latter I doubt, and think it may be the Barnstaple man got into Bristol.

3rd.—At the Old Jewry. M^r White. [Some shorthand.]

4th.—The reports from Boston were without foundation: but two vessels from Quebec agree that the Provincials were besieging St. John's Fort, and that Carleton was at the head of 1600 Canadians. It is said they were in want of provisions, and few at St. Johns.

After a brief interval of four days the Chief Justice seizes on another opportunity, and writes again. As his late wife was Mary Clarke, his mention of this family will be understood.

"Boston, Decr 4, 1775.

"Dear Sir,

I have wrote fully by Genl Burgoyne in the *Boyne*. I could not let brother Clarke go without a line. He will tell you what is new since. Doubtless Quebec is taken, and his two sons in it, unless they could get off. We hear that the Ordnance Brig is taken, and carried into Cape Ann.

"There is no safe conveyance of letters but by a King's ship.—Yours

"Elisha Hutchinson, Esq. PETER OLIVER."

5th.—Called and spent half an hour at Mr Mackenzie's, Hill Street. Mr Ellis called: expresses his doubt of the vigour of the present measures. They seem, he says, to go on, but Lord N. frequently lets drop some expressions which savour of diffidence. He complains of the want of a plan, every part of which to be subservient to the grand point, and which point will be carried, if the plan be well executed. This, he thinks, is yet wanting.

6th.—We had a large company to-day, feasting upon a very fine haunch of venison, a present from Ld Hardwicke: viz.—Mr, Mrs, and Miss Burch, Flucker, Waldo, Gray and wife, Boutineau, Robinson and wife. In the evening Mr Ellis called, and found a company of 14 Americans.

7th.—Introduced Mr Sewall to Ld George Germaine.* Lord Hardwicke sent me what are called *Montcalm's Letters*, which I doubt not are fictitious, as they agree in no circumstance with the true state of the Colonies at the time of the pretended dates.

8th.—In the city: Clements Lane. Left with Mr Mauduit a brief vindication of my character from the abuse of Johnstone, Hartley, &c., in the House of Commons, for his advice upon the propriety of printing it.

* According to Lord Mahon, this noble Lord got into hot water with his colleagues. In his Hist., 3rd edit., vi. 218, he says—"That nobleman, ever prompt and able, and in the Cabinet at least courageous, but hasty and violent, had embroiled himself in quarrels with the chief officers under his direction."

M^r^ Hunter, a merchant in the city, is said to have a letter from Quebec, which mentions Gov^r^ Carleton's march at the head of 1600 men, and Maclean's at the head of 1200, to relieve Fort St. Johns.

There is no evidence that Mr. Mauduit recommended that the Vindication above alluded to should be printed, and perhaps it never was printed. Attacks made by Members of Parliament in the House of Commons upon the character or administration of Mr. Hutchinson, where he had no power of reply, might well be calculated to wound him at the time; for party rancour then ran high, and he knew that such abuse, however false, could be made use of to serve party purposes. In contentions of this nature it is too commonly the practice of a speaker not to run after truth on an elevated platform, but to descend to low-level language, and try to justify himself by heaping indiscriminate abuse on his opponent. If he cannot make himself right, he will, at all events, make the other very wrong, so that the contrast shall be in his favour: and, though he may not swim among virtues himself, he will sink his adversary by heaping a multitude of crimes upon his head. This may serve the turn in the heat of quarrel: but when men have had time to cool, and reconsider the principles of attack, their feelings will turn right round upon the accuser. Among the collection of papers now in the possession of the Governor's representatives, there are nineteen pages of folio size MS. in his handwriting, that appear, from the nature of the topics treated of, to contain the Vindication spoken of: and as it has been looked over, and annotated upon in a different handwriting, we are invited to conjecture that possibly these are notes or interlineations by Mr. Mauduit. The points chiefly handled in this composition are not new: they are such as we have encountered in this book almost to weariness. It commences as follows, and a few passages may be extracted just to show its nature:—

"The indiscriminate abuse of the servants of the Crown in the public newspapers is become so common, as to make no great impression upon the minds of their readers, &c.

"By acts of fraud and violence the late Governor Hutchinson's most private papers have, at different times, come into the possession of persons disposed to do him hurt, who for that purpose have published detached parcells of them, with comments and remarks, torturing his words to an unnatural sense and meaning, totally different from what they were intended to convey. It is never-

theless now asserted, that no one fact has ever appeared to have been materially misrepresented by him, nor any one proposal made unfriendly to the rights and liberties of mankind in general, or tending to take from the Province, of which he was Governor, the privileges enjoyed by its Charter, or any powers or privileges from the inhabitants of the Colonies, which can be made to consist with their relation to Parliament as the supreme authority of the British dominions [Empire is interlined over dominions], nor has it been shewn that in his public character, he has interested himself in controversies or disputes with the people of his Province farther than the posts which he sustained, required and made his indispensable duty.

* * * * *

"To a person long acquainted with the temper and disposition of the people [in America], it was easy to foresee the effects of the Stamp Act; and although M^r^ Hutchinson never doubted the authority of Parliament, yet he doubted the expediency of exercising its authority in that instance, and did everything within his sphere to prevent it, by representations for that purpose to persons of character in England. * * *

"A gentleman in England had procured and sent to Boston several private letters from M^r^ Hutchinson, all but one before he came to the Chair, and from M^r^ Oliver, when he was Secretary of the Province, to the late M^r^ Whately. Every fallacious art had been used to raise the expectations of the people, to inflame and enrage them, before the contents of the letters were made publick. The words of the great Roman Orator, though in a case not exactly similar, may be used with propriety on this occasion —Quis enim unquam qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset, literas ad se ab amico missas, offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit, palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere e vita vitæ societatem, tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa joca solent esse in epistolis, quæ prolata si sint, inepta divulganda.

* * * * *

"The great charge against him was, his obstinate attachment to the prerogative of the Crown, and the authority of Parliament, &c.

* * * * *

"Britain and its Colonies are alike dependent upon the supreme authority of the whole Empire. The King, Lords, and Commons —this supreme authority appeared to him to be the sole bond which kept the several parts of the Empire together. If any way could be found to give the subjects in the Colonies the same proportion

or share in this authority, whether as members of one or other of the Houses of Parliament, or as Electors of the Representatives of the people, he has ever thought they had a fair claim to it. If their local circumstances made any distinction necessary, he thought they had, for that reason, a stronger claim to as great a share of legislative authority within each Colony respectively, as can consist with the supreme authority of Parliament, which at all events must be maintained so far as is necessary for the purpose of preventing a separation, and preserving the peace and order of the whole.

* * * * *

"It is a remark more ancient than any British Colony that—Gubernatorum vituperatio populo placet; and every Governor of Massachusets Bay, for near a century past, has by experience found the truth of it," &c.

We would wish to let bygones be bygones. Governor Hutchinson needs no laboured attempt to put his character in its proper light. The sentiments scattered through the above Vindication are those of a faithful servant to those who had consigned him to a very important and responsible trust. If he had forsworn all his oaths of fidelity and allegiance, he would have been highly popular in America, but he would have been held in contempt by all right-thinking people everywhere else. Though he had everything in this life to lose, and nothing to gain by the constitutional course which he took, and though his children had almost to begin life over again in England after their reverses, his descendants now living at all events look back with pride on the memory of an honest man.

9th.—At Lord Hardwicke's, who is fully of my sentiments as to Montcalm's Letters. Afterwards at the Bishop of London's, where I saw M^{r} Ryder, his son-in-law, son of the late Chief Justice, and Member for Tiverton; and now a candidate for a Peerage, his father dying whilst a Patent was making out for him. He says a motion for postponing the Bill prohibiting all intercourse, &c., until after the holidays, was rejected last night by 120 odd against 30 odd.

Lord Gage called, and mentioned a letter his brother Gen. Gage had rec^{d}, giving an acc^{t} of a floating Battery coming down Medford river, sunk after firing 95 shot. This Major Duncan wrote from Bristol, receiving it from a Master of a

vessel, who left Boston Oct^{r} 25, and says it hapned the night before.

In the evening at Covent Garden Play House, to see the *Duenna* Opera: M^{r} Burch and family, Flucker, and my daughter.

10th.—At the Temple Church, where Doctor Thurlow preached.

At Court. Was introduced to Lord Cornwallis, who goes this week for America.

In the evening at Doctor Heberden's: Bishop of Ely, M^{r} Burrill [?] Cole, Holford, Watson, &c.

11th.—Peggy and I dined at L^{d} Dartmouth's: M^{rs} Pownall and daughter, M^{r} Todd, Nutt, and Blackburne. M^{r} Pownall, L^{d} Galloway, and L^{d} Warwick, were to have been there.

12th.—M^{r} Blackburne called: says he has a letter of Oct^{r} 17, from the Mayor of Albany: mentions 600 of Schuyler's men having returned home thro' that city sick, without clothes, in want of rum, &c.

There seems to be a general expectation here that the attempt against Canada will be frustrated.

M^{r} Sewall and wife, Mauduit, Nichols, Burch, and Sewall Jun^{r}, dined with us.

13th.—At M^{r} Burch's desire went with him to the Levée, St. James's. Dined at the Deanery, Westminster, by invitation from the B^{p} of Rochester, who, with his Lady, the Portug[uese] Ambassador, Abp. of Canterbury, Lord North, Lord Dartmouth, B^{p} of Wor'ster, S^{r} Geo. Howard, and M^{r} Robinson, and the young Lord Apsley, made the company.

In the evening at Westminster school, where Terence's *Andria** was acted, with great applause: and I was much more pleased than at Cov. Garden, or D. Lane.

14th.—At Lord Geo. G.'s Levée wth M^{r} Burch. He says letters from L^{d} Dunmore advise his having made three or four descents with a small party of Regulars: taken 45 pi[eces] of

* Terence, originally a manumitted slave, was the author of the words—"Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto." His Andria is said to have been adapted from Menander.

cañon of diff^{t} bores, and one of the Provincial Congress, and a Captain of the Whiteshirts, prisoners.

15th.—At M^{r} Ellis's. He dislikes L^{d} North's not better digesting his plan of 8 Oct^{r}, on imports to the Colonies, in consequence of the proposal from Nova Scotia. When the Bill came before the House, Burke was prepared, and observed how unequally such a general duty would affect the Colonies: and besides, it would be a reduction in some instances of the duty laid at present [on] molasses in particular, and also wines. He says L^{d} N. saw it [?], and his friends did not know what to say; and so the Bill is put off till after the holidays.

Called upon M^{r} John Yorke, and left my name.

16th.—Lord Townshend called just before dinner, the second time, and apologized. Blowers and wife, Taylor, with D^{r} Chandler, dined with us.

17th.—At the Old Jewry: M^{r} White; being the annual collection for poor Dissenting Ministers in the country. The congregation was small. Mauduit was there, and I have seen him once before.

We are now impatiently expecting news from Boston. The wind for 2 or 3 days past has been easterly, or in that quarter.

News from Boston imported momentous events at this period. There is an original letter of Dr. Peter Oliver, written in Boston on the 7th inst., and now on the water. He says he intends to send a journal of the siege from its commencement on the 19th of April. This is just what we want, for narratives of occurrences, and descriptions of the interior of the city during this time are far too few, and would be extremely interesting. Unhappily the family in England have nothing of the kind among their papers. There is his Diary, but it skips over and takes no notice of the very period about which we should like to be informed. Perhaps he never carried out his intention; but his letters to a certain degree supply this want, though very imperfectly. His letters are amusing from the great flutter he is in from the state of affairs by which he is surrounded.

"Boston, Dec^{r} 7, 1775.

"Sir,—This by Nath^{l} Coffin Jun^{r}. I determine to write you by all the opportunities for the future, when I have anything to relate.

"I intend to send you a Journal of our Siege since April the 19th. At present we are concerned for the Ordinance [*sic*] Brigg: there is one coming up which some suppose to be her: but many are afraid that the rebell Privateers have taken her, which will soon harrass us here.

"General Burgoine sail'd in the *Boyne*, Tuesday the 5th, by whom I sent you a letter: also to the Governor, and Peggy, and Mr Selsby. If any more news transpires from Canada you shall have it.

"8th Instant. The Brigg supposed yesterday to be the Ordinance Brigg, has turned out to be a Rebell Pirate, 75 men, chiefly Irish people: 10 carriage guns, and 10 swivells: taken by the *Fowey* Man-of-Warr: George Montague, off of Cape Ann. The Ordinance Brigg was taken the 1st Instant, by one of their pirates, and carried into Cape Ann.

"Now for Bombardment, &c.

"It seems to us here that you in England are very ignorant of our situation: you don't appear to be alarm'd at all. Sometimes I think we shall all be swallowed up before the Nation gets arousde [*sic*].

"To send an Ordinance Brigg of such a value out so poorly mann'd and arm'd, looks very odd. We have 8 or 10 Pirate vessells out between the Capes, and yet our Men-of-Warr are chiefly in the Harbour. Two thirds of the troop and provision vessells are out, yet we expect they will be taken, many of them.

"If I should not send you a small Journal of our Siege by this opportunity, I will by the next, which will be in a few days.

"9th Instant. Some of us believe, and some disbelieve the Brigg being taken, but General Burgoine I believe has carried to you the certainty of it.

"A number of Plimouth people are on board the Rebell Pirate. I have heard one of the Howlands, own cousin to Ned Winslow for one. Bless me! What times do we live in. Drove from my home—robb'd of my property and estate—and in no business—it is enough to distract one. A very different winter I shall spend, and much less agreeable than the winter before you married, when I cou'd have Quails 10/, O.T. pr dozen, and now 5/. & 5/6 Sterling will but just fetch a fowl: porck 1/6 Sterl. pr pound.

"Your wife braves it out: by the last accounts from her in Sepr, she is President of a Club composed of 8 ladies. They meet over a tea table once or twice a week, in opposition to the Rebells. They keep up their spirits strangely. As to the Col. [Watson?] I can't hear particularly abt him.

"Do you really expect to live in N. England again in peace and plenty? I believe you don't. For my part I don't know what to expect, nor where I can be next summer: some think we shall be able to go home in peace by July next. I think it impossible for anyone but the supreme Being to form the least idea of what will be the state of us. If we may judge from the Resolutions of the Grand Congress, from the conduct of the Colonies, &c., it won't appear the least probable that we poor disconsolate Refugees will be able to visit our once peaceable habitations these 2 or 3 years, without the greatest danger, and not untill these Rebell Breed are entirely demolished. This once happy country must for the future be miserable. Most of the Governments, especially these 4 Governments of N. England, are inevitably forfeited to His Majesty. All we poor Refugees must be made good our losses and damage. Hanging people won't pay me for what I have suffered. Nothing short of forfeited estates will answer: and after damages are sufficiently compensated, then hang all the Massachusetts Rebells by dozens, if you will.

"You may remember our Wilder, the Blacksmith: he has turn'd Rebell. Neighbour Tupper, on the hill as you turn to the Meeting House, or Boston Road: in fine, but a very few in Middleborough but what are Rebells or Devills. The Parson stands foremost in the list: he must be looked up one of the first. The rest of this matter in my next.

"Sally [his wife, the Governor's daughter] sends her love to you.—I am Y^rs^ Affectionately

"Peter Oliver, Jun^r^."

There is no address given, but the letter was evidently intended for Elisha.

Considering that this letter is divided into several paragraphs, distinguished under different dates of the month, possibly he intended that this should serve for the journal of the siege of which he speaks, for no other journal has come to hand; and, as before remarked, his Diary, in a small bound book, skips over this interesting period, and begins again when they left Boston for England, in March, 1776.

There is another letter by him further on, dated Dec. 20, which is a continuation of the preceding, but it is sadly deficient in the information we so much desire to have. It is given a few pages in advance, and after the date Dec. 20.

18th.—Called upon General Gage, and had some talk with

him on the state of Boston. Afterwards at L^d^ G. G. office, where M^r^ Pownall informed me of the accounts by the N. York packet of Nov. 14, of the surrender of St. John's and Chambly to the Prov. forces. The N. York papers mention the burning of Falmouth, in Casco Bay, by Cap^n^ Mowat.*

Government here, from the last advices, seemed to be sure Canade was safe; w^ch^ makes this news more unpleasing, being altogether unexpected.

19th.—Walked into the city to Devons^e^ Square and back. Called upon M^r^ Blackburne, Scotch Yard, Bush Lane. He thinks the New Yorkers are more in favour of Government than they have been, but fears the consequence of the Canada news.

It is generally believed that Falmouth in Casco Bay, is burnt by Cap. Mowat, and 2 or 3 more ships. The last time I saw Lord G. G., he observed, that Adm. Graves had been put in mind of his remissness: and he imagined he would run to the other extreme.

20th.—Capt. Holland, who arrived in the packet from N. York, called with Flucker, &c. He says the floating battery was a small affair. The night a play was to be acted in the town, the rebels sent from Phipps' Farm, a machine to fire on the town: that one of their cannon burst, and blew up their works, and one or two of their people were killed or badly wounded. He confirms the story of Church,† and says he has copies of the letters for which he lies [?] confined.

The following letter by Dr. Peter Oliver is very disappointing. All the middle of it is taken up with particulars concerning the innoculation of his children, and how many spots they had: and as that is a part of American history that cannot interest general

* Frothingham's 'Hist. of Siege of Boston,' p. 253, speaks of Mowatt taking his fleet out of Boston on the 4th of October. "It consisted of a sixty-four, a twenty-gun ship, two sloops of eighteen guns, two transports and six hundred men. They took two mortars, four howitzers, and other artillery. This was the Fleet that burnt Falmouth.

† Dr. Church, an American, was charged with holding a correspondence with the English.—See 'Hist. of Siege of Boston,' p. 258.

readers, the Editor takes upon himself the responsibility of leaving it out. The readable part of the letter runs thus —

"Boston, Dec^{r} 20, 1775.

"Dear M^{r}. Elisha!

"I wrote you by Nat^{l} Coffin, Ju^{r}, who went in the *Tartar* Man-of-Warr, but sail'd before I was aware of it: so I send now by M^{r} Apthorp the letter I design'd by Coffin, and this.

"This is now the 22^{d} day since my children were inoculated, &c.

* * * * * * *

"D^{r} Hope, Surgeon of the 52^{d} Regiment, was their Doctor.

"There are near 1500 inoculated in the new method of exposing them to the open air.

"My duty to the Governor, and love to Billy. We expect soon an engagement, for the Rebells have built or thrown up a strong Redoubt upon the lower part of Phipps' Farm. We now and then send them a shot, and a few shells.

"The *Renown* Man-of-Warr, with 5 transports, arriv'd last Sunday; and the Rebells have taken two or three rich ships from up in the Bay.

"I am I remain [*sic*] Y^{rs} Affectionately,

"Your wife was well 10 days ago, and child." "Peter Oliver, Jun^{r}."

This is but meagre information from the inside of Boston at so momentous a season. The floating battery above mentioned came down the Medford or Mystic river, to the north-west of Boston. Phipps' Farm lay across the water, within range of Copp's Hill, or thereabout. This place is omitted from most of the maps. It is not down in Thomas Jefferys' interesting old map of Massachusetts, 39 × 42 inches, bearing date Nov. 29, 1774, London.

When I was in Boston I was told there was an old lady still living—a Miss Byles, whose late father had been on the Loyalist side, and was connected with the family of Lieut.-Governor Andrew Oliver: and as this old lady represented one of the links connecting the present with the past struggles of the Revolutionary period, I thought I would go and see her; and as somebody said I had better make haste, I went at once. To the best of my recollection the house was situated towards Boston Neck, somewhere in Hollis Street, and at a corner with some other street. I was given to understand that the city authorities wanted to clear it away in order to effect some improvement at that place,

but she would not have it touched as long as she lived. It was one of those old-fashioned houses covered on the outside with horizontal planks lapping one over another, and painted some light colour. My appeal at the front door was answered by an elderly female servant, and as I was a total stranger I had to introduce myself. This I managed to do by recounting a few particulars referring to the Byles family, and also to the Olivers and the Hutchinsons, of which latter I was one; and then, by referring to some of the prominent events of the War of Independence, of which she had heard, the aged domestic was softened, and invited me to come inside. After a short interval she led me to an inner room, and I found Miss Byles reclining on a sofa; but I soon saw that there had already set in a considerable decay both of mental and physical power. As old people remember the circumstances of youth best, I roused her by speaking of Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, and of the hard usage that an honest man had met with for being true to his trust—of the blockade of Boston—the Battle of Bunker's Hill—and when I said I was a great-grandson of Governor Hutchinson, she seemed to awake; and opening her eyes wide, she fixed them full upon me. She was too feeble to say much: and her mind had also lost its vigour, so that I was disappointed in picking up any scraps of history, which I was in hopes I might have done from her own personal knowledge, or from hearsay from her father who was in Boston during the siege. She was too far gone to enter into anything of this sort, and soon seemed quite lost, so I did not prolong the interview further.

As I was coming away, the attendant stopped me in the parlour to show me something that might interest me, and it was something in which she herself seemed to take interest. She directed my attention to a fair size sash-window, the shutters of which folded back right and left against the slope or splay of the opening of the wall; and unfolding the shutter next to her right hand, so as to close half the window, she shewed me a circular hole about four inches in diameter, cut out near the upper part of it. This was a relic of the period of the siege. She said that Miss Byles's father made this hole to spy through when it became known that the Americans had seized Dorchester Heights, and were fortifying their position on that hill, at the distance of about half a mile south-east from his house. By shutting the shutters he escaped observation, and he directed the end of his glass through the hole.

The old lady, I afterwards heard, did not survive very long.

Return we then to the Diary.

21st.—G. G., who had been appointed Secretary of Georgia, came to me in the utmost distress, having received a letter from M^r^ Pownall last Saturday, acquainting him that the King had no further occasion for his service, and had ordered the Warrant for making out his Commission to be superseded. He had wrote several letters to Boston, which had been opened: one to his wife, wherein he says, that Gov^t^ was still pursuing the same cruel and unrighteous measures against America. I never saw a man more distressed; he having spent several years of time, and all his fortune, in solliciting a place, and now is ruined in an instant. He says Lord D. advised him to come to me, and promised to speak to me. I told him I had it not in my power to serve him. I saw no possibility of explaining away his words. I cannot account for Lord D.'s sending him to me.* I pity him under his misfortune. His wife's family, I suppose, are high Liberty people, and he had a mind to please them.†

22nd.—Called upon M^r^. Knox at the office. He says Gov^t^ will obtain men for America:—4000 Brunswickers; 4 or 6000 of the Scotch Reg^ts^ in Holland; and 3000 Scotch Highlanders, by Frazer and Murray; which, with 4000 in Ireland, and 3500 now embarking for S. Carolina, he supposes certain, besides recruits daily raising in the Kingdom.

In the evening at Brompton Row.

23rd.—At Lord Hardwicke's. Coming home, Brook Watson overtook me, just arrived from Quebec, who confirms the taking St. John's, and gives a most discouraging account of the state of Montreal and Quebec.

Caldwell, Copley ‡ and wife, Jo. Green, Curwen, and Pickman, dined with us.

24th.—At the Temple Church. D^r^ Morell.

A very dull Court. Lord Robert Bertie told me that when

* To get rid of him?

† He tried to serve two masters. Who "G. G." was, the Editor is not able to say. A little research could ascertain who was Secretary of Georgia at this date; but as Georgia is so far from the field of our labours, it is not necessary to turn aside after new pursuits.

‡ Often spelt Copely, but now Copley. The great painter had recently arrived from America, his wife and children having been for some time living in England. I never spoke to his son Lord Lyndhurst but once, and that was at his house in George Street, Hanover Square.

the rebels inserted in one of the Articles of Capitulation, that they were sorry the King's troops were engaged in so bad a cause, his Regiment all declared they would die in defending the place, rather than agree to such an Article, which was sent back with such declaration; and returned without the clause; said to be inserted by mistake.

In the evening at Dr Heberden's.

25th.—At the Temple Ch. Dr Morell. [A few words in shorthand.] Dr Chandler dined with us.

26th.—At Lord Hardwicke's, who told me another vessell was arrived from Quebec. Carleton had returned: called a Council of War, taking in the navy Commanders: resolved to hall [haul] up the ships: take their men ashore; found that, of inhabitants, and all together, they could muster 1200 men, and would hold out as long as they could: but its a very dark affair.

We all dined with Mr Comissioner Robinson at Brompton: Mr Watts, Doctor Cooper, and Chandler.

27th.—About ½ after nine, with my daughter in a post-chaise, set out for Tylney Hall, and arrived ½ after three. Found Mr and Mrs Doyley at Mr Ellis's, and two nephews of Mr Ellis, scholars at Westminster.

28th.—A fine pleasant day, which I improved in a long walk, tho' I have a bad cold.

29th.—Very fine day again. Rode on Mr Ellis's horse in compy wth Mr Doyley several times round the Park. The breed of Alderney cows are singular: small heads, small, and almost strai[gh]t horns. Sheep from Portland weigh about 11 or 12 pounds a quarter: short legs, and thick, but are the best flavoured meat I have met with.

Mr St. John the H. Sheriff, and wife, his son a Clergyman, and wife, and a Miss Lucas, dined and spent the evening.

The post brings an account of Gen. Burgoyne's arrival from Boston, wch he left Dec. 5; and of a vessel with Ordnance stores falling into the hands of the rebels. I have no letters from N. England, nor London, which is mysterious.

30th.—Being a very fine day I walked an hour or more in the Park and fields: and finding among Mr Ellis's books

Kempfer's History of Japan, which I had never met with before, spent what time the family rules admit of in reading: I say family rules, for never was a family more regular. Presently after nine the bell is heard for breakfast: it takes near half an hour before all are together: breakfast and chat after it, takes till near eleven: from twelve to two, in riding, walking, or airing: from two to ½ after three, in dressing for dinner; which is followed with coffee, and some time after [with] tea; and the ladies for half an hour after, work or read; which brings eight o'clock, when the cards are called for; until towards ten, the bell calls to supper; and precisely at eleven every one retires to his apartment to prepare for bed:—and this I suppose to be the exact round for months together.

31st.—Although a pleasant day, yet it was agreed the church was very damp and cold, and unsafe for any but M^r^ Jones, the Curate, and therefore the rest of the family excused themselves. My bad cough was a valid excuse for me. There are two parishes—Rotherick and Newnham; one of which M^r^ Jones serves in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon.

Received letters from Boston from L^t^ Gov. and Judge Oliver, and my son, so late as Decemb. 4. They continued to suffer from want of necessaries, and the weather was severe.

COLOPHON.

The letters received from Boston, bearing date so late as December the 4th, as mentioned above, are unfortunately not forthcoming, so that we lose what additional information concerning the interior of the place they may have contained.

We have now arrived at the end of the year 1775, and, as the volume is thick enough, this is a good place to stop. What relates to the end of the siege, the evacuation of the city, and the departure of the Loyalists, some to Halifax or some to England, must stand over for the present. In this volume nothing of Governor Hutchinson's Diary has been curtailed or omitted; but, as far as we have gone, the whole has been transcribed faithfully, to the best of our knowledge and belief, without attempting to disguise any of the carelessnesses of grammar or phraseology incident to hurried and unstudied writing. This has been done in order to

give the reader everything as it stands in the originals; but considering that the Diary goes on to May, 1780, that the whole Diary comprises seven volumes, that little more than the three first and three thinnest have hitherto been dealt with, and that the four thickest are yet to come, together with the letters of concurrent date, it is plain that one more volume could not contain everything if the same plan were followed; nor would it be desirable, for the length and the repetitions would become tedious and wearisome. Should such an undertaking be entered upon, a judicious selection of the salient points and the newer facts would serve all the purposes of historical information.

By the date at which we have arrived, both countries were engaged in open war; and this war, as between a Mother Country and her Colonies, in its dimensions, and in its consequences, has never been exceeded in the history of the world. It would be childish now to speculate upon what ought to have been done, or what ought not to have been done. We must imagine ourselves living before the fact, as the actors in it were, and not afterwards, as we are at present. It is so easy to be wise afterwards.

With these remarks the Editor begs to bid his readers farewell; and he does so with the sincere wish that it will give them as much amusement to turn over this volume as it has given him amusement to compile it.

THE END.

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